

SACE TWO – AUSTRALIAN CURRICULUM  
**MODERN  
HISTORY**

**WORKBOOK**  
**SECOND EDITION**

**DARYL BEST**



ADELAIDE  
**TUITION**  
CENTRE

## THE AUTHOR:

---

### Daryl Best

Daryl was the Chief Assessor for Modern History (1991–1995 and 2011–2014) and Asian History (1996–2001). Since 1977, Daryl has set and evaluated Examination Papers as well as marked student scripts. He has also moderated courses that teachers submitted to the SACE Board.

Daryl has been involved in writing courses, including preliminary work for the Australian Curriculum for History. He has lectured students and teachers in History Methodology and written articles for international journals. Daryl was the author of the Essentials Modern History Workbook and Sources Analysis Guide. Daryl believes travel is essential for broadening one's knowledge of History.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

I would like to acknowledge the work of:

**Mr Mark Manuel**, teacher at Woodcroft College, whose critiquing of my original work and the suggestions of additional materials has been invaluable.

**Mrs Rosa Best** who proofread selected drafts.

**Simon Kneebone** who created excellent illustrations for this first full-colour edition.

**Ilona Wallace** who proofread drafts.

**Daryl McCann** who provided the photograph of the Xidan Wall.

## PUBLISHING INFORMATION

---

This Workbook is part of the Essentials series, designed to support the teaching of SACE Stage 1 and 2 subjects in South Australia. It is specially designed to meet the requirements of the SACE Stage 2 Modern History course.

**The Essentials Education series is published by:**

**Adelaide Tuition Centre, 21 Fourth Street, Bowden 5007.**

**TELEPHONE (08) 8241 5568 FACSIMILE (08) 8241 5597 WEB [essentialseducation.com.au](http://essentialseducation.com.au)**

## LIBRARY CATALOGUE:

---

Best, Daryl

1. Modern History SACE 2 – 2. Essentials Workbook.

ISBN – 978-1-925505-32-0

First edition 2017. This second edition published 2019.

Copyright © Adelaide Tuition Centre 2019.

## COPYRIGHT INFORMATION

---

The copyright of the text of this book remains the property of the authors and the copyright of the diagrams and cartoons belongs to the publisher. All rights are reserved except under the conditions described in the Copyright Act 1968 of Australia and subsequent amendments. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the publishers. While every care has been taken to trace and acknowledge copyright, the publishers tender their apologies for any accidental infringement where copyright has proved traceable.

Foreword	viii
<b>Section 1: History writing and exams</b>	<b>1</b>
Tips for studying history	2
Assessment: standards and styles	9
Types of essay questions	20
Interpreting essay questions	22
Analysis of the 2018 exam	23
How to write a successful essay	39
How to do your Historical Study	50
<b>Section 2: Sources Analysis</b>	<b>60</b>
Introduction to Sources Analysis	60
Types of sources	61
Sources – their usefulness and limitations	62
Photograph	63
Poster	64
Cartoon	65
Quotation	66
Letter	67
Interview transcript	68
Speech	69
Official document	70
Press	71
Artwork	72
Map	73
Data	74
History texts	75
How to answer Sources Analysis questions	76
Sources Analysis exemplar	78
Your turn to try Sources Analysis	78
Gin Lane	79
Industrialisation	83
Glenelg 1839–1930	87
The Roaring Twenties	91
Persecution in society	96
The hippie movement	101

<b>Section 3: Topics</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>Germany (1918–48)</b>	<b>108</b>
Background study: The aftermath of defeat (1918–19)	108
Germany at the end of the First World War	108
Impact of the postwar settlements, particularly the Treaty of Versailles on Germany	109
Aims and goals of the Weimar Republic	110
Focus area: the liberal experiment	111
Economic change in Germany	111
Political change in Germany	112
Cultural change in Germany	114
Focus area: the road to dictatorship	115
The rise of radical politics	115
Hitler's rise to power	116
Focus area: the Nazi State in peace and war	120
The creation and consolidation of the totalitarian state	120
Social issues and societal groups	123
Impact of the Second World War on Germany as a nation and the German people	126
Defeat of the Nazi State/Third Reich	127
Initial postwar division of Germany	128
The Nuremberg trials	128
The Berlin Crisis (1948–9)	129
<b>The Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004)</b>	<b>131</b>
Background study	131
Focus area: the search for a Communist 'solution' (1945–85)	134
The Communist state under Stalin	135
Russia after Stalin	138
Economic and political problems facing the Soviet Union	140
Promotion of Soviet nationalism	143
Opposition to the Communist Party	146
The war in Afghanistan	148
Focus area: collapse of the Soviet Union (1985–91)	150
Changes within the Soviet Union	150
Separatist movements	151
The Commonwealth of Independent States	153
Focus area: the search for a new identity (1991–c.2004)	155
Stability and identity: independent states	156
Creating Russia's new identity	160
Conflict in the Caucasus	161

<b>China (1949–c.2012)</b>	<b>164</b>
Background: establishing the People’s Republic	164
Focus area: Mao and the consolidation of the Revolution (1949–76)	166
Postwar China: instituting the Revolution	167
Opposition to the Revolution	168
China’s territorial claims and conflicts	171
The Great Leap Forward	171
Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution	173
Leadership struggles	175
Focus area: the search for harmony (1976–89)	176
Deng Xiaoping’s reforms	176
Towards ‘open’ systems	177
Tiananmen Square protests (1989)	178
Focus area: China resurgent (post-1990)	180
National unity through construction	180
Reuniting China	182
Taiwan today	184
The Beijing Olympics (2008)	186
China as an economic leader	188
Tensions on the rise	189
Consolidating power in the domestic sphere	190
<b>Changing world order (1945– )</b>	<b>193</b>
Focus area: origins of the superpower rivalry	193
Timeline of circumstances prior to the end of the Second World War	193
Economic causes of tension	195
Focus area: nature of the Cold War	196
Conflicting ideologies	196
Cold War crises	198
Arms Race	201
Détente	202
Conflicting issues in the United Nations	204
Economic rivalry	205
Space Race	206
Rivalry in sports	208
Rivalry in culture	209
Propaganda	210
Espionage	211
Focus area: end of the Cold War	212

<b>Focus area: consequences of the Cold War</b> .....	<b>216</b>
United States of America remains as the one superpower. . . . .	216
Russia – a non-Communist state. ....	216
The map of Europe and Asia redrawn. ....	217
Democracy. ....	217
Capitalist economies. ....	217
Free migration and tourism. ....	218
Dialogue in Korea. ....	218
Membership of NATO. ....	218
International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.....	218
European Union (EU). ....	218
Regional wars. ....	219
Liberalisation in China since 1989. ....	219
Religion. ....	220
Hostility between East and West Germany.....	220
Refugees. ....	220
<b>National self-determination in South-East Asia (1945– )</b>	
<b>(Vietnam/Cambodia)</b> .....	<b>222</b>
<b>Focus area: case for national self-determination</b> .....	<b>223</b>
<b>Focus area: building national identity</b> .....	<b>225</b>
Vietnam. ....	225
Cambodia. ....	225
Key factors in the development of national unity/identity.....	226
<b>Focus area: impact of significant individuals, groups</b>	
<b>and movements</b> .....	<b>228</b>
Vietnam. ....	228
Cambodia. ....	233
<b>Focus area: new nation-state (Vietnam)</b> .....	<b>236</b>
Economic, social and political systems in the new nation-state. ....	236
Degree to which the struggle for self-determination has been realised. ....	237
<b>Focus area: new nation-state (Cambodia)</b> .....	<b>239</b>
Economic, social and political systems in the new nation-state. ....	239
Degree to which the struggle for self-determination has been realised. ....	242
Ethnic groups disadvantaged by the new nation-state. ....	242

<b>Section 4: Suggested answers</b>	<b>244</b>
<b>Section 1: History writing and exams</b>	<b>244</b>
Assessment: standards and styles	244
Interpreting essay questions	244
How to do your Historical Study	246
<b>Section 2: Sources Analysis</b>	<b>247</b>
Your turn to try Sources Analysis	247
Gin Lane	247
Industrialisation	248
Glenelg 1839–1930	250
Roaring Twenties	251
Persecution in society	252
The hippie movement	254
<b>Section 3: Topics</b>	<b>256</b>
Germany 1918–1949	256
Focus area: the liberal experiment	256
Focus area: the road to dictatorship	257
Focus area: the Nazi state in peace and war	257
The Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004)	259
Background	259
Focus area: the search for a Communist ‘solution’ (1945–85)	259
Focus area: collapse of the Soviet Union (1985–91)	261
Focus area: the search for a new identity (1991–c.2004)	261
China (1949–c.2012)	262
Focus area: Mao and the consolidation of the Revolution (1949–76)	262
Focus area: the search for harmony (1976–89)	263
Focus area: China resurgent (post-1990)	264
Changing world order (1945–)	265
Focus area: origins of the superpower rivalry	265
Focus area: nature of the Cold War	266
Focus area: end of the Cold War	268
Focus area: consequences of the Cold War	269
National self-determination in South-East Asia (1945–) Vietnam/Cambodia	270
Focus area: building national identity	270
Focus area: new nation-state (Cambodia)	270
Focus area: impact of significant individuals, groups and movements	270

## Foreword

### New Modern History curriculum

In 2018, students are required to study a new Stage 2 History course that has been extensively re-written. There are two sections.

The first section is titled *Modern Nations*, and consists of the following topics: Australia (1901–56), United States of America (1914–45), Germany (1918–45), the Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004), Indonesia (1942–2005), and China (1949–c.2012). Topics from this section are examinable at the end of the year. Each topic has a Background Study which serves as an introduction to the topic. This will not be examined. Within each topic are three Focus Areas from which examination questions will be set. The exam will be worth 30 per cent of your final mark.

The second section is *The World Since 1945*, which consists of The Changing World Order, Australia's Relationship with Asia and the South Pacific Region, National Self-determination in South-East Asia, the Struggle for Peace in the Middle East, Challenges to Peace and Security, United Nations and Establishment of a Global Perspective. These topics will not be examined but the work done will form a folio worth 50% of your total mark.

The folio will be made up of five assessment tasks – two from *Modern Nations* and three from *The World Since 1945*. It will consist of 5000 words, or the equivalent in multi-modal format. This will be moderated by a panel of experienced teachers at the end of the year.

The Individual Essay now is the Historical Study. This asks you to write an extended essay of up to 2000 words *or* do an oral/multi-modal presentation of 12 minutes on any topic, so long as the subject matter is after 1750 CE. This is worth 20 per cent of your final mark.

### How to use this book

The purpose of this book is to assist you in passing Modern History. The book sets out the main points that need to be known for what, I consider, may be the most popular topics: Germany (1918–45), the Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004), China (1949–c.2012), The Changing World Order (1945–), and National Self-Determination in South-East Asia (1945–).

In this book, you will find detailed analysis of how to write essays, explanations of the types of essays asked in examinations, how to tackle Sources Analysis, how to approach the Historical Study, and how to interpret the SACE Performance Standards. In this new edition, I have included analyses of some questions set in the 2018 exam (see page 23).

*This book should not take the place of your teacher*, nor should it take the place of your reading, as the more and varied books, films and websites you examine, the more easily will you be able to obtain a point of view about the topics you are considering. This book should also be read in conjunction with the 2018 SACE Subject Outline, which sets out the Learning Requirements and Capabilities (Literacy, Numeracy, ICT, Personal and Social Capability, Ethical Understanding Intellectual Understanding and Critical and Creative Thinking).

This book is not meant to contain all the facts, nor is it to be a comprehensive analysis of the key historical questions and issues. *It is meant to be a framework* on which you can build knowledge, skills and confidence.

There are chapters to help you make notes, write essays, do your Historical Study, and handle Sources Analysis. Each topic chosen from the Course Outline has a chapter devoted to it.

For each selected topic, there is an outline of the Background Study and a detailed examination of each point within the three focus areas. At the end of each chapter, there are some issues to be examined. These are deliberately open-ended to enable you to consider various angles. You are expected to review the chapter and write your considerations in the spaces provided. At the end of the book, there is a chapter entitled Suggested Answers which provides some points of view for you to consider.

When you study History, *the way to achieve success is for you to have a point of view about each of the topics you are studying*. The Suggested Answers help you in this area. Further reading relating to each point you are studying will provide a depth of background information to help you formulate your point of view.

The study of History is demanding but well worth the effort.

## SECTION

## 1

# History writing and exams

## The value of studying Modern History

'What use is History?' 'History is bunk!' These are statements that confront us often as we study History. This has become even more striking as the push to do subjects that will 'guarantee' jobs gathers pace.

Such statements ignore the political, social and economic events that comprise the rich tapestry of the past that has fascinated people for many years. Information about the great people of past societies continues to enthral filmmakers, novelists and the press. Stories of the Great War, the Second World War, the Vietnam War and Adolf Hitler continue to be the topics of endless reviews.

The past has given to civilisation aspects of science, literature and philosophy that continue to influence people to this very day. Communist and Fascist ideologies have played pivotal roles in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. They have affected virtually every family in Australia. Fascism was one reason for the Second World War, which affected many South Australian families. The growing influence of Communism in the world since the Second World War resulted in many families migrating to Australia. Recently the downfall of Communism, the horrors of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the atrocities of ISIS have become real to us through the media.

It is a truism to say that knowledge of the past helps us to understand the present and maybe give direction to the future. It is also important to realise that the skills required for studying Modern History make this subject a key area of learning for South Australian secondary students.

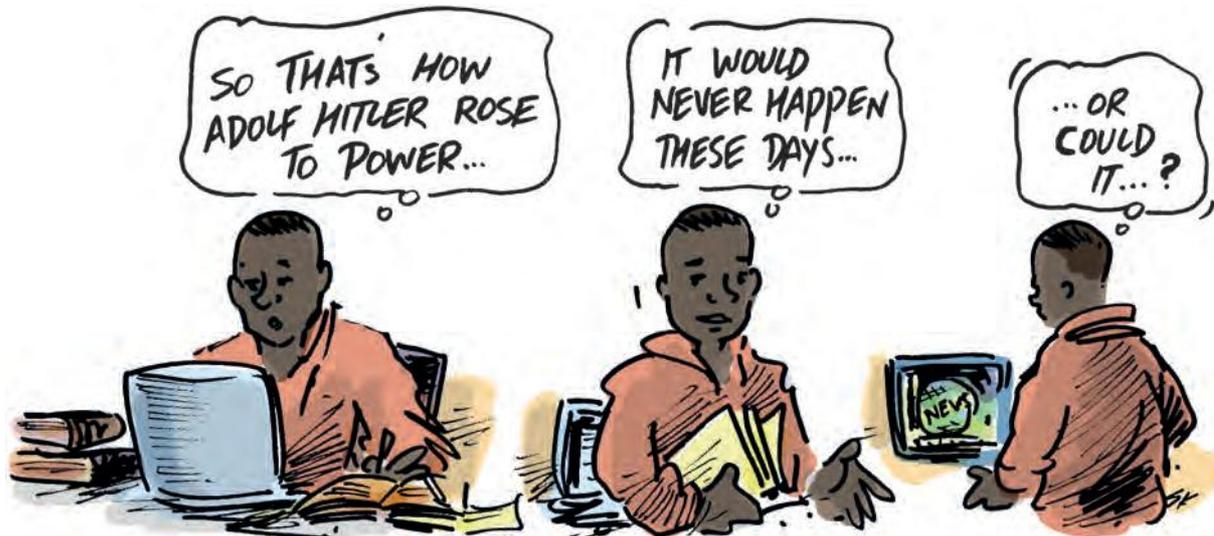
To succeed in this subject, you need to read with discrimination. You need to be able to recognise relevant information, render it in your own language and note it accurately. You must learn to analyse information, and be able to synthesise it with other information in order to make logical judgments.

A Modern History student needs to be able to understand a variety of forms of evidence – diary entries, cartoons, statistics, paintings, photographs, parliamentary reports (etc.) and realise that each form of evidence has its issues of bias and reliability.

The subject demands that you gain and test points of view against others in group situations. In addition, essay-writing in this subject makes the study relevant for South Australian students. The essays that are required are discursive in structure. They require you to state a point of view, present evidence in support of that point of view and be prepared to support that point of view against contrary arguments. This skill is necessary for many different fields of tertiary study, as well as for understanding thoroughly what we read in the newspapers and see on television.

If we understand that the study of History is relevant to us, and is not just an esoteric study of dry facts, it makes it easier for us to appreciate what we learn and, therefore, it will be easier for us to be successful in the end.

More and more employers are valuing the skills of lateral thinking, problem solving, flexibility, analytical thinking and creativity. History, being one of the liberal arts, develops these essential skills.



## Tips for studying history

History is an **interpretation of the past**. You need to **read widely** to make your own interpretation of an issue.

When you start reading on a new topic, always consult the simplest text first to get a good overview.

The examiners are not interested in someone else's ideas – they want to discern **your own point of view**.

**Studying history involves reading to form a point of view, then writing about and discussing a topic to test that point of view.**

**History has its own language.** Be sure you spell proper names correctly. Mao the revolutionary leader of Communist China is not spelt the same as Moa, an extinct, flightless bird that used to live in New Zealand. Get to know terms such as *revolution, communism, fascism, nationalism* etc.

Make sure you have a copy of the Modern History Subject Outline and its guidelines. This can be downloaded from the SACE website. This Subject Outline has the structure of the course and its learning requirements. You need to refer to it so that you know what you are aiming to achieve.

Examiners set their tasks based on the focus areas for study in each topic. In the examination, three questions will be set from each topic.

### Remember

Only Topics 1 to 6 (Modern Nations) will be tested in the exam.

All history is the study of **why** events happen (the *causes*), the *events* and the *results*.

An event always has **more than one cause**. Similarly, an event has **more than one result**.

Two basic types of causes exist:

- long term (often originating years before the event they contribute to)
- short term (happening immediately before).

A **short-term cause** is often the 'spark' of an event. For example, the spark that led to the invasion of Poland in 1939 was the spark that led to Britain's entry into the Second World War.

A **longer-term cause** was the opposition of some in the British parliament to the policy of Appeasement to Germany.

The same can be said about results, effects or consequences. Events have immediate and longer term results. For example, the immediate result of the Great Depression in Germany was the massive rise in unemployment. The longer-term result was the ascension of Hitler to power.



## Effective note-taking and revision

The study of history involves reading to form a point of view, writing and discussing a topic to test that point of view.

### How to take notes

Firstly, go to the simplest book about an issue, read it and **mark lightly in pencil** what you believe are the most important points. You must mark only in pencil so that you can erase the marks easily afterwards. The simplest book will give you an easily understood outline of the issue. At this stage you are **skimming to get an overview**. Another method to help you would be to **make a note of the page numbers of the book** so that you can refer to that text later if need be.

Write down what you have marked **in your own words** that you will understand. There are electronic forms of note-keeping that may help you.

**Organise your notes under specific headings.** Because the study of history is the study of *events* and their *causes* and *results*, these make ideal points for headings.

Next **consult more difficult books** and repeat the process.

Always underline or highlight **key words** in your notes so you can readily locate them in your revision later.

**Condense your notes** into one format so that you have a comprehensive and systematic set of notes about the issue.

### How to revise

It is pointless to just look at your notes. You will not absorb much. Instead you should aim to condense your notes until you get to main points.

Commit your notes to memory by:

- writing them over and over
- saying them aloud as you write them down
- picturing your notes in your mind
- internalising them by imagining you are living in the period under revision
- committing them to memory before you go to bed and again the first thing in the morning
- having someone test you.

Always revise a few points at a time and revise for a short time each day.

Always start your revision by reviewing the work learned the day before. When you have successfully learnt a section of work, **reward yourself** in some way for a job well done.

### Exam preparation

The key to success is an effective revision plan that takes into account careful organisation.

- **Plan** what you are going to study in advance.
- **Break your course down** into manageable pieces and fit it into a **timetable** that you can keep to.
- Always start your revision by **reviewing** what you learned the day before, because **remembering requires frequent revision**.
- In your timetable, set **firm times** for reviewing particular issues so that you can plan your revision efficiently and effectively.
- Use a **display board** upon which you can place revision notes, such as the causes for the rise of Hitler in Germany.
- Get someone to **test** you frequently.
- **Motivate yourself.** The examination is designed to allow you to focus on the topics of your choice. Read widely. Have discussions with others. Deliberately take an opposite point of view to provoke debate. Borrow videotapes and DVDs if they are available. You may still have a videotape that may contain priceless archival material. Watch clips on YouTube. There is a myriad of material online.
- **Take good notes.** The purpose of note-taking is to help you recall points. Avoid copying out large chunks of information straight from textbooks. Instead, **summarise** the main points in your own words. Leave **wide margins** so that you can put in extra points.
- Make sure you **keep together all the material on a particular topic**.
- Organise your notes as frequently as possible; don't leave this for a "sorting out" day.

- Use a **highlighter** to emphasise the key points in your notes.
- **Memorise effectively.** Don't just look at your notes. Try to **refine** your notes continually to main points. **Speak the points aloud. Frequently test yourself** or have others test you. Even draw pictures of some key events or develop anagrams to help you understand important points. Using a variety of approaches is important for effective memorising.

## As the exam draws near

- Check the relevant questions in past exam papers to determine which areas are your strengths. The exam paper has enough options for you to discard areas of the course you found difficult or you didn't enjoy. Realise you should have a working knowledge of the whole topic because some questions may be harder than others.
- **Prepare plans** of main points that answer past exam paper questions. You may find a pattern emerging where you are required to keep using the same points to answer a question.
- **Never prepare a model answer.** This encourages you to write a prepared answer in the examination. This is a sure route for failure. In past years, approximately 30 per cent of students failed the exam. Very few students show that they know very little. In a previous course, when students had to respond to four questions, most of the failing students wrote about 10 to 12 pages when answering the questions. They had to know a lot to write so much. However, they did not use their information properly to answer the question.

For example, you may be asked:

*'Weaknesses in democratic governments brought about the rise of Hitler to power.'*  
Do you agree? Argue your case.

Note that the reader is not expecting a discussion of Hitler's early life in Vienna prior to the First World War.

- Be aware that **all questions will be propositions** and you will be asked the extent to which you agree with the proposition. For example:

*Indonesia, 1942–2005*

*'Poor living conditions in Indonesia led to the growth of the Communist party.'*  
To what extent do you agree?

Here you must discuss the statement first and say to what extent you agree with the proposition (avoid using "I think that..."). Having done that, you must discuss other points or causes.

Order your points according to importance.

**Note:** even if you think the topic of the question was not a very important cause, it still must be discussed first (and give the reason *why* it is not an important reason), as it is the issue of the question. For example, you may think that anti-Americanism is a more important reason. You would leave that argument until you are discussing the topic of poor living conditions.

## Remember

Even though the examination is only one part of the process, it is a very important part that climaxes your year's study. You should always be working towards a successful examination result.

## Tips for getting through exam day

The important day has arrived. If you are thoroughly prepared, you should see this as a chance to put into practice everything you have learned throughout the year.

Have a **good night's sleep** the day before the exam. Wake up early, have a **normal breakfast** and **skim read** your notes. Don't read your favourite essay, because that may encourage you to write a prepared answer. The time for learning new material has passed.

Get to the exam room about ten minutes early. Avoid discussing the possible exam paper with your friends or doing last-minute revision. It may only confuse or overwhelm you.

**It is a common feeling to think that you have forgotten everything. You haven't.** All your knowledge is tucked away in your brain waiting for the key word or question to bring it out.

When you are in the exam room waiting for the exam paper to be handed to you, **sit quietly and gather your thoughts.** A few deep breaths are good for you.

## What to bring

Before you leave home, check that you have your pens, pencils, ruler, watch etc. Take more than one pen or pencil in case the pen runs out or the pencil breaks.

**Do not take liquid paper** (white-out). There are many instances when markers read the answers to find an area whitened out with nothing put in its place. Obviously, these students moved on to work on a different part of the exam while waiting for the white-out to dry and then forgot to return to the section. If you make an error, simply draw a clear, neat line through the text and continue.

## What to do in reading time

Don't waste your 10 minutes by superfluously reading the whole paper. You have already worked out which sections of the exam paper you can answer.

Go straight to those questions, then:

- **Prepare an essay plan** on a scrap piece of paper.
- **An essay plan is critical** whenever you write an essay. This is where you do your thinking and organise your material. You will find that you will write far more and in a reasoned fashion if you plan beforehand. You may even think of additional points as you are following your plan while you write. Examiners do get critical when they have to read material in margins and asterisked points at the end of an essay. They won't penalise you, but you may not be rewarded to the fullest if the examiner is diverted from the logical progression of your argument.
- **Do not write on your exam booklet. It is not allowed.**
- Plan to spend **one hour** on each of the two exam questions.
- Write down the times when you are to finish one question and start the next. Keep to that time schedule. If you go over time on one answer then you have less time to spend on the next.

## Once the exam begins

Always do your **favourite topic first**, whether it be an essay or the source analysis. It puts you into a good frame of mind for the rest of the paper.

When writing your essay, don't write the exam question at the top of the page. It wastes time. Just indicate the question by its number.

### Remember

When answering essay questions, you don't have to write everything you know.

If you are asked, for example, why Hitler came to power, you will get the same mark for explaining five reasons as you would for explaining seven reasons so long as you have addressed the issue of the question and explained each point in depth and in good English.

**If you run out of time**, but you feel you must mention a couple of points that you didn't in the essay, **don't list any extra points** at the foot of the essay. As a last resort, incorporate them into the conclusion even though the conclusion shouldn't contain new information.

As you now have only to do two questions (one essay and one Sources Analysis), you are expected to write your answer in approximately three pages.

**Leave time to read your essay through afterwards.** You may be able to get rid of unnecessary **howlers** such as 'President Reagan was the leader of the Soviet Union'.

Avoid looking around to see what others are doing. Concentrate and keep to your own schedule.

### Once the exam is over

Remember that once you have addressed the key points of the essay, it doesn't matter what supporting evidence you use, so long as whatever you have used is relevant and connected to the question.

Avoid talking about the exam with others. It may cause unnecessary alarm. **You may have the feeling that you have left out important information that you should have included.** Don't dwell on the negatives. Be happy with the thought that you did mention many worthwhile points.

Take a break. You cannot do anything more.



### The marking process

Realise that the markers are a considerate group of people. They will reward you for what you say, not punish you for what you do not say.

**Markers are also very forgiving people.** They realise that secondary students are not experienced historians but young people who are trying their best in a very stressful situation. They will spend a lot of time deciphering your handwriting, searching your answer for a hint of inspiration, and rewarding you to the full when they do find it.

**Your exam paper is marked twice** according to the Performance Standards that are listed on page 10 in this guide book. Neither marker will know what the other marker awarded you. The total mark of both markers becomes your raw score. If there is a marked discrepancy between the first and second marker, the computer signals an alert and your paper is marked by the supervising examiner. He/she, in doing so, will look at the points awarded by each of the markers and work out where the discrepancy exists. The supervisor will then award the appropriate mark based on his /her evaluation of all the responses and the differing marks that had previously been awarded.

Afterwards, your moderated school-assessed score and the Historical Study are added and moderated alongside other subjects. Be assured that the process is a thorough one, carried out by experts in the field.

### Check your knowledge

1. What type of text do you go to when you first begin making notes?

- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....

2. How do you organise your notes?

- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
- .....

3. What are 'key words'?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

4. Write three ways you can commit notes to memory.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

5. What are two ways of revising your notes?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

6. What are the examiners interested in?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

7. What are the essentials of good note-taking?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

8. Write down two points that you think are essential for a good revision plan.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

9. What is wrong about preparing a model answer?

.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....

10. What can you do if you run out of time and want to complete an essay in the examination?

.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....

11. What is wrong with taking liquid paper with you into the examination room?

.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....

12. What is the advantage of an essay plan?

.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....

*Now turn back and read the chapter to see if you are correct.*

# Assessment: standards and styles

## Multi-modal assessment tasks

Most of the remarks in this book relate to essay writing or exam responses (including Sources Analysis). Essays are still the most common assessment tasks for Modern History. However, it is possible that your assessment throughout the year may come in different 'shapes and sizes', that is, through different types of assignments.

The SACE Subject Outline gives examples of other types of tasks that can be used to demonstrate learning. Apart from essays, assignments and sources analysis, these include empathy exercises, interviews, oral presentations, excursions etc. A complete list is given in the Subject Outline. You can find this list below for your information. This is useful if your teacher decides to give you free choice for one of your assessment tasks.

Here are some general principles to follow.

- Each activity must demonstrate the Performance Standards.
- Each oral exercise must have a specific time limit (e.g. six minutes = 1000 words).
- There are traps in empathy exercises. One common example is an *imagine* exercise, e.g. *You are a scholar during the Cultural Revolution in China. What are your thoughts about the chaos enveloping your country? How would you know how that person felt? It would be very easy to make general statements without supporting evidence.*

## Types of alternative learning activities

### Film reviews

There are many films and television documentaries that relate to the Topics you may be taught. Show excerpts of the film and critically analyse it to reveal its strengths and weaknesses.

### Interviews

Questions and responses are made up to match the Performance Standards. The questions are asked by one person (the interviewer), and the appropriate responses are given by another (the interviewee or subject).

### Sources Analysis

In reverse where you frame the questions in line with what is expected of the students at the end of the year.

### Devil's advocate

Here you justify the actions of a historical figure, e.g. Pol Pot's decision to set up genocide in Cambodia (Kampuchea). This demonstrates your understanding of context and the complex circumstances that lead to decisions/historical events.

### Journalism

You are a reporter (researcher, diarist etc.). Prepare a newspaper article complete with headline and pictures, describing an event that you have seen or heard of.

### More assessment/activity types

Below is the list of suggested assessment/activity types given in the SACE Subject Outline. Which would you choose if you had free choice?

- an essay
- a sources analysis
- an oral presentation
- a multimodal presentation
- a research assignment
- a role play
- a debate
- an empathetic piece
- a historical report
- an excursion report
- an obituary
- a primary source trail
- a photo-story
- a podcast
- a historical atlas
- a time capsule
- a museum exhibit
- a web page
- a historical media study
- a biographical sketch.

## Interpreting the performance standards

Teachers have varying ideas as to what to look for in awarding a mark to match the various criteria outlined in the Performance Standards. Chief Assessors are well aware of this and provide characteristics of each level of the criteria. This is to ensure that there is consistency in the marking panels.

This section will provide you with details as to how the Performance Standards may be interpreted.

The criteria at the A level would be most useful to you, the student, as this would be what you would aspire to. The other levels are written merely for your information.

	Understanding and Exploration	Application and Evaluation	Analysis
A	In-depth understanding and exploration of historical concepts. Comprehensive understanding and insightful exploration of the role of ideas, people, and events in history.	Perceptive application of the skills of historical inquiry to critically examine and evaluate sources and interpretations. Insightful interpretation and synthesis of relevant evidence to support arguments and draw highly relevant conclusions. Communication of well-reasoned, coherent, and insightful historical arguments, with appropriate acknowledgment of sources.	Critical analysis of ways in which the development of the modern world has been shaped by both internal and external forces and challenges. Insightful and critical analysis of interactions and relationships in the modern world, and their short-term and long-term impacts on national, regional, and/or international development.
B	Some complexity in understanding and exploration of historical concepts. Some depth of understanding and thoughtful exploration of the role of ideas, people, and events in history.	Well-considered application of the skills of historical inquiry to examine and evaluate sources and interpretations. Some depth in interpretation and synthesis of mostly relevant evidence to support arguments and draw mostly relevant conclusions. Communication of reasoned and coherent historical arguments, with some insights, and with appropriate acknowledgment of sources.	Some depth in analysis of ways in which the development of the modern world has been shaped by both internal and external forces and challenges. Well-considered analysis of interactions and relationships in the modern world, and their short-term and long-term impacts on national, regional, and/or international development.
C	Understanding and exploration of historical concepts. Understanding and considered exploration of the role of ideas, people, and events in history.	Application of the skills of historical inquiry to examine sources and interpretations, with some evaluation. Some interpretation and synthesis of generally relevant evidence to support arguments, and draw some relevant conclusions. Communication of generally reasoned and coherent historical arguments, with appropriate acknowledgment of sources.	Description, with some analysis, of ways in which the development of the modern world has been shaped by both internal and external forces and challenges. Description, with some analysis, of interactions and relationships in the modern world, and their short-term and long-term impacts on national, regional, and/or international development.
D	Some recognition of historical concepts. Recognition and basic understanding, with some exploration, of the role of ideas, people, and events in history.	Basic application of some skills of historical inquiry to select and use sources. Use of some information, with partial relevance to support an argument or interpretation, and draw basic conclusions. Communication of partial development of a historical argument, with attempted acknowledgment of sources.	Description of one or more ways in which the development of the modern world has been shaped by internal and/or external forces and/or challenges. Superficial description of one or more interactions or relationships in the modern world.
E	Attempted engagement with one or more historical concepts. Awareness of one or more idea, person, or event in history.	Attempted application of the skills of historical inquiry to select and use one or more sources. Attempted use of information of limited relevance. Attempted description of a historical event, with limited acknowledgment of sources.	Attempted description of a way in which the development of the modern world has been shaped by an internal or external force or challenge. Attempted description of an interaction or relationship in the modern world.

*Reprinted with thanks from the SACE Learning Outline*

## Understanding and exploration

### A level

- Specific, comprehensive, in-depth and relevant examples of people, events and ideas.
- Evidence of wider reading and consideration.
- Historical understanding involving accurate knowledge supported by evidence.
- Insightful exploration implies the *complexity* (see Key words, page 13) of causation and outcomes.

### B level

- Specific, in-depth and relevant examples of people, events and ideas.
- Historical understanding involving accurate knowledge supported by evidence.
- Insightful exploration implies the complexity of causation and outcomes.

### C level

- Relevant examples described generally.
- Historical knowledge may become sketchy and have inaccuracies in places.
- Causation and outcomes are explained simply without the complexity of a B- or A-level answer.

### D level

- Supporting information may be detailed but lacking relevance.
- There is basic understanding based on limited reading.

### E level

- Supporting evidence is sketchy and simplistic, inaccurate and lacking relevance.



## Application and evaluation

### A level

- Develop and debate opinions, ideas and arguments in an in-depth and logical fashion.
- Recognise similarities and/or differences in interpretation among historians.
- Strong understanding of short- and long-term causes and outcomes.
- Construct an essay that shows insights and understanding.
- Comprehensive and insightful evaluation of why individuals and groups acted in certain ways at a particular time.
- Structured and accurate introduction that addresses the issue of the question, defines a concept and outlines an argument.
- Body of an essay accurately describes the issue of the question and develops an argument that includes link sentences to show the logical development of the argument.
- Conclusion sums up the argument and reflects on the impacts on a longer term.
- Language is accurate, empathetic, expressive and with appropriate historical terminology.
- Make on-going relevant links between the topic and associated issues in the question.

### B level

- Develop and debate opinions, ideas, issues and arguments.
- Construct an essay that shows insights and understanding.
- Evaluation of why individuals and groups acted in certain ways at particular times.
- Structured and accurate introduction that addresses the issue of the question.
- Body of the essay addresses the issue of the question and develops an argument logically.
- Conclusion sums up the argument.
- Language is accurate, empathetic, expressive and with appropriate historical terminology but may lack some coherency in places.

### C level

- Some attempt to develop and debate opinions, ideas, issues and arguments.
- Construct an essay that shows some understanding.
- Knowledge of why individuals and groups acted in certain ways at a particular time.
- Essay may lack appropriate structure as in an A- or B-level answer, but is mostly relevant.
- Essay may be inaccurate in places.

### D level

- Superficial attempt to develop and debate ideas, issues and arguments.
- Evidence of limited use of source materials.
- Superficial understanding of how individuals and groups acted in certain ways at a particular time.
- Errors in expression.

### E level

- Little or no attempt to create an argument.
- Irrelevant material being used as evidence.
- Major weaknesses in expression.

## Analysis

### A level

- Critical examination of the issue at hand.
- Develop and debate ideas, issues and arguments in a logical fashion.
- Recognise differences in interpretation of a historical issue.
- Recognise that different events are shaped by internal and external forces and challenges.

### B level

- Develop and debate opinions, ideas, issues and arguments in depth.
- Recognise that different events are shaped by internal and external forces and challenges, but not to the same depth and sophistication as in an A-level response.

### C level

- Evidence of opinion, ideas, issues and arguments.
- More reliance on description than critical, in-depth analysis of internal and external forces and challenges.

### D level

- Superficial treatment of opinion, ideas, issues and arguments.
- Mainly descriptive analysis.
- Internal or external forces and challenges are described rather than analysed.

### E level

- No attempt to create an argument.
- Sketchy knowledge of internal and/or external forces and challenges.

## Aa word focus

### Key words and phrases used in the Performance Standards

**Specific:** an actual example involving people and events.

**Comprehensive:** large and wide-ranging list of examples.

**Insightful:** accurate, intuitive and deep understanding.

**Perceptive:** awareness of issues in arriving at a conclusion.

**Relevant:** relates to the issue at hand.

**Complexity:** ability to go beyond the simple issue to see deep and inter-related issues. Complexity implies an interrelationship of causes and outcomes and a knowledge of short- and long-term issues.

**Causation:** (*cause*) why things happen.

**Outcome:** results.

**Evaluation:** looking at all the evidence available and reaching a conclusion.

## Example essays across different grade bands

*'Weakness in democratic government enabled Hitler to come to power.'*  
*Do you agree? Argue your case.*

### Essay 1

This essay would have scored an E grade, as it showed limited understanding. There was an attempted description of a historical period based on a limited understanding of evidence and appropriate language.

Essay	Comments
<p>It was the last days of the war and the Germans were getting hammered by the Americans. So in order to save their skins they decided to get rid of the Kaiser and set up the Wiemer government to prove to the allies that they were serious about peace. So they made peace at Versailles. The allies all sat around tables and took away lots of territory from Germany and forced her to loose her army, navy and airforce. At the end of the discussions they frogmarched the Wimer politicians in and forced them to sign the treaty. Pretty weak.</p>	<p>No real introduction. Facts are either incorrect or at best too general. Colloquial expression and poor spelling. An attempt made to connect fact to the essay question.</p>
<p>After that there were lots of riots in Germany. People were cheesed off that they had signed such a rotten treaty. One of these people was Adolf Hitler. He was born in Austria before the war and when the war started he had joined the German army and had got himself gassed. He wanted revenge so in 1923 he tried to take over the government. He failed and so he was locked up for a while. The government must have been weak to allow him to try to take over government.</p>	<p>No real analysis of issue. Essay becomes a story of Hitler some of which is irrelevant. Slang expression. An attempt made to link the story to the question. This is not really explained.</p>
<p>When he got out he promised he was going to take over the government democratically so he spent the next few years getting lots of money from friends and setting up his own army called the brown shirts to harrass the jews whom he thought had stuffed the government up. The government must have been weak to allow all this to happen.</p>	<p>Simplistic story continued. Incorrect facts. Unsupported assumption. No capital for Jews. An attempt made to link story to the question. Incorrect grammar and poor spelling.</p>
<p>Then the depression happened. Hitler blamed it all on the jews and communists who made up the government. There were lots of elections at this time and in the last one Hitler's nazis became the second strongest party in the parliament.</p>	<p>Simplistic story. Concepts poorly explained. Poor spelling. Writer assumes that reader understands that frequent elections may mean weakness in government.</p>
<p>The last event shows how really weak the government was. A group of politicians did a deal with Hitler to let him become Chancellor. They should of realised that Hitler was going to do the dirty on them. Sure enough he did and within eighteen months he had kicked them out and he was boss of Germany.</p>	<p>Concluding paragraph but note no conclusion. Slang expression and incorrect grammar. Counterfactual: "They should of [sic]..." Unsupported attempted link to the essay question.</p>

## Essay 2

This essay would have scored a D grade, as there was a recognition and basic understanding of events and superficial analysis. There was an appropriate use of subject specific language and conventions.

Essay	Comments
<p>The weakness in democratic government along with its political and social unrest due to World War 1 brought about the rise of Hitler in Germany.</p>	<p>The introduction answers the question but does not outline what is going to be said in the body of the essay..</p>
<p>Hitler was leader of the Nazi Party which was an extreme form of nationalism. It promotes the rights of the state over the rights of an individual. It incorporates a solitary leader, propaganda, secret police and brainwashing in its ideas.</p>	<p>There is no introductory statement to set the scene.</p>
<p>After World War 1 Germany experienced a great loss of morale as well as social, political and economic upheaval and despair. It was forced to sign the Versailles Treaty to ensure peace. The conditions of the Versailles Treaty were very unfair to Germany and added to the losses experienced in war. The treaty demanded that Germany take the blame for the war. Germany lost its navy and its army was limited to 10000 men. It also had to pay huge reparations to the victorious nations. The treaty was a huge influence on the rise of fascism in Germany. The morale of the people was low and the there was a lack of leadership.</p>	<p>The second paragraph does not address weakness in democratic government.</p>
<p>The Depression was another reason for the rise to power of Hitler. In 1929, Wall Street crashed in America. Its effects were soon felt in Germany as it lived on American loans. People lost their jobs. The price of food skyrocketed. People were forced to pawn all their belongings in order to live. It was in conditions like these that Hitler found much support.</p>	<p>Nothing has been said about weaknesses in democratic governments. It is a story about the Versailles Treaty.</p>
<p>Adolf Hitler came to power as Chancellor in 1933. Within a few months he had sacked the other ministers and became Fuhrer with unlimited power. The leadership qualities offered by this charismatic leader appealed to a vulnerable people.</p>	<p>Still nothing about weaknesses in democratic governments.</p>
<p>During this period of social and political unrest, democracy was unsuccessful. People wanted firm leadership and a vision for the future that Hitler was able to give.</p>	<p>Quite a good conclusion that is supposed to sum up the essay. This is the only evidence about democratic governments</p>

### Essay 3

This essay would have scored a B grade, as it showed evidence of an exploration of the topic and a good understanding of the issues. There was a well-considered construction of a reasoned historical argument and communicated in a coherent fashion. It could have been described in greater depth to be awarded an A grade.

Essay	Comments
<p>Hitler was the leader of Germany from 1934-45. The rise of Hitler in Germany was due to several factors one of which was the weakness in democratic government. However it was not only this but a combination of economic troubles and the resentment as a result of the Treaty of Versailles that allowed Hitler's Nazi party to take control.</p>	<p>Introduction answers the question by providing a general statement and follows up by answering the question and then provides a brief summary of what will be said in the body of the essay.</p>
<p>After Germany's defeat in the First World War, the newly created democratic government, the Weimar republic, faced many problems. It provided slow responses to these in desperate times. The Republic was a series of coalition governments that had to bargain and deal with minority groups to get anything done. Often there were internal conflicts that slowed action and made the people restless. Often it had to rely on Article 48 of the constitution (rule by Presidential Decree to achieve any successes. The people also blamed the Government for signing the Versailles Treaty where Germany lost some of its land, all of its colonies, much of its army and navy and had to accept the blame for the War. This and other weaknesses allowed extremist groups from the Right and the Left to gain a political foothold. The cry that Germany had been stabbed in the back gained strength. Hitler was able to use the government's weak response to Versailles as a foothold to power.</p>	<p>Addresses the issue of the question – weaknesses in democratic government.</p>
<p>It could be argued that Hitler could have come to power sooner but for the democratic government's greatest leader Stresemann. Stresemann was leader in the middle 1920's. He stabilized Germany's weak currency and brought peace with Germany's neighbours in the Locarno treaty. Most importantly, he renegotiated Germany's reparation repayments and established loans with the United States through the Young and Dawes Plans. Because of Stresemann's firm leadership, Hitler's fascist party lost support. Unfortunately Stresemann died and Germany fell back to its old uncertainties again.</p>	<p>Still to do with the first part of the essay – but it can be criticised for being too narrative. Is it really adding to the essay.</p>
<p>The incident that shows how weak Germany's democratic government was in the time of the Great Depression. Hitler's Nazi party was gaining in power during elections. A group of democratic politicians, in order to save the state did a deal with Hitler. They offered him the chancellorship thinking that they would be able to control him. Little did they know. Within 18 months, they had been ousted from power and Hitler was able to get the Enabling Act passed that gave him supreme power.</p>	<p>Quite a good paragraph that links weakness in democratic government with a key event at the time.</p>
<p>Another factor that gave rise to Hitler was economic distress. Germany not only had to pay huge reparations from the Treaty of Versailles, but suffered hyperinflation in the Depression of 1923. People lost their jobs and lost all their savings. Many had to scabble in rubbish bins for food and on coal tips for fuel. In 1922 the US dollar was worth 15 marks. In Jan 1923 the US dollar was worth 72,000 marks and in November 1923 the US dollar was worth 16 million marks. The same economic trouble occurred in 1929 with the Great Depression. It was in these times of economic uncertainty that Hitler was able to use his spell binding oratory to come to power.</p>	<p>This paragraph is the only example where the writer has attempted to debate the issue of the question.</p>
<p>Although weak democratic governments gave Hitler the chance to come to power, it was not weak democratic governments alone that gave him the power. It was a combination of this as well as economic distress that were the reasons.</p>	<p>Conclusion sums up the argument adequately.</p>

## Essay 4

This essay would have scored an A grade. It demonstrated comprehensive understanding based on extensive exploration of issues. There was a thorough construction of an in-depth, reasoned argument based on a critical understanding of evidence. There was a perceptive and empathetic understanding of short- and long-term impact of events expressed in a well-structured, coherent communication. There is a constant referral to the issue of the question in each paragraph.

Essay	Comments
<p>Hitler was in power in Germany from 1934 to 1945. It is very valid to say that the democratic governments in power between the two world wars were not effective in coping with situations in Germany. This is evident in the aftermath of the Treaty of Versailles negotiations, the issue of reparation payments, the great Depression and the deal that was made to bring Hitler into power. The failure of the democracy was not the only factor that encouraged the rise of Hitler. The fear of Communism and the magnetic personality and promises of Hitler also contributed.</p>	<p>Good introduction. It provides a general statement and then answers the question. Finally, it outlines what is going to be said in the essay.</p>
<p>After the First World War, Germany was struggling to recover from the war. Germany had to pay enormous reparation payments as well as cope with reconstruction. It was the newly constructed Weimar Government that was forced to sign the treaty and thus bore the contempt of the people in doing so. The Nazi party was able to say that the Weimar Government stabbed people in the back by agreeing to the Versailles peace deal.</p>	<p>In paragraphs 2–6, there is a discussion of the weaknesses of democratic government. There is a new paragraph for each example. There is a topic sentence in each paragraph but, to add to variety, it does not appear as the first sentence. Notice also that each paragraph relates its point to the rise of fascism.</p>
<p>The Weimar government was never really stable. It was selected by proportional representation which gave representation to minor parties. This meant that government was based on a series of shifting coalitions which broke up constantly leading to fresh elections. Hitler was able to attract support because it promised stability especially in times of crisis.</p>	
<p>Reparation payments was a constant issue. In 1923, Germany fell into arrears. This resulted in the occupation of the Ruhr (an important industrial area) by French and Belgian troops. The Weimar Government was powerless to stop them. Hitler and his Nazis were able to portray the Weimar Government as ineffectual in protecting the Fatherland. The resultant depression of 1923 and the poverty the masses suffered further emboldened Hitler who tried to snatch power albeit unsuccessfully.</p>	
<p>The Great Depression occurred in 1929 when the New York Stock exchange crashed. Because Germany lived on American loans, she was thrown into chaos. Inflation was crippling. Families who had saved for years now found their hard earned money was worthless. There was widespread unemployment. Food prices soared and people had to sell their goods to buy enough cash to survive. People placed the blame squarely on the democratic government especially when it reduced workers' earnings in real terms by up to 60% in order to survive. This caused public discontent towards democracy to increase and the support of extremist parties such as the Nazis to increase. In elections in 1930, the support for the Nazis rose from 2.6% to 18%. By 1932, it had climbed to 37%. Such was the lack of faith in the democratic parties.</p>	
<p>The issue that shows how inept the democratic government was occurred when a group of politicians led by von Papen, did a deal with Hitler. They let him become chancellor and hoped to control him. By doing so, they thought they could capitalize on the popularity of the Nazis and boost support for the democratic government. How mistaken they were. In eighteen months, he had completely taken over and ruled as Fuhrer and all democratic parties were banned.</p>	<p>Paragraphs 7 and 8 examine other factors apart from the weakness in democratic government for the rise of fascism. Again there are topic sentences. Each paragraph is linked to the rise of Hitler. Notice also how the issue of the weakness in government is closed off and the other issues are introduced.</p>
<p>Although the weakness in democratic government played such an important role, there were other factors that contributed to his rise to power. One of these was the fear of Communism. Many unemployed workers who had nothing to lose supported Communism as they appealed to an idealistic society where they were on equal terms with the rich and influential members of society. People who owned businesses hated and feared Communism. They saw what had happened in Communist Russia. So they rallied to Hitler and his Nazis who promised that they would eradicate Communism from society.</p>	
<p>It was Hitler and his Nazi party that spelled the doom of democratic government in Germany. With his spell binding oratory, Hitler called the Weimar politicians 'November Criminals' for having signed the Versailles treaty. He equated Jews with Communists as the root cause of society's economic and social ills. He promised that he would end the reparation payments and reclaim territory that had been taken from Germany at the end of the Great War. With his parades, flags and uniforms Hitler gave the majority of people hope which they did not have in the time of the Weimar Government.</p>	<p>The conclusion (final paragraph) sums up the argument by summarising the main points of the essay. There is a subtle look to the future to show the examiner that the essay was enjoyable to write and how it fits within a historical context</p>
<p>The weaknesses of democratic governments in Germany did encourage the rise to power of Hitler and his Nazi Party between the wars but this was not the sole factor. Single handedly this would not have caused such popular support but combined with the Great Depression, and the charisma of Hitler who had promises for all of society as well as the fear of Communism, Hitler found his way into power much to Europe's profound regret in later years.</p>	





## Types of essay questions

In this section, we will examine different styles of essay questions. You need to be aware of the various styles of questions you may face in the exam or set for your Historical Study.

Although you will be presented with different styles of questions, you should still respond to these questions the same way: with **relevance**, **response** and **empathy** (you will read more about this in the chapter How to write a successful essay). Despite the different terms that appear in the following questions, each requires a debate or an argument.

### Proposition

A common style of question is one where you are asked to agree with a **proposition**.

For example:

*'The Second World War had far reaching consequences.'*  
*Do you agree? Argue your case.*

This is a very popular style of question. You may agree or disagree with the proposition, but remember most of these types of questions invite you to partly agree or partly disagree and then consider other points.

You may also encounter similar statements to encourage argument:

- How valid is this statement?
- Evaluate this statement.
- Assess the accuracy of this statement.
- Discuss.
- How accurate is this statement?

A slightly different style of question may read:

- To what extent do you agree?
- How far do you agree?
- X is successful/important/significant. How successful? How important? How significant?

In all cases, the responses are basically the same. They invite you to partly agree or partly disagree and then consider other points.

### Descriptive

A different and perhaps an easier question you may be asked will require a **descriptive** response.

For example:

*Why did Hitler come to power in Germany?*

or

*Explain the reasons why Hitler came to power in Germany.*

or

*Comment on the reasons for Hitler coming to power in Germany.*

All these styles of questions require you to list the reasons why Hitler came to power. More sophisticated responses would describe the reasons in some order of importance with perhaps some linkage between them. This is especially true in relation to the last question where you are asked to give your point of view about the reasons, i.e. you will be expected to comment on why one reason was a catalyst for another.

Examine this question:

*Explain the reasons why President Sukarno rose to power in Indonesia after the defeat of the Japanese in the Second World War.*

In your answer, you are invited to list the factors. Note that you will be given more credit if you can rank them in order of their importance (maybe discuss the leader first) and show how the reasons may be related.

The following response may gain you high marks. It shows complexity (interrelatedness) of reasons why Sukarno came to power in Indonesia.

Indonesia, once a part of the Dutch Empire, gained its independence following the defeat of the Japanese and the expulsion of the Dutch after the Second World War. Sukarno came to power in Indonesia for many different but interrelated reasons. Possibly the most important reason was the charismatic leader of the Republican movement, born Kusno Sosrodihardjo and later named Sukarno by his parents. It was under his dominance of the Republican movement, his ideology and his organisational and military skills that he was seen as the 'natural' first president of Indonesia following the expulsion of the Dutch. In his rise to power, he utilised and was used by the Japanese in their quest for dominance in their South East Asian sphere of influence. Associated with the reasons attached to Sukarno, the role and influence of the Netherlands was integral to why Sukarno came to power. Indonesia at the time was under the control of the Netherlands, which had plundered the natural resources and inflicted economic misery on the people. The inability of the Dutch to maintain control in war time, and their abortive attempt to re-take control after the war, was capitalised upon by the leader of the Republican movement – Sukarno.

## BE WARNED

A descriptive 'why' question may not guarantee you an A grade, as you will only explain a list of causes/outcomes and you will not construct an argument.

## Superlative

This is the hardest style of question.

Such questions appear as:

*'The **most** important reason for Indonesian independence was the role of its leader.'* Discuss.

or

*'The **greatest** problem for Indonesia after independence was the inability to control regional differences.'* Discuss.

or

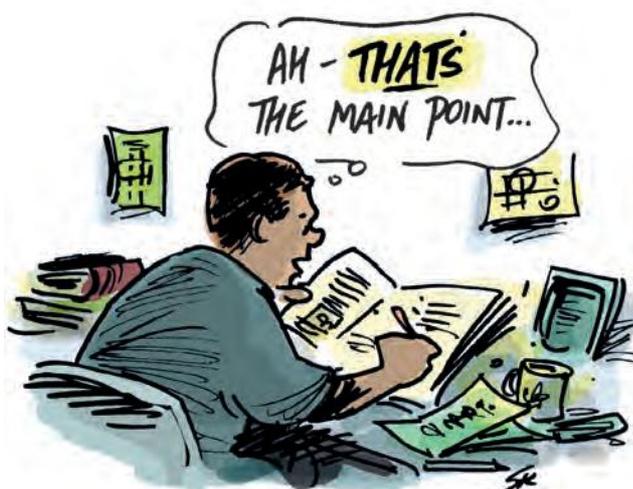
*'The **main** reason for ... etc.'*

These types of questions are characterised by superlative words such as 'most important' or 'greatest' (etc.). Here you must prove that one reason is more important than others. It is not satisfactory to just say that one reason is more important, you must prove it.

For example, analyse the following question:

*'The Great Leap Forward was the most calamitous event in China after the revolution.'* Discuss.

In your answer, if you believe it was, you need to show how it was more calamitous than other events viz. the Cultural Revolution. If you believe that the Cultural Revolution was more calamitous, you need to state firstly why the Great Leap Forward was *not* the most calamitous event before continuing with the Cultural Revolution. By doing this, you will respond to the issue of the question.



## Interpreting essay questions

The examples given in this section relate to the following topics: Germany (1918–1948), China (1949–2012) and The Changing World Order (1945– ). In the analysis of the 2018 exam, we will look at essay questions about Germany and The Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004).

**Note: the exam will only contain questions relating to ‘Modern Nations’ topics:**

1. Australia (1901–56)
2. United States of America (1914–45)
3. Germany (1918–48)
4. The Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004)
5. Indonesia (1942–2005)
6. China (1949–c.2012)

### Remember

Over the past 15 years, the questions in the History examination have required students to present a reasoned historical argument. This is what will be required of you when you take your exam. To do this, you will need to provide an argument and a counter-argument, and arrive at a conclusion in the end. To do so successfully, you will need to address the issue of the question first and then consider other points relevant to the issue.

When reading a question, remember that every word in the question needs to be considered.

Higher marks are awarded for the **complexity** of the discussion. This means:

- sacrificing narrative for argument
- being able to quote specific examples using supporting evidence
- cross-referencing points of view against those of relevant historians
- where possible, being able to persistently link subsequent issues to the theme of the question
- examining the issue over time, i.e. considering long- and short-term causes/results.

An exam essay is no different to ‘regular’ essays that you have worked on throughout the school year. The difference is the time limit, and therefore the greater pressure to be organised and succinct.

As when writing essays, you must be aware of the following:

- the need and purpose of a properly constructed introduction
- topic sentences that relate to the question and give structure to the essay
- the purpose of a conclusion that summarises the argument
- grammatically correct, expressive English
- showing empathy with the issue being examined.

### Remember

Support your argument with evidence and consider counter-arguments in your essay.

## Analysis of the 2018 exam

2018 saw the introduction of a new SACE Stage 2 Modern History course with different topics and new requirements. As well as the paper being reduced from three hours to two, and the number of questions per topic decreasing from four to three, there has been a standardisation of riders to each exam question.

In the past, various riders were used, including: 'Evaluate the proposition', 'Justify your opinion', 'Do you agree? Argue your case' etc. Now, the exam lists a number of propositions for each topic, and introduces them all by asking you to 'discuss the extent to which you agree'.

On analysis, there is no change really from the past. All riders – whether in the past or present – ask you, the candidate, to discuss the issue of the question first and then evaluate it alongside other factors that may be relevant to the case.

There is no single reason for an event happening nor a single consequence of that event.

The aim of this section is to show you – by examples from the Germany and Russia topics – how to answer questions by looking at what is asked of you. This section will also consider the nuances in each question that could gain you extra marks.

Whether you are studying these topics or not, the purpose of this chapter is to show you the importance of a close examination of the words of the question and the need to construct an argument that is the result of critical thinking. Read on for more advice and practice interpreting essay questions.

### Topic 3: Germany (1918–48)

#### *Question 7*

*Prior to the Great Depression, the liberal experiment in Germany was a political failure.*

There are many aspects to be considered when answering this question. Note the time frame (before the Great Depression) and the term 'political failure'. The question also assumes that students know what the term 'liberal experiment' means.

After describing the ways in which the liberal experiment was a failure, which ties in with why Nazism succeeded eventually, you need to consider the ways in which the liberal experiment did succeed (in the short term). Your essay should note that it did last for approximately 15 years.

The question also gives you the chance to discuss the degree to which it was a *political* failure as compared to a *social* or *economic* failure.

#### *Question 8*

*Popular appeal enabled the Nazis to gain power in 1933.*

This is a more straightforward question. It asks you to describe aspects of 'popular appeal'.

The rider to the question ('to what extent') then directs you to look at other reasons why the Nazis gained power. For example, the personal appeal of Hitler, the impact of the Great Depression, the conflict between old values and the changes in society that confronted the old values, terror and so on.

The date is also significant. You may wish to challenge this date, i.e. did Hitler gain full power as Chancellor in 1933 or when he became President after the Night of the Long Knives in 1934? (The Presidency gave him the control of the army; a vital cog in the machine of state.)

#### *Question 9*

*The defeat of the Third Reich was the result of internal factors.*

Internal factors must be considered first: resistance within Germany (Sophie Scholl), the despair caused by saturation bombing, the decline in economic strength owing to the loss of control of the seas, Hitler's megalomania, and so on.

This is balanced alongside external factors such as: Blitzkrieg; German forces being spread too thinly across theatres of war in Greece, North Africa, France, Norway; invasion by the British and Americans from the west and the Soviets from the east. Can you think of other external factors?

The key to this question is to analyse short- and long-term factors, i.e. factors in 1945 and those that developed over time. For example, the failure to conquer Britain in 1942, the bulldog spirit of Winston Churchill, allied manpower, and so on.

## Topic 4: The Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004)

### Question 10

*The liberalisation of the Soviet economy under Khrushchev failed to improve the lives of women.*

The question presupposes knowledge of the Soviet economy and the position of women in that economy prior to Khrushchev's rise to power and to what degree women's lives were affected by the liberal changes made after he came to power.

The question implies that the economic changes *did not* improve the lives of women in the short and longer terms. This must be discussed first and then evaluated against the proposal that their lives did improve, especially with consumer goods becoming more readily available.

Better responses would consider women living in rural areas as well as those living in the cities.

### Question 11

*Separatist movements were primarily motivated by a desire for democracy.*

It would be very easy for a student to ignore the premise of the question and immediately start writing about the desire for independence. The question is about *democracy*. You must discuss this concept first and evaluate whether this was so to a greater or lesser extent. Given that the people writing the examination are instructed to remove any unnecessary words when setting a question, the word 'primarily' needs to be considered as well.

As with all the questions in this paper, you must first consider the idea of the question: the desire for democracy. Then you may examine other motivations, such as independence, ethnicity, economic betterment, and so on.

It would be valuable for students to identify specific separatist groups given that the Soviet Union and Russia comprised many countries and cultures.

### Question 12

*Pro-nationalist terrorism posed a significant threat to Russia after 1991.*

There are some key signposts in this question. 'Pro-nationalist' terrorism is different from terrorism generally. Secondly, the word 'significant' is placed deliberately in the question in reference to threat and, therefore, must be considered for a higher-level response. Also note the date: 1991, after the fall of Gorbachev.

Again, the topic of the question must be considered first: *pro-nationalist* terrorism being a *significant* threat. Having discussed this, you would evaluate it against other threats that existed in Russia after 1991. Other threats that could be discussed include the expansion of NATO forces in Russia's sphere of interest, the re-installation of Authoritarian rule, and the growing presence of dissent (e.g. Pussy Riot).

## Analysis of example essay questions

### Germany (1918–1948): the aftermath of defeat (1918–19)

#### Example 1

*'Suspicion within Germany existed after the signing of postwar peace treaties.*

*To what extent do you agree with this statement with reference to events up to 1929?*

'To what extent' invites students to consider the issue of the question first then examine other issues. You need to understand the 'extent' can be to a small degree or to a large degree.

To tackle this question successfully, students need to understand what the term *suspicion* means. The word *existed* indicates that the suspicion was evident after the Great War and lingered into the 1920's.

Such suspicion included:

- the hostility towards the Jews, the communists and the Big Powers (England, France and the US), which exacted huge reparations upon Germany
- the economic demands made by other powers such as Belgium
- the loss of colonies
- the forces of international capitalism that plunged Germany into depression.

Lastly, students need to address what suspicion was *alleviated* due to changing circumstances that developed until 1929. Examples of this include:

- the economic sphere (Kellogg Pact)
- the political sphere (Locarno Pact)
- the social 'revolution' brought about by American influences (Jazz Age).

A good conclusion will address both sides of the issue, possibly with a statement that feelings of suspicion overrode all else, thus paving the way for Hitler's rise to power.

#### Example 2

*Evaluate the statement that the Treaty of Versailles after the First World War did not solve Germany's problems.*

'Evaluate' in this context means to examine both sides of the issue and arrive at a conclusion.

Students need to have an understanding of the problems created by the treaties such as poverty and starvation, depression, feelings of betrayal by the Jews and Communists, insurrections from the Right and the Left, continual animosity of the French and Belgians etc. Students must also describe how these problems lingered.

Students must then consider what problems were solved. These solutions could be the growing prosperity of the Weimar period, the economic and political treaties in the 1920's the feeling of pride engendered by Hitler and his successes.



*The Hall of Mirrors where the Versailles Treaty was signed.  
Photo: Myrabella / Wikimedia Commons / CC BY-SA 3.0*





*Adolf Hitler at a Nazi Party Rally in 1934. Photograph by Heinrich Hoffman.*

## Germany (1918–1948): the road to dictatorship

### Note

In questions that relate to the road to dictatorship (Hitler's rise to power), students need to cover the following points to achieve a mark at the higher level:

1. Endeavour to link each cause to the achievement of power rather than Hitler's behaviour when he was actually in power.
2. Wherever possible, link subsidiary points to the main issue – the topic of the question.

### Example 1

*Evaluate the statement that uncertainty within society enabled Hitler to rise to power. To what extent do you agree?*

In this context, *evaluate* means to examine both sides of the issue and arrive at a conclusion.

'To what extent' invites students to consider the issue of the question first then examine other issues. You need to understand the 'extent' can be to a small degree or to a large degree.

To answer this question, students need to identify *what caused uncertainty* in society. These causes could include:

- the effects of the Great Depression
- the frequency of elections
- the threat of Communism
- clash of new vs. old values
- the nature of the Weimar Government (proportional representation, rule by decree).

Having identified these uncertainties, students need to link these to the road to dictatorship, such as the moment that a group of politicians offered Hitler the Chancellorship. After discussing areas of uncertainty, students then need to write about other aspects in relation to Hitler's rise to power, such as:

- his use of propaganda
- his personality
- the use of violence (and so on...)

Using propaganda as an example, it can be said that propaganda *amplified* the uncertainties (linking subsidiary points to the issue of the question). In your introduction you need to state a date that frames your response.

### Example 2

*'Dictators rose to power in response to desperate situations.' To what extent do you agree?*

'To what extent' invites students to consider the issue of the question first then examine other issues.

You need to understand the 'extent' can be to a small degree or to a large degree. This question is very similar to the previous question. Desperate situations create uncertainty in society and lead to desperate and simplistic solutions.



## Germany (1918–1948): the Nazi state in peace and war

### Example 1

*'Hitler maintained control because of popular support.'*  
How accurate is this statement?

'How accurate' implies that in some ways it is accurate and in other ways it is not.

Note, the words *maintained control* suggest that the period under consideration was *after* the leader achieved power, up to and **including the war years**.

Students are therefore expected to examine the concept of popular support and give examples until 1945. In the case of Hitler, these can include:

- the restoration of German pride
- the growth of prosperity
- stability in society
- early successes in the war years.

Students are then to examine other ways of maintaining control.

These could include:

- propaganda
- successful economic policies
- violence and terror
- indoctrination of youth
- the Cult of Personality.

### Example 2

*'Glorification of Hitler was the key feature of his dictatorship.'*  
To what extent do you agree?

'To what extent' invites students to consider the issue of the question first then examine other issues. You need to understand the 'extent' can be to a small degree or to a large degree.

Be aware of the implications of the word *key*. Does it mean *more important* than other points or *the central point* around which others are linked?

Note that there could be no single 'key' feature, or there may be more than one. Addressing the word 'key' may enable students to achieve higher marks.

The word *glorification* (of a leader) can be interpreted as an aspect of propaganda. Examples of visual and aural propaganda need to be given. Especially refer to the Cult of Personality.

Having addressed the concept of glorification of a leader, students need to examine other features of a dictatorship.

These could include:

- establishing an autocracy
- war as an instrument of policy
- marshalling economic and social policies to the benefit of the state
- control of education
- use of propaganda (aside from that focused on the leader)
- treatment of opposition (real and imagined)
- fear and terror
- creation of a security apparatus etc.



## China (1949–2012): Mao and the consolidation of the Revolution (1949–76)

### Example 1

*'By achieving his goals, Mao Zedong was able to consolidate his power.'*  
*Assess the accuracy of this statement.*

To assess the accuracy of this statement is to look at both sides of the question and come up with ways in which the statement is accurate and ways in which it is not.

To answer this question successfully, students need to understand what Mao's goals were, i.e. what did he aim to achieve when he carried out his revolution? In other words, you need to understand one focus area of this topic, *The establishment of the People's Republic*, to answer questions about another focus area, *Mao and the consolidation of the Revolution*. Further, you need to ensure that you understand what is meant by consolidate: to maintain power.

Students are asked to evaluate the accuracy of the statement. To do this successfully, you need to balance the achievement of goals, which must be discussed first, alongside other methods to keep power.

These points could include: defeating opponents, promise of stability, setting new goals, repressing criticism, promoting conformity, using propaganda, and establishing a strong political/military force.

The argument needs to be balanced by an examination of other ways Mao consolidated his power, such as:

- the use of terror
- show trials
- his appeal to tradition etc.

### Example 2

*'Once in power, Mao Zedong transformed society.'*  
*To what extent do you agree?*

'To what extent' invites you to consider the issue of the question first then examine other issues. You need to understand that the 'extent' can be to a small degree or to a large degree.

The key to this question is understanding the meaning of the word transformed. Higher-grade responses differentiate between 'transform' and 'change'. 'Transformed' examines what was new in the society after the revolution. Students who are aware of revolutionary theory may be aware that, in many societies, many features of the old regime resurface over time in a transformed society. For example, Mao may be considered as autocratic as Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of Qin China, known for his bloodthirstiness. Generally, students would examine what features of society were transformed after the revolution (to be discussed first) and what features of society remained the same.

### Example 3

*'Violence was used to suppress opposition to Mao Zedong.'*  
*To what extent do you agree?*

'To what extent' invites you to consider the issue of the question first then examine other issues. You need to understand the 'extent' can be to a small degree or to a large degree. So, examples of violence need to be discussed first alongside other factors that were used to suppress opposition. These could include propaganda, achievement of goals, and so on.

### Example 4

*'Internal opponents were unable to threaten Mao's hold on power.'*  
*To what extent do you agree?*

'To what extent' invites students to consider the issue of the question first then examine other issues. You need to understand the 'extent' can be to a small degree or to a large degree. In this case, those opponents unable to threaten Mao's hold on power are balanced against the forces that did threaten him.

Students must first consider the issue of the inability to threaten. After discussing the inability to threaten, you must address the issue of what posed a significant threat.

Higher-level responses may consider that, in the longer term, opponents were unable to threaten Mao because they were ultimately defeated, but, in the shorter term, they may have been a significant threat.



## Note

The **examination** will not test you on any of the topics covered as part of The World Since 1945. The Changing World Order is one of these topics. However, the following essay responses may assist you in your folio work.

## The Changing World Order (1945– ): the origins of the superpower rivalry

### Example 1

*To what extent did mutual suspicions trigger the Cold War?*

‘To what extent’ invites you to consider the issue of the question first then examine other issues. You need to understand the ‘extent’ can be to a small degree or to a large degree.

The key to the successful answering of this question is to address the terms *mutual suspicions* and *trigger*.

- Mutual suspicions: the suspicions that each person or group felt towards the others.
- Trigger: the key events or attitudes or beliefs that began the Cold War.

Firstly, students should understand the term *Cold War*, which should be explained in the introduction. Students should articulate what the Cold War was and when they believe the Cold War began. This could be at the postwar leaders’ conferences, the ideological struggle, the Russian Civil War, Second World War alliances, *et alia*.

‘Mutual suspicions’ must be balanced alongside other factors. Mutual suspicions could include:

- the clash of ideologies
- the secret aims of political leaders
- the distrust that Stalin felt towards other war-time leaders and vice versa.

Having addressed mutual suspicions, you should weigh this concept against other causes that may have been triggers. These could include:

- the explosion of the A-Bomb by the USA
- Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech
- the Berlin Crisis (and so on...).

In a complex answer, these would be related back to mutual suspicions.

### Example 2

*To what extent did fear of Communism spark the Cold War?*

‘To what extent’ invites students to consider the issue of the question first then examine other issues. You need to understand the ‘extent’ can be to a small degree or to a large degree.

Fear of Communism must be balanced alongside other factors. Similar to the question in Example 1, this question requires you to show you have an understanding of the term *Cold War* and when it began.

The word *spark* is very similar to *trigger*, which also appeared in the previous example.

Fear of Communism is evaluated alongside other factors such as:

- mutual suspicions
- postwar leaders’ conferences
- the Russian Civil War
- Second World War alliances
- actions taken between 1945 and 1948
- policies
- provocations.



## The Changing World Order (1945– ): the nature of the Cold War

### Example 1

*'Brinkmanship was an essential aspect of the Cold War.'*

*Do you agree with this statement? Argue your case.*

'Do you agree' invites students to partially agree (neither fully agree nor fully disagree) with the issue of the question. There are certain issues that need to be considered when you answer this question.

Firstly, you should have a good understanding of the word *brinkmanship*, which is the practice of pursuing a dangerous policy to the limits of safety. This could be the 1949 Berlin Crisis, Cuban Missile Crisis or other examples during the Cold War period.

Secondly, to achieve a high mark, you should address the word *essential*, i.e. the most important.

Then, having addressed the issue of the question, you should evaluate brinkmanship against other aspects of the Cold War, such as:

- competing ideologies
- surrogate wars
- the Arms Race *et alia*.

### Example 2

*'The Cold War was characterised by a series of crises.'*

*How accurate is this statement?*

'How accurate' implies that in some ways the statement is accurate and in other ways it is not. You must discuss the accuracy first. This is a straightforward question that asks you to weigh up the series of crises (more than one).

These could include:

- the Berlin Crisis
- the Hungarian Uprising
- the Cuban Missile Crisis
- the Vietnam War *et alia*.

You should understand the word *characterised*, which means the distinctive nature or feature. In what ways did these crises characterise the Cold War? These crises either *caused* or *exacerbated*:

- mutual suspicions
- provocations
- aggressive attempts at "one-up-manship" creating spheres of influence
- protecting security
- self interests *et alia*.

These crises are discussed first before you examine other characteristics, such as:

- the Space Race
- propaganda
- rivalry on the sports field
- espionage
- Arms Races
- nuclear arsenals (... and so on).



## The Changing World Order (1945– ): the end of the Cold War

### Example 1

*'Internal factors within countries brought about the collapse of Soviet-style Communism.'*  
*How accurate is this statement?*

'How accurate' implies that in some ways the statement is accurate and in other ways it is not. It is better to discuss the accuracy first.

In your introduction, you should describe when Communism collapsed. This sets the parameters of the required answer.

You should understand what an *internal* factor is, and define this in your introduction. In answer to this question, internal factors can relate to those in the Warsaw Pact countries. You will discuss internal factors (more than one) first, such as:

- the Polish Solidarity Movement
- the tyranny of Romania's Ceaușescu
- economic factors (such as the failure of the Soviet command economy to match that of the USA).

Then other factors must be considered, such as:

- the influence of leaders, especially Mikhail Gorbachev and his policies of Glasnost and Perestroika
- social factors, such as the influence of travel where Eastern European citizens could see the economic and social benefits of the Western way of life
- the media, especially television, which ignored the borders between East and West
- the strength of the USA, which the Soviet Union could not match.

These can be both internal (factors occurring within countries) and external factors (factors happening outside countries' borders).

### Example 2

*Evaluate the view that pressure from United States led to the collapse of Soviet-style Communism in Europe.*

In this context, *evaluate* means to examine both sides of the issue and arrive at a conclusion. In this case, pressure from the USA is balanced against other factors leading to the collapse. As in Example 1, you should articulate when Soviet-style Communism collapsed.

Pressure from the United States was one factor, with aspects including increased expenditure on armaments, the influence of the media *et alia*. These pressures must be discussed first.

After this discussion, students should consider other factors as well, such as the failure of the USSR to match the USA in armaments production, the role of Gorbachev and his policies of Glasnost and Perestroika, as well as the factors discussed above.

There needs to be some consideration of the relative importance of these factors in your conclusion.



## How to write a successful essay

There are three important words that are key to a successful essay:

- relevance
- response
- empathy.

Make sure that you keep these in mind in every task you undertake.

**Relevance** is the ability to address the question. For example, when you are asked to write about the rise to power of Hitler in Germany, do not automatically launch into an essay that describes the birth of Hitler but consider exactly what is being asked of you.

**Response** is the ability to write about the issue that is under discussion. For example, an exam question may ask you to address the issue that the Great Depression was the reason for the rise of Hitler. You know that there was more than one reason for the rise of Hitler, but you must *first* discuss the Great Depression, even though you may not believe it is the most important reason.

**Empathy** is the ability to write expressively, to make historical characters 'live' and to convince the reader that you are passionate about what you are writing. Use adjectives and adverbs to enhance your writing. For example, if you are writing about the impact of the Great Depression on teenagers, let your writing echo the life they led. For example:

'Life for many teenagers was dismal. Many "rail riders", as they were known, hitched rides on freight trains in their quest for jobs...'

This is much better than writing:

'Life for teenagers was hard, as many left home to find work.'

The first example shows the use of expressive words; it didn't generalise but gave a specific example using terminology of the period. However, you must be careful that you do not overdo this form of writing as it may sound contrived.

Now that you have understood the basics, let us look at how to write an essay.



## Basic essay structure

Your essay will be divided into three main sections: the *introduction*, *body*, and *conclusion*.

We will use this proposition as our example:

*'Hitler was supported by all groups in society.'*

*To what extent do you agree? Argue your case.*

Before you begin writing your essay, however, it is crucial that you plan your work. You use an essay plan to figure out what information you will include and the order in which you will discuss it.

### Create an essay plan

This will help you to organise your thoughts. There are several steps you must follow at this stage. Make sure you understand the question. **Underline the key words**. Understand that you will need to **construct an argument**.

Plan your essay by jotting down key points, such as:

Total support – Nuremberg rallies, the conquest of France	
<i>Groups in support</i>	<i>Groups against</i>
Hitler Youth	Jews
League of German Maidens	Socialists and communists
Petty bourgeoisie	Citizens opposed to atrocities
Farmers	Youth groups (e.g. Edelweiss Pirates)
Returned soldiers	Elements of the army
Big business	

After you have done the plan, it is time to write.

### Introduction

This is most important. An experienced marker can usually determine the quality of an essay from its introduction.

In your introduction you must achieve four functions:

- Make a general statement.
- Answer the question immediately after the general statement.
- Provide an outline for the answer you will be giving in the body of the essay.
- Provide an explanation or definition of the concept expressed in the question.

Let us now construct an introduction to the question at the top of this page.

Adolf Hitler was the Nazi leader of Germany from when he came to power in 1934 until his death in 1945 (**general statement**). On the surface, he seemed to have support from all groups in society (**answered the question**). Indeed, Hitler had the support of the majority of Germans – returned soldiers from World War 1, big business, farmers, petty bourgeoisie and youth groups such as Hitler Youth and the League of German Maidens. However, Hitler did not have support of all groups. The Jews, Socialists and Communists hardly supported him, as well as elements within the army, citizens opposed to atrocities committed in his name and other youth groups for example, the Edelweiss Pirates (**outline of argument + explanation**).

### Body of the essay

This is where you address the issue of the question. Even though you may think that Hitler did not have full support of the people (as stated in your introduction), you must address total support *first* because that is the topic of the essay. By doing so, you are **responding** to the question set.

Before you launch into the paragraph, there is one other important thing to remember. To ensure that your paragraph has **relevance**, you need to include some link to the question, e.g. a 'linking' or '**topic**' sentence. The inability to be relevant is one of the main reasons why students do not get the mark they wish. After your topic sentence, you can use the rest of the paragraph to support your statement with any relevant evidence.

Let us look at the same essay question as before.

On examination of rallies such as the ones at Nuremberg in 1933–1938, it could be easily concluded that Hitler had total support of the people (*topic sentence*). The Nuremberg rallies were massive (*empathetic word*) propaganda events. The 1934 rally was popularised by Leni Riefenstahl's 'Triumph of the Will' and the 1937 Cathedral of Light presentation, which was held in a stadium that held 300,000 people (*supporting evidence*). These crowds gave the impression that Hitler had total support of the people.

The next paragraph could follow along the same lines, using the euphoria that was apparent in Germany following the defeat of France and the occupation of Paris in 1940. Again, you would have a topic sentence backed up by supporting evidence with expressive words to give the illusion of total support. You may follow up with other pieces of evidence if you have any.

For many students, that would be enough. An essay that described the total support alone may guarantee a maximum mark of 9 out of 15. You have just addressed the issue of the question without **creating an argument**.

If you look back at the introduction, you will see that there are references to other factors that constitute an argument: namely groups that did provide some support for Hitler and those who were opposed to him.

For example:

Total support was an illusion. Indeed there were groups who enthusiastically 'embraced' Hitler (*topic sentence*) while there were others who were utterly opposed to him. One group that was in support included many of the returned soldiers from the Great War of 1914–18, many of whom were 'shell-shocked' to discover that they did not win the war but were 'stabbed in the back by Jews and Communists'. They were further humiliated by the harsh and punitive terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which, amongst other issues, pushed many into poverty by the crippling reparations that were forced upon the government (*supporting evidence*).

Examine what I have done.

I have **closed one 'door' of my argument** (the illusion of total support) by a summary statement of the total support. I have also **opened another 'door'** by suggesting the other sides of the argument as outlined in the plan – groups that supported Hitler

Note the topic sentence, the supporting evidence and the expressive words. A note of warning, however: you do not need to tell a story of all the terms of the treaty. Just explain enough to support your argument.

Having discussed the returned soldiers, I would then discuss the next points that I had mentioned in my introduction: the other groups in support of Hitler, and then those who were opposed. Each of these points would occur in a new paragraph.

**For example, you could continue:**

Apart from the illusion of total support and groups that supported Hitler, there were some who opposed him. There were some in the army who believed that Hitler was an upstart and did not belong to the army caste. Many young people, such as Sophie Scholl who belonged to White Rose Society, wrote and distributed pamphlets denouncing Hitler.

## Remember

You are free to bring up your own points with your own evidence.

You have completed the body of your essay, but your work is not finished yet. You must now write a **conclusion**.

## Conclusion

A conclusion **sums up your argument**. It should echo the sentiments of your introduction in a very neat way and explain how your response can fit into a **broader context**. Your conclusion should leave the reader with a feeling that you really enjoyed your writing.

## Exercise

Examine this conclusion to the essay on the support of Hitler.

The films, fanfare, propaganda unleashed by Hitler and his Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, did give the impression of total support, but this support really varied from group to group. Nevertheless, it was enough to lead the nation blindly into a war that was to result in millions of deaths and the dismemberment of the German nation in 1945.

What are your thoughts? How is this conclusion structured?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

## Summary

### Essay plan

- Lists your main points in the order you want to address them.

### Introduction

- Supplies a general one line statement.
- Answers the question in the next line.
- Provides an outline of the argument (avoid simply listing these).

### Body

- Addresses the issue of the question first.
- Includes a topic sentence at the beginning of each paragraph.
- ‘Closes’ each part of the essay before opening a new section of your argument.

### Conclusion

- Sums up your arguments.
- Rounds off the argument with a sentence that looks to the future.
- Echoes your introduction.

## Exercise

Consider the question:

*'Nikita Khrushchev changed the nature of Russian communism.'*  
*Do you agree? Argue your case.*

Prepare your answer in the space provided. Use the advice that has been given earlier in this chapter.

### Introduction

*Check that your essay has the three requirements for an introduction.*

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

### Body

*Follow your essay plan. For example, begin with the 'agree' arguments.*

#### First paragraph

*Make sure that your first paragraph responds to the issue of the question, e.g. Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956.*

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .





## Checklist for writing good essays

- Do I understand what the essay question is asking me to write about?
- Each word in the question has a purpose. Do I understand what the purpose of each word is?
- What are the key words in the question?
  - Underline these key words.
  - Do I understand what these key words mean?
- Have I worked out the time-frame that I wish to use?
- Have I created an essay plan?
- Is my introduction effective?
- Have I addressed the issue of the question in the first paragraph of the body of the essay?
- Have I planned what else I am going to address?
- Have I used a topic sentence or some other type of connection for each paragraph?
- Does my conclusion effectively sum up what I have said in the essay?
- Have I been relevant throughout?
- Have I tried to empathise (tried to put feeling into my work) by using adjectives, adverbs, and good expressive English?
- Have I re-read the essay to check that I have done all the above?
- Have I checked for spelling errors, errors of syntax, howlers etc.?
- Do I feel convinced that I have educated my reader?

## What to avoid when writing essays

- Using poor English.
- Spelling proper names incorrectly.
- Using the term 'people' – be specific about the group you are writing about, e.g. 'the middle class'.
- Making generalisations, e.g. 'all women loved Hitler'.
- Including nonsensical statements, e.g. 'Australia went to war in 2015'.
- Telling a story for the sake of telling one.
- Using irrelevant facts to support your argument. Readers can recognise padding to cover up lack of argument.
- Waffling on. Instead, be succinct.
- Using counterfactuals, e.g. 'If Mao Zedong had not launched the Cultural Revolution, China would have industrialised sooner.' How do you know this? Where is the evidence?
- Misspelling the names of key people, e.g. Mao Zedong is not Moe.
- Ignoring the three key factors essay writing – relevance, response, empathy.
- Misunderstanding the question. For example, there is a difference between a person 'rising to' power and 'maintaining' power.
- Disregarding the issue of the question and writing an answer that you prepared beforehand.
- Writing down everything you know instead of addressing the issue of the question.
- Contradicting yourself, i.e. starting the essay with one point of view and coming up with a different point of view in the conclusion. (This is an example of poor or lack of planning.) For example, in your introduction, you say that the Great Depression was the reason why Hitler came to power. Then in your conclusion, you state that Hitler's personality was the main reason.

## Check your knowledge

1. Which three words must you keep in mind when writing an essay?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

2. What are two functions of a successful introduction?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

3. What must you include in the opening line of each paragraph in the body of your essay?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

4. What is the function of a good conclusion?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

5. Write down three ingredients of a good essay.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

6. List two howlers that must be avoided.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

*Now turn back and check your answers.*

**Exercise**

Set yourself a question from a topic of your choice and prepare a draft plan using the guidelines set out for you.

**Introduction**

.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....

**Body**

**Paragraph 1**

*First point addresses the issue of the question/proposition.*

.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....  
.. .....



## How to do your Historical Study

### Note

The Historical Study is an important part of the course and is worth 20 per cent of your total grade. Much of the information presented in this section relates to writing an essay, as this is still a popular way to fulfil the criteria of the Historical Study.

The aim of the Historical Study is for you to undertake an individual historical study, to be presented in written, oral or multi-modal form on any aspect of the world since 1750.

This research project is an opportunity for you to do an empathetic, original piece of research to score you a high mark. You may choose to do an original piece of work in relation to a topic being taught to you. For example, you may choose to explore the horrors of the Holocaust, which is an aspect of Germany (1918–1948).

Or this might be a chance for you to relate your history project to another subject that you are studying. For example, choosing to focus on a novel or music or artwork may assist you in your English, Music or Art subjects respectively.



## Example topics for your Historical Study

Although there are no suggested Historical Study topics in the Subject Outline, the 11 topics listed here may provide you with some guidelines of what to write. Of course, you are free to examine any area of interest (e.g. racial discrimination, exploration).

### Individuals in history

- Hitler
- Stalin
- Henry VIII
- Florence Nightingale
- Emily Pankhurst
- Nelson Mandela, etc.

### History and creative works

- war poetry
- the Beatles
- punk rock
- Charles Dickens' *Hard Times*, etc.

### History and the environment

- influence of the jungle as a determining factor of the Vietnam War
- pandemic influenza outbreak of 1918, etc.

### Religion and belief in history

- influence of the Salvation Army
- St Bartholomew's Massacre, etc.

### War and society

- First World War
- Spanish Civil War
- Zulu Wars, etc.

### Oral history

- comparing your grandfather's experiences in the Vietnam war with historical texts, etc.

### Social history (this is virtually anything you want to write about)

- the role of public education
- changing fashions
- changing attitudes to women bathing
- the influence of the burqa in Muslim history, etc.

### Sport, leisure and entertainment in history

- World Series Cricket
- the AFL
- World Cup Soccer, etc.

### Ideas in history

- communism
- fascism
- Judaism
- terrorism, etc.

### Urban history

- the growth of cities
- cities as havens of disease
- Warsaw Ghetto, etc.

### Art

- Cubism
- Impressionism
- Pop Art, etc.

### Architecture

- classical architecture
- Bauhaus, etc.

### Music in history

- influence of Wagner, Mozart, punk rock, etc.

## Assessment

Your performance will be judged on your ability to:

- formulate a hypothesis or a focus question
- apply historical concepts or skills of historical inquiry to create a historical debate
- draw conclusions based upon evidence
- appropriately acknowledge the sources that you use
- address the Performance Standards laid out in the Subject Outline.

## Sources

In a departure from past practice, owing to the increased availability of the internet, you can use as many sources as you wish. They must be separate sources – you cannot take multiple sources from one text. You must prove in your essay that you are using the sources. An easy way for you to do this is to use quotes and references or footnotes. You do not have to comment on the usefulness of your sources. Cross-referencing your opinions with other works shows higher-level thinking skills.

## Plagiarism

### Plagiarism is theft!



Plagiarism can take many forms, for instance:

- using authors' works without acknowledgement. When you make direct use of others' work, you must footnote or make an in-text reference.
- copying other people's individual essays. The moderators use various methods to check for this. Cheats in the past have been exposed and they have lost 20 per cent of their grade. It is not worth the risk.
- failing to present a draft to your teacher before you submit your final copy. The draft is important for your teacher to verify that it is your own work. Otherwise he/she cannot mark it.

## Other essential points

Build your essay around concepts. These could include:

- change and continuity
- rulers and ruled
- social relationships
- how people treat each other
- influence and control of government
- myth and reality
- power and powerlessness
- power and its distribution
- conflict and its resolution
- resistance
- causation.

### Choose analytical-style questions

These will gain you higher marks than narrative responses. The Performance Standards reflect this. In moderation, descriptive essays do not attract an 'A' grade. For example, the question *To what extent were Jews persecuted in the Second World War?* is preferable to *Describe how Jews were persecuted in the Second World War.*

Go to page 20 to see detailed explanations of different essay question types.

### Keep to the word limit

An examiner will not read past 2000 words. Your text will read as an unbalanced essay that can only earn you a maximum 'B' grade. Record a word length at the foot of the essay.

### Use a consistent referencing system

The Harvard referencing system will do.

### Think about visual aspects

You may include maps, pictures, charts, statistics and so on to enhance your work. To get the maximum benefit from their inclusion, refer to them directly in your essay as supporting evidence. It is a waste of time to include these additions for presentation/decoration purposes only.

### Do not include drafts with your essay for moderation

They will not be looked at.

### Limit the frame of reference in your topic

Students commonly make the mistake of taking on too broad a subject. The question *To what extent were women in Industrial England discriminated against?* is too broad. A better question would be: *To what extent were working-class women in England discriminated against in the first half of the nineteenth century?*

## Preparing to write the essay

- Read widely in an area of interest.
- Brainstorm topics that you would like to focus upon.
- Make rough notes of information that may be useful to you.
- Prepare a number of hypotheses (questions) that may be a guide for your later reading and note taking.
- Be prepared to modify your questions and limit them to one as your reading develops.
- Make sure your question has scope for an argument response.
- Discuss your final essay question with your teacher. He/she may suggest some modifications to help you.
- Prepare a rough draft for your teacher.

### Remember

You only need to write a 2000-word essay, not a book.

**Be prepared to show rough notes to your teacher.** Understand that it is a SACE Board requirement for teachers to check rough notes to guard against plagiarism. Plagiarism is heavily frowned upon as a form of cheating and the SACE Board enacts severe penalties for those who copy other people's work.

Numerous checks are undertaken to verify that the essays students submit are their own. Your teacher must see your notes and draft before you do your final copy. You and your teacher must sign a declaration to say it is your own work. The moderators have been perusing individual essays for many years. They are skilled at recognising plagiarised work and will report it to the authorities. There are serious consequences for students who plagiarise work.

**Prepare a rough draft for your teacher to peruse. Your teacher can help you with ideas and resources.**

Present your final piece of work together with drafts, folio notes and resources for your teacher to mark – but submit only your final essay for moderation.



## Tips for getting higher marks

To get a really good mark you should note the following points.

The markers are guided by the Performance Standards in assessing your work.

In your Historical Study, you must describe *why* events happen – i.e. *causes*. Show in your assignment that events have more than one cause and that these causes interact with each other to influence an event. For example, the February Revolution in Russia may be attributed to the Great War, which exacerbated all the problems existing in Russia for the previous 20 years. A similar comment can be made about *results*.

You may need to also show *change over the course of time* in your assignment. In doing so, you must show the benefits or the disadvantages of that change and whether that change was intended or unanticipated. If there is little or no change evident in the period of time you are describing, you must be prepared to comment on advantages or disadvantages that have resulted from this continuity.

Express *empathy* in your work. Try to capture the spirit of the times of your topic by examining personalities and the reasons for their actions.

Cross-referencing sources will gain you a higher mark. For example, if you are doing a Historical Study on literature with reference to *All Quiet on the Western Front*, you might refer to the number of casualties in the war (a detail you found by researching the topic). You can quote the figure to support their discussion of your topic, and include a footnote about where you obtained the material. You could then include a full table of statistics in an appendix at the end of your essay.

You may also like to use historians' points of view as supporting evidence. In addition, you could cross-reference it with a letter from a soldier who was at the Western Front and with another text.

A really good Historical Study should make use of **at least five primary or secondary sources**. If you do this, you can explore an issue in depth.

Make inferences or deductions in your Historical Study. Draw a conclusion about the evidence and how this evidence fits in with the argument you are creating.

Express yourself well by using good English.

## Referencing sources

To get a really good mark for your Historical Study, you need to show evidence of correct referencing. Your reference list is a detailed list of books and articles you used to prepare your Historical Study. It is similar to a bibliography. The difference is subtle:

- A bibliography is a list of all the books and resources you have read to inform your study.
- A reference list is a list of all the books and resources you *mention* in your study.

Some teachers may prefer that you use footnotes instead of in-text references.

### Aa word focus

An *appendix* (plural *appendices*) is the inclusion of photocopies of pictorial evidence, statistics or text at the end of your writing. These are referred to within your text, e.g. (see Appendix 1).

## Remember

As long as you stick to one system, SACE does not mind which system you choose. The important things are that (a) you use references and (b) you are consistent and correct in making those references.

### Discuss with your teacher which referencing system to use for your Historical Study.

Most of the following information deals with in-text references and reference lists.

You must include your reference list at the end of your written work in alphabetical order by the author's last name. How you should present the details will vary slightly depending on the type of source.

The details you need – publisher, place and date of publication, edition number etc. – can be found on the 'imprint' page, which is usually one of the very first pages of a book, or the very last. If you are using a quote, you will need to add the page number that quote is from. For sources without page numbers, such as websites, the author and year of publication is all you need to put in your in-text reference.

There are many different referencing guides. Whichever referencing style you choose, you must make sure you are *consistent*, i.e. do not change referencing styles midway through your study.

The following examples follow the Harvard (author–date) referencing guidelines recommended by the University of South Australia. The left-hand column shows what you write in the body of your essay, e.g.

'How you should present the details will vary slightly depending on the type of source.' (Best 2019, p. 54)

The right-hand column shows the details you put in your reference list, e.g.

Best, D 2019, *SACE 2 Modern History Workbook*, 2nd edn, Essentials Education, Bowden, Australia.

### Australian Bureau of Statistics

(Australian Bureau of Statistics 1997)	Australian Bureau of Statistics 1997, <i>Fish Account</i> , cat. no. 4607.0, ABS, viewed 1 November 2017, < <a href="http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs%40.nsf/b06660592430724fca2568b5007b8619/4f2fce9d56c2fca2ca2568a9001393dd!OpenDocument">http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs%40.nsf/b06660592430724fca2568b5007b8619/4f2fce9d56c2fca2ca2568a9001393dd!OpenDocument</a> >.
--	--

### Book by a single author

(Rowling 1999, p. 4)	Rowling, JK 1999, <i>Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban</i> , Bloomsbury Children's Books, London, UK.
----------------------	--

### Book by two or more authors

(Green & Leviathan 2010, p. 28)	Green, J & Leviathan, D 2010, <i>Will Grayson, Will Grayson</i> , Dutton Juvenile, New York, USA.
---------------------------------	---

### Second (and subsequent) editions of books

(Deary 2017, p. 183)	Deary, T 2017, <i>Cruel Kings and Mean Queens</i> , 3rd edn, Scholastic, London, UK.
----------------------	--

## Note

If your book is a first edition (or if you cannot find edition number information on the imprint page) then you do not need to include the edition number in your reference.

### Chapters in anthologies or edited collections

(Glinka 2012, p. 41)	Glinka, E 2012, 'The Kolyma Tram', in A Applebaum (ed.), <i>Gulag Voices: an anthology</i> , trans. JA Miller, Yale University Press, New Haven, USA, pp. 39–48.
----------------------	--

## Note

This anthology is translated. The translation credit for a source (trans. JA Miller) appears just before the publisher (Yale University Press). If your source is not translated, you do not need to include this information.

### Poem

(de la Mare, <i>Napoleon</i> , verse 1, lines 2–3)	de la Mare, W, 'Napoleon', in M Harrison (ed.), <i>A Book of Very Short Poems</i> , Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, p. 65.
--	---

## Journal article

(Clark 2009, p. 750)	Clark, A 2009, 'Teaching the nation's story: comparing public debates and classroom perspectives on history education in Australia and Canada', <i>Journal of Curriculum Studies</i> , vol. 42, no. 6, pp. 745–762.
----------------------	---

## Newspaper or magazine article

(Scuttlebutt 2016)	Scuttlebutt, M 2016, 'Government Plans to Change Park Lands Forever', <i>The Adelaide Review</i> , June, p. 13.
--------------------	---

## Pamphlet or guide

(Health Department Victoria 1987)	Health Department Victoria 1987, <i>Quit: give smoking away in 5 days</i> , Victorian Smoking and Health Program booklet, Anti-Cancer Council and National Heart Foundation, Melbourne.
-----------------------------------	---

## DVD (film)

( <i>Schindler's List</i> 1993)	Schindler's List 1993, DVD, Universal Sony Pictures, USA.
---------------------------------	---

## Television program

( <i>Media Watch</i> 2017)	<i>Media Watch</i> 2017, television program, ABC Television, Melbourne, 16 October.
----------------------------	---

## Encyclopaedia

( <i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> 1966, p. 340)	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> 1966, Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., Chicago, USA.
---	--

## Online book

(FitzSimons 2010)	FitzSimons, P 2010, <i>Töbruk</i> , ebook, HarperCollins Publishers, viewed 23 October 2017, < <a href="http://www.libraries.sa.gov.au/ebooks">http://www.libraries.sa.gov.au/ebooks</a> >.
-------------------	---

## Website

(State Library of South Australia 2009)	State Library of South Australia 2009, <i>Errol Noack</i> , Noack Collection, State Library of South Australia, viewed 23 March 2016, < <a href="http://digital.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/nodes/view/382">http://digital.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/nodes/view/382</a> >.
---	--

## Note

There are many more types of sources you may need to reference.

UniSA has a handy **Roadmap to Referencing tool**, which can teach you how to reference. Give it a try: <http://roadmap.unisa.edu.au/>

## Notes on footnotes

There are two categories of footnotes:

- *source reference details* of the source you are using (e.g. author, title of work, page number)
- *explanatory notes*, which express more in-depth information that cannot be readily absorbed within the body of your study. For example, if you are writing your study on the persecution of children in Nazi Germany and you wish to make reference to some racial theories expounded by philosophers, this is best placed as a footnote.

To do reference in footnotes correctly, you need to follow these guidelines:

- To acknowledge a book for the first time: *D. Best, 'SACE 2 Modern History Workbook' p. 69*
- To acknowledge the same text immediately afterwards: *ibid. p. 70*
- To acknowledge the same text following a reference to another work: *D. Best, op cit. p. 72*

Place these details at the foot of the page in which you have used the quote or reference. Next to the quote or reference in the body of your text, refer to the footnote using a superscript number e.g. <sup>1</sup> or <sup>2</sup> (etc.) in the order of the number of references you have made.

## Note

You do not need to cite the full details of the source you are referring to in the footnote. You must include these full details in your bibliography. For footnoted references, your bibliography can either follow the numerical order of the footnotes in your text, or be alphabetical by author.

Other footnote abbreviations that could be used in your Historical Study are:

**loc. cit** = in the passage already mentioned

**ff** = and in the pages following eg. p 88 ff

**passim** = in various places in the text. This indicates a number of scattered references to a subject.

**[sic]** = indicates an apparent error but refers to an accurate copy of an error in the original. This is a very handy abbreviation and you should use immediately following the apparent error, e.g. In his letters, Murray described the workhouse as 'grimey [sic] and inhospitable'.

## Example Historical Study

This Historical Study was written by Zoe Green, a student of Modbury High School. It has been reprinted here with her kind permission. It gained full marks in the 2002 moderated examination component. Examine it to see how she fulfilled the criteria of the course.

*To what extent does the novel 'The Siege' by Helen Dunmore accurately represent the hardships faced by the citizens of Leningrad during the Leningrad siege of 1941?*

The Leningrad siege of 1941 is without doubt one of the most tragic periods of time in the history of the city and has inspired many creative works, one of the most recent being the novel *The Siege* written by Helen Dunmore. *The Siege* accurately represents the hardships faced by the citizens of Leningrad during the 1941 siege, or 'Blokada' as it was otherwise known, to a large extent. The sequence of events that occur in *The Siege* closely relate to the actual events, indicating that Dunmore undertook research before writing the novel. Due to the realistic nature of the novel it is easy for one to believe that the hardships faced by the characters are also historically accurate, and in fact many of them are. However, there are other aspects of the siege that are not addressed in the novel like the reluctance of some evacuees, the influx of refugees and the fear of 'traitors' or Nazi sympathisers.

One of the first noticeable links between the novel and reality is the letter at the beginning of the novel. The letter is dated as the 29th of September 1941 and was written by German Naval Staff. The letter details the way the Leningrad citizens are by no means the responsibility of the German army and it sets the scene for the entire novel. The following quote from the document clearly displays the lack of compassion and responsibility felt for the Leningraders.

"Requests that the city may be handed over will be turned down, for the problem of the survival of the population and of supplying it with food is one which cannot and should not be solved by us"<sup>1</sup>

However, not only is it an interesting beginning to the story that follows but it is an actual historical document, the original of which is currently held in the Naval War College in Newport, R.I., USA. This document came about after the German army advanced upon the city of Leningrad during World War Two. After the initial plan of attack failed the Nazi generals appealed to Hitler to begin a siege on Leningrad. Hitler replied with his approval later that same day. Furthermore, he ordered that the population of the city be reduced so that the Germans would have no responsibility in supplying food to the citizens. From the evidence supporting the existence of these documents and the connecting letter featuring at the beginning of the novel the conclusion can be made that the novel attempts to accurately represent the hardships faced by the citizens of Leningrad during the Leningrad siege of 1941.

The military actions taken by the Germans just before and then after the approval of the siege on the 29th of September are also accurately represented in the novel, as well as the hardships faced as a direct result. On the 4th of September German artillery shells began to land upon the city and became a regular occurrence. The main purpose of the shells was to interfere with the routine of daily living for the Leningraders as much as possible, and if Dunmore's account of the situation is anything to go by, the Germans succeeded in fulfilling their purpose.

"The shell-bursts are just irregular enough to tear nerves which are already raw with cold and hunger"<sup>2</sup>

The artillery bombardments were so frequent that by the end of November the city had been subjected to 272 separate 'bombing' occasions lasting for a total of 430 hours. Within one year 30,154 shells were fired. When the Germans weren't bombing Leningrad they were dropping leaflets with demoralising messages written on them such as 'Our victory is inevitable, you are already defeated'.<sup>3</sup>

1 'The Siege', Dunmore, Helen. August 2001, Penguin Books London. Prologue.

2 Ibid p.162

3 From survivor Elena Taranukhina's account of the German's actions. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/features/mycentury/wk03.shtml>

Two days after the first artillery shells landed upon the city the air attacks commenced; once again this is accurately displayed within the novel with human hardships resulting directly from the attacks. Within two days of the first air attack the citizens of Leningrad endured a massive bombing assault as wave after wave of Junkers dropped thousands of incendiaries. The bombing set fire to the Badayev warehouses where a large proportion of the city's food was stored. The warehouses were made of wood and were built within close proximity of each other allowing the fires to spread and making them easy targets for the bombing. The entire four-acre depot was destroyed and the burning ruins attracted more Junker bombers. This event is supported in novel when the bombings are described and the characters reflect on the harsh realisation of their predicament.

“The Germans knew about the Badayev warehouses. They had a special kind of bomb for them, one that sets fire to everything. That's how they cooked the biggest cake you've ever seen, with our flour and sugar and fat...”<sup>4</sup>

Despite the quick action of the city's 168 fire brigade units the only remaining food from the Badayev warehouses was the sugar that had melted in the heat of the fires and later solidified in the cellars. Bread was rationed and had to be collected from the bread houses every morning. On September 12th the amount of bread rationed was reduced to 250 grams for manual workers and 125 grams for 'mental' workers. The bread was usually mixed with inedible ingredients like sawdust or glue to extend its use, then divided into parts for each meal.<sup>5</sup> In 'The Siege' the characters experience these hardships, one example that displays the level of control needed in order not to waste the rations can be seen in chapter twenty-five;

“She'll go a few hundred meters, then she'll have a quarter-slice of bread. That'll be enough to turn the air back into air instead of think resistant glue...”<sup>6</sup>

People were reportedly reduced to eating rats, glue from furniture joints and wallpaper paste. Dunmore features a list of emergency edible ingredients including such items as well as slaughterhouse by products, domestic pets, laboratory and zoo animals and leather articles.

Not only was the lack of food a major problem but winter had begun to set in and take its toll on the already weak citizens of Leningrad. The winter of 1941 proved to be one of the coldest winters in more than a century, and consequently the next battle after finding food was finding adequate fuel for home burzhuikas. The lack of fuel had also reduced the power supply, badly affecting heating and restricting cooking. Burnt out buildings became dangerous excavation sites where people gathered to collect what little fuel they could find causing civil disputes and often death. Dunmore described this fear as a return to primal instincts as stranger fought stranger for small blocks of charred wood.

“...As she lunges after Anna she loses her balance and falls, snuffing out her own candle. Anna flattens herself against the farthest wall, and listens.”<sup>7</sup>

Another aspect of 'The Siege' that can be seen in documentation of real events is the evacuation of the Leningrad children. It is historically documented that trainloads of children were evacuated from Leningrad to other cities such as Pskov and Novogorod in the country's southwest during June and July. These railways were under German attack but the Leningrad authorities continued to mindlessly send more children along the same path. Finally a large number of children were sent back to Leningrad and the trains changed direction and took the children east to Kirov and Sverdlovsk. However even then the trains were often delayed for days and when the Germans reached the outskirts of Leningrad in late summer there were still half a million children living in the city.

In support of this, one of the main characters in 'The Siege' works in a childcare facility and is involved in the evacuation of children. Dunmore describes the immediate guilt people felt when finding out about the bombing of the trains, as well as the hardships faced by the parents and the children of Leningrad.

“Thousands and thousands of children. They know about walking for miles, until the soles of their shoes flapped and their blisters burst, and the grown-ups screamed at them: 'Keep up. Do you want us all to get shot?’”<sup>8</sup>

Understandably the total death toll was one of disastrous proportions; nobody knows the exact number of lives lost during this dark period of Russian history. The official toll laid down during the Stalinist years is 264,000 though sufferings were minimised during this time. Most western scholars believe that the number of deaths from starvation during the entire siege exceeded one million, and that several hundred thousand more were killed by bombs, shells or gunfire. By contrast, the United States and Britain together suffered fewer than 800,000 deaths during all of World War Two. The full extent of the death toll is displayed in 'The Siege' through the number of characters who do not survive the duration of the novel. The extreme measures taken by people to stay alive are also mentioned in the book and supported by survivor's accounts. Reports of cannibalisation, particularly corpses with missing limbs and missing children were common and are described by Dunmore in a powerful manner.

4 'The Siege', Dunmore, Helen. August 2001, Penguin Books London. p.134.

5 From survivor Elena Taranukhina's account of life during the siege <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/features/mycentury/wk03.shtml>

6 'The Siege', Dunmore, Helen. August 2001, Penguin Books London. p.235

7 Ibid p.234

8 Ibid p.100

“People whisper of corpses with missing limbs, and of children who disappear. They say there are cannibals trading in the Sennaya markets now, hawking unidentifiable meat pate.”<sup>9</sup>

However there are some aspects of the siege of Leningrad that are not represented through the novel ‘The Siege’, particularly the reluctant evacuees, the influx of refugees and the fear of traitors or Nazi sympathisers.

Even in the face of imminent attack many Leningraders did not want to leave, they considered it ‘bad form’. The official ‘History of the Great Patriotic War’ of the Soviet Union admits that such patriotism was encouraged by the authorities. Officials stated that the Leningrad people were ready to dig trenches right up to the front line but not ready to leave.<sup>10</sup> Many evacuees were referred to as ‘rats’ and often Jewish families, concerned with the Germans’ anti-Semitic policies, appealed to the Leningrad authorities for evacuation permits and were arrested on the ground that they were spreading ‘defeatist rumours’. Dunmore does address some issues involved with the evacuation of Leningraders but does not present the human hardships associated with the reluctance of support for evacuation.

The advancing German Army in the west and the Finnish Army to the north of Leningrad restricted the evacuation routes but also resulted in an influx of refugees from the smaller towns and country areas to the west and north of Leningrad. As fast as people departed they were replaced. The city’s medical, fuel and food supplies that were already under pressure were pushed to further extremes when evacuation became a useless venture. Dunmore neglected to mention the influx of refugees as a contributing factor to the lack of supplies and the resulting increase in hardships endured.

The last major point that Dunmore failed to address in ‘The Siege’ was the fear of traitors amongst the Leningrad people. Leningrad’s leaders were concerned about a possible Nazi uprising within the city, and just like Moscow, Leningrad did have its share of Nazi sympathisers or enemies to communism. One survivor wrote; “Is our liberation truly approaching? No matter what the Germans are like – it cannot be worse than this... Forgive me, God!”<sup>11</sup> Under these circumstances it is no surprise that many Leningraders developed an obsession with ‘traitors’.

‘The Siege’ accurately represents the hardships faced by the citizens of Leningrad during the 1941 siege to a large extent. The specific events such as the bombing of the Badayev warehouses and the tragic circumstances of the evacuations can be directly related to parts of the novel. Survivor’s accounts, like those from Elena Taranukhina, also support the feelings and experiences of the characters in Dunmore’s novel, emphasising the hardships faced by the citizens of Leningrad. However there were aspects of the siege that enhanced the hardships endured by the citizens and they were not mentioned in Dunmore’s novel, like the reluctant evacuees, influx of refugees or the fear of traitors.

Despite the aspects that were not addressed, Dunmore had shown that ‘The Siege’ is much more historically accurate than one might assume. Because ‘The Siege’ is a fictional novel Dunmore has allowed herself the freedom to delve not only into the characters situations but also how they handled them on a personal and psychological level, something that a textbook, for example, often neglects to do. This understanding of the personal ramifications of historical events is important in society’s development and progression.

## Bibliography

### Books:

Dunmore, Helen. ‘The Siege’. August 2001. Penguin Books London.

### Internet:

‘The Siege, a novel for now’ website. <http://books.guardian.co.uk/Print/0,3858,4201412,00.html> Visited on 5th August 2002

‘The Siege of Leningrad’ website. <http://www.ennonline.net/fex/08/ms20.html> Visited on 13th August 2002.

‘Fascism and War’ website. [http://www.columbia.edu/~Inp3/mydocs/fascism\\_and\\_war/Stalingrad.htm](http://www.columbia.edu/~Inp3/mydocs/fascism_and_war/Stalingrad.htm) Visited on 22nd August 2002.

‘My Century’ website. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/features/mycentury/wk03.shtml> Visited on the 28th of August 2002.

‘Political and Civilian Events’ website. [http://www.russianwarrior.com/1941polit\\_history.htm](http://www.russianwarrior.com/1941polit_history.htm) Visited on 29th August 2002



## Note

Since the moderation of this essay, students have been advised to use more texts than just websites. The referencing style has also changed. Compare Zoe’s references to the earlier examples. How would you write them now?

<sup>9</sup> Ibid p. 202

<sup>10</sup> Political and Civilian Events. [http://www.russianwarrior.com/1941polit\\_history.htm](http://www.russianwarrior.com/1941polit_history.htm)

<sup>11</sup> A Survivors Diary. <http://www.ennonline.net/fex/08/ms20.html>



## SECTION

**2****Sources Analysis****Introduction to Sources Analysis**

Sources Analysis is a compulsory section of the Modern History external examination and is one of two sections of the paper. The aim of this part of the Workbook is for you to develop your skills in analysing sources and thinking critically in your response to historical sources.

Generally, students achieve a higher mark for their responses to the Sources Analysis section than for their essays. This is owing to the predictability of some of the questions. Examiners are aware of this fact and consequently have questions that allow higher achieving students to show their capabilities. The median mark is around 14/20. Students who are able to achieve marks in the A band do so because their answers show deep analysis.

Over the past few years, questions from this section of the paper have followed a general pattern.

1. **Comprehension questions:** you are asked to find information from the source, e.g. 'What are two problems in...'
2. **Interpretation questions:** you are required to draw conclusions from the sources and provide evidence from the sources to support what you think.
3. **Cross-referencing questions:** you are asked to identify similarities and differences between two sources.
4. **Analysis questions:** you are asked to discuss the usefulness and limitations of evidence provided by the source.
5. **Evaluation questions:** you are asked to analyse a proposition using the sources as examples to support your analysis.

However, these styles of questions may vary from year to year. Included in this text are exercises that test causation, historical empathy, change and continuity, and reasoning. Additional exercises have been included to encourage you to 'think outside the square'. This is to prepare you in case the style of questions changes in years to come.

In conclusion, your answers should demonstrate your ability to:

- **Critically analyse** primary and secondary evidence
- **Identify and apply** historical ideas
- **Engage in historical enquiry**
- **Respond** to evidence showing skills that a historian would use in evaluating evidence.

**Guiding principles**

- **Why** was the source written, the photograph taken or the speech given? This gives you some understanding as to a motive.
- **Who** wrote the source or took the picture or gave the speech? For what purpose and which intended audience? This gives you some clue as to bias.
- **When** was the source written or the photograph taken or the speech given, etc. This determines whether it was a primary or secondary source.

## Key points to remember

- **Underline key words**, as they provide valuable clues. Don't worry over individual hard words, as you are reading for a total picture.
- **Remember that all sources provide information** of varying degrees of usefulness.
- **Read the captions, headers and footers** carefully, as they may provide a date, background information, the identity of the audience, or locality.
- **Note the general summary provided as a heading** to the sources. This heading may provide important clues.
- **Look at the source carefully.** If it is a **picture**, examine every detail. If it is a **person**, examine the facial expressions, the appearance, any actions. If it is a scene, likewise work out the purpose behind the **scene**.
- Is the source **typical** (similar to other sources of this period)?
- Is the source **authentic** (real)?
- **If the document has writing**, work out the hidden message, the intended audience and the bias.
- How is the source **biased**? This may affect its **reliability**. Bias may appear in language, image, balance in the selection of facts, background of the author and so on.
- **Bias can be useful** because it provides information and echoes a person's point of view at a particular time and place and may indicate a range of views relating to a situation. However, **bias has its limitations**, as it may contain inaccuracies or be exaggerated, or there may be other points of view.
- Sources need to be **cross-referenced** to establish **validity**.
- When writing an answer, always **provide examples** from the source in support. For example, if a source is biased, show where the bias actually occurs.

### Remember

All sources, whether they be primary (person's diary, letters etc.) or secondary (excerpt from a text or a historian's point of view), have degrees of usefulness and limitations.

No one source is 100 per cent useful or completely limited in its value to a historian.

For example, a wartime diary is useful as it gives a personal account of an incident at a particular time and place. However, it has limitations because it gives evidence of only one person's feelings and their experiences; this does not reveal the full details of the situation.

## Types of sources

Sources are many and varied. These are some that have appeared in past examination papers:

- historian's point of view (secondary source)
- art work (picture, statue, sculpture, monument)
- poster
- cartoon
- propaganda piece
- speech
- memoir (including autobiography)
- report (newspaper, official report)
- description
- statement (newspaper opinion piece, politician)
- diary
- letter
- newspaper headline
- statistics (including graphs)
- map
- document
- literature (including poems, songs and excerpts from novels)
- interview.

## Sources – their usefulness and limitations

The purpose of this section is to give examples of various sources, describe their **usefulness** and **limitations** and show the implementation of the theory by analysing specific examples.

Some of the source types you may encounter include:

- photographs
- posters
- cartoons
- quotations
- letters
- interview transcripts
- speeches
- official documents
- letters to the editor (press material)
- artworks (songs, poems, drawings)
- maps
- data (graphs, tables, statistics)
- history texts.

We will look at examples of these in the following pages.

Some examples of usefulness and limitations in relation to a particular source may be applicable to other sources.

For example, a memoir may have similarities with a piece of literature.

This section does not intend to give all the answers. No doubt, you, the reader, may come up with other information.



## Photograph

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Photograph	<p>A visual representation of a scene or a person or buildings or machinery or clothing or furniture etc.</p> <p>It may give details of the lifestyle of people, conditions of a city etc.</p> <p>You may deduce from the picture and caption who the photographer was, his/her bias, why the photograph was taken, when it was taken.</p>	<p>Does not give a complete picture (narrow image).</p> <p>It needs to be cross-referenced.</p> <p>Accompanying details (see usefulness) may be missing.</p> <p>Also, it is uncertain whether the photograph is original or has been altered to offer other perspectives.</p>

### Example

A photograph of a café in the centre of Aleppo, Syria, in September 2010.

### Usefulness

The picture shows how comfortable life in Aleppo was before the Civil War and ISIS (2010).

### Limitation

This is only one snapshot of a place in a very small part of the city of Aleppo. How do we know what life was like in another part of the city? Were there religious tensions outside the café? Another picture of city life with different people may help us reach a conclusion. Who was the photographer and why did he/she take the photograph? Maybe he/she was giving a false impression of life in the city.



### Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....

# Poster

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
(Propaganda) Poster	<p>Gives information as to the underlying message and its bias at a given time.</p> <p>You can get an impression as to the type of propaganda evident at the time and the type of society to which it was attempting to appeal</p>	<p>The poster may be an exaggeration or a distortion or a misleading claim.</p> <p>Certain points may be omitted.</p>

## Example

An anti-American propaganda poster in Cuba (2008).

The caption written in Spanish, English and French, reads:

“To George Bush [American President]

“Thanks, cretin, because you’ve helped us to consolidate our Revolution.”

## Usefulness

The poster shows the type of propaganda evident in Cuba in 2008. It portrays a glum looking President Bush in an emperor’s clothes, possibly ruing the fact that he cannot conquer Cuba to add to his “empire”. The message shows hatred towards him and is gloating over his failure. It could be trying to reinforce the people’s resolve to keep supporting their revolution.

## Limitation

This is only one poster and needs to be compared with others to get a more accurate picture of Cubans’ feelings towards Americans. The language used is violent, which may cause people to doubt whether Cuba is on the correct path in their struggle.



## Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

## Cartoon

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Cartoon	<p>This is very similar to a poster. It gives information/an opinion of a particular person/place/issue at the time.</p> <p>You can also find out where it was published and the type of publication it appeared in.</p>	<p>This is similar to a poster.</p> <p>Cartoons appeal to emotions and echo the cartoonist's bias.</p> <p>It may be misleading.</p>

### Example

A 1948 anti-Soviet cartoon by British cartoonist David Low.

The cartoon shows Stalin and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, V Molotov, taking over countries in Eastern Europe and Asia under the guise of giving them their freedom.



### Usefulness

The cartoon gives accurate information about Stalin's plan to take over countries after the Second World War. It gives a British point of view, which is biased towards the West. The opinion is that Stalin is in control and placing these countries under the Soviet yoke. The cartoon was published in 1948 at the time of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the West (of which Britain is a part).

### Limitation

Being anti-Soviet, it does not show the reasons for Stalin's take-over of these countries (to create a shield protecting the Soviet Union from western invasion). Instead of making a reasoned argument, it appeals to emotions.

### Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....

## Quotation

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Quotes from literature (fiction and non-fiction)	Identifies background to the event, the viewpoint of author and the motive for publication.	Facts may be distorted for the sake of a story. The author has a bias that needs to be identified.

### Example

Quotation from George Orwell's *1984*.

*1984* is a political novel, published in 1949, written with the purpose of warning readers in the West of the dangers of a totalitarian government (the Soviet Union).

### Usefulness

The quotation describes the author's feelings about politicians' double-speak (spin). The quote echoes the opinion of some Westerners towards the dangers of totalitarian governments (Spain and Italy before the Second World War, and the Soviet Union at the time Orwell wrote *1984*). George Orwell had experienced life under a totalitarian government (Spain 1936) His aim was to warn people of the dangers of totalitarian governments – in this case the Soviet Union.



### Limitation

Even though this was written in 1949, it is a truism of all governments – autocratic as well as Western Liberal Democracies past and present. The source clearly shows Orwell's bias at the time.

### Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

## Letter

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Private documents (diary, letter, etc.)	<p>It gives the author's viewpoint, emotion, feelings, attitudes.</p> <p>If written at the time it may give immediacy to the event being described.</p>	<p>It is the author's viewpoint and may be coloured according to his/her bias.</p> <p>It may have been written long after the event, in which case there may be omissions or exaggerations.</p> <p>It may need to be balanced alongside other evidence</p>

### Example

A letter written by Corporal Robert Platt to his father.

Since last I wrote to you we were in a charge and it was awful. We started out the night before and marched 13 miles. We arrived at the place about half past one in the morning so that we were put into an old trench and told to await orders so you can have an idea that our nerves were strung to the highest pitch. So, the Germans started to rain shells into us but then our artillery opened fire on the German trenches. The row was awful. The whole sky was just in one great blaze with bursting shells.

Sharp at three o'clock the order came down our lines to fix bayonets and to load our rifles and 10 minutes later down came the order to charge so we rushed over the trench but a good few of our boys fell on the parapet as the Germans had their machine-guns trained on us but on we went and as one fell, another took his place.

We arrived at the German trench and when it came to the steel they could not match us and I am proud to say that I put a few out with the bayonet myself. Although one does not think of it at the time, one does think of it after the excitement is over. We took over 200 prisoners and a couple of machine-guns. I sent home a German sword.

Platt served with the 2nd Royal Irish Rifles in Flanders in 1915 during the Great War of 1914–1918 (the First World War).

### Usefulness

The letter is a primary source written by a soldier who served on the Western Front in the First World War (1914–1918). It describes his experiences in a trench then going over the top and killing some Germans in a German trench opposite. Real, lived experiences are the bases on which history is written. There is a feeling of horror in being involved in an attack and pride in being successful later. Here his bias is useful in giving us a feeling of his experiences.

### Limitation

Even though it was written at the time, the letter includes only the experiences of one Irish soldier. It gives no information of the experiences of other soldiers who may have similar or different experiences. There is no description of the agonies of the wounded or the shell-shock that many experienced. The experiences of women serving as nurses are not mentioned also.

### Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

..	.....	..
..	.....	..
..	.....	..
..	.....	..
..	.....	..
..	.....	..
..	.....	..
..	.....	..
..	.....	..

## Interview transcript

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Interview, memoir, autobiography	This is a person's viewpoint given after an event and shows his/her bias.	Given after the event, the interview may omit certain details depending on how long after the event the interview was conducted.

### Example

A transcript of an interview with Elijah Green, a former slave from Charleston, South Carolina.

Mr Ryan [a slave master] ... was very cruel; he'd ...[whip] his slaves to death. Very seldom one of his slaves survive a whipping.

When slaves run away and their marsters catch them, to the stockade they go, where they be whipped every other week for a couple of months. And for God's sake, don't let a slave be catch with pencil and paper. That was a major crime. You might as well had killed your marster or missus.

... The first two people that was hung in Charleston was Harry and Janie, husband and wife who was slaves of Mr Christopher Black. Mr Black had them whipped and ...and [the slaves] planned to kill the whole family. They poisoned the breakfast one morning, and if two of the family hadn't oversleep, they too would a-been dead. The others die almost immediately. An investigation was made and the poison discovered, and the two slaves hung on the big oak tree in the middle of Ashley Avenue.

Elijah Green was aged 94 when he gave this interview in the 1930s.

### Usefulness

This source describes slavery from a victim's point of view. It uses language that would be authentic. It substantiates generally held perceptions. It was based on an interview, so the assumption can be made that it was for wide dissemination. However, it would have been more useful to know the context of the interview and the target audience. In addition, the speech shows the attitudes of the speaker or the way his opinions have been moulded (either deliberately or subconsciously).

### Limitation

These comments were made long after slavery was abolished, so they may not be reliable due to the passing of time and Elijah Green's age and memory. It does not give a balanced point of view, as there were slave owners who treated their slaves well. As it is a subjective account it must be treated with caution and be cross-referenced with other sources to establish an objective "truth". French historian Jacques le Goff said, 'Memory only seeks to rescue the past in order to serve the present and future.'

### Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

..	.....	.
..	.....	.
..	.....	.
..	.....	.
..	.....	.
..	.....	.
..	.....	.
..	.....	.
..	.....	.

# Speech

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Speech, an account	<p>This is a person's viewpoint.</p> <p>It may echo an official position.</p> <p>The bias may be useful in determining the situation at the time the motive of the person and the type of audience.</p> <p>Speeches are easy to understand, and establish a rapport between the speaker and the audience.</p> <p>Speeches are effective as a means of communication.</p>	<p>The usefulness may be limited because of its the purpose, motive, intended audience and the period when given.</p> <p>Be aware of the emotive words. Do they have an intended purpose?</p> <p>It may be inaccurate and misleading.</p>

## Example

Speech given by the Prime Minister of Great Britain to the House of Commons, London, on June 4th 1940.

We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

The speech became a rallying cry to Parliament and the people of Britain after the forced evacuation of British troops from France in the Second World War.

## Usefulness

This speech was given in 1940 (during the Second World War) by the Prime Minister of Britain, Winston Churchill. It is useful as a primary source. It shows the spirit and determination of Churchill in the dark days. It also reveals the background context that motivated the development of Churchill's views. There was need for someone to buoy up the people in the face of possible defeat in the future; the constant references to fighting supports this view.

## Limitation

This speech is high in hyperbole and it is unclear how useful it was in fulfilling its aims. It makes statements that may not be achievable. As the speech was made in parliament, there is no mention as to whether it reached the ears of the people. It does not give any information about the nature of the Second World War.



*Winston Churchill, 1943.*

## Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....

## Official document

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Diplomatic documents, an official report, an Act of parliament, briefings, government papers, memoranda, minutes, telegrams, records of meetings, private papers, etc.	An official viewpoint. It may give clues as to an official position, the situation at the time and an intended action.	A document may be similar to a speech but without its emotive language. Be aware of the context. Was there a need for a particular outcome?

### Example

Report from William Rayner, Medical Officer for Stockport, England, 1839. He had conducted an investigation into living conditions in that town.

Shephert's Building consists of two rows of houses with a street seven yards wide between them. The houses are built back-to-back. The privies (toilets) are in the centre of each row, about a yard wide. Over them is part of a sleeping room. There is no ventilation in the bedrooms. Each room in the house is about three yards wide and four yards long. The cellars are let off as separate dwellings; these are dark, damp and very low... in the centre of (the street) is the common gutter, into which all sorts of refuse are thrown. In many of these houses there are four people in each bed.

### Usefulness

This source provides information into the poor living conditions in an English town in the 19th century. As Rayner was a Medical Officer, the report is a reliable source, as it can be assumed he was well acquainted with the fact that living conditions could harbour disease. It was written in 1839, so it can be assumed that it is an accurate account, as it was produced at the time. Reports such as these are common and therefore can often be cross-referenced with other reports.

### Limitation

This is a snapshot of one street in one town in England. There is no mention of any other street in that town. We do not know whether Stockport is typical of other towns in England at the time. We know that William Rayner is a Medical Officer but we do not know whether his expertise is in urban design or planning. Nor do we know who commissioned him to do the investigation, or for what reason the investigation was done.

### Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .



## Artwork

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Drawings, postcards, posters, paintings, statues, sculptures, plus music, poetry, etc.	<p>These are very similar to cartoons but without the obvious message.</p> <p>They provide information of a given place/period.</p> <p>You can analyse the symbolism, characterisation, images, lyrics (music) and captions.</p> <p>The style of art may be indicative of the nature of society of the time, e.g. Australian art of the 1890s (Heidelberg school) was related to a growing sense of national identity.</p>	<p>The limitations depend on the artist's purpose (artist's interpretation), intended audience, propaganda, bias, the style of art/music at a particular time etc.</p> <p>Is it truly representative?</p> <p>Are there inaccuracies to satisfy an intended audience?</p>

### Example

A song sung by men dressed as Native American Indians (Mohawks) as they boarded English Tea Ships and tipped tea into the sea at the beginning of the American Revolution (1776).

Rally, Mohawks, bring out your axes,  
 And tell King George we'll pay no taxes  
 On his foreign tea;  
 His threats are vain, and vain to think  
 To force our girls and wives to drink his  
 Vile Bohea!  
 The rally, boys, and hasten on...  
 Fighting Freedom's cause!...

### Usefulness

Songs such as these provide information; in this case we learn about the feelings of American colonists rallying against Great Britain (King George). It shows the rebellious nature of the colonists at the time. It shows an anti-British bias with phrases like 'His threats are vain' and 'Fighting Freedom's cause'.

### Limitation

As this song has no author nor date attached, it is difficult to say that it was sung during the American Revolution. It must be balanced by other songs, as well as written texts to assess its validity. Also, it is doubtful that people would be singing songs if/when they were involved in clandestine activity.

### Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

# Map

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Political maps, demographic maps, etc.	Gives information and shows features of a particular place at a particular time.	A map may not tell you all you need to know.  It may be dated; for example, it may show the USSR although such a country does not exist at the present time.

## Example

Map of British, French and Israeli manoeuvres against Egypt in the Suez crisis of 1956.

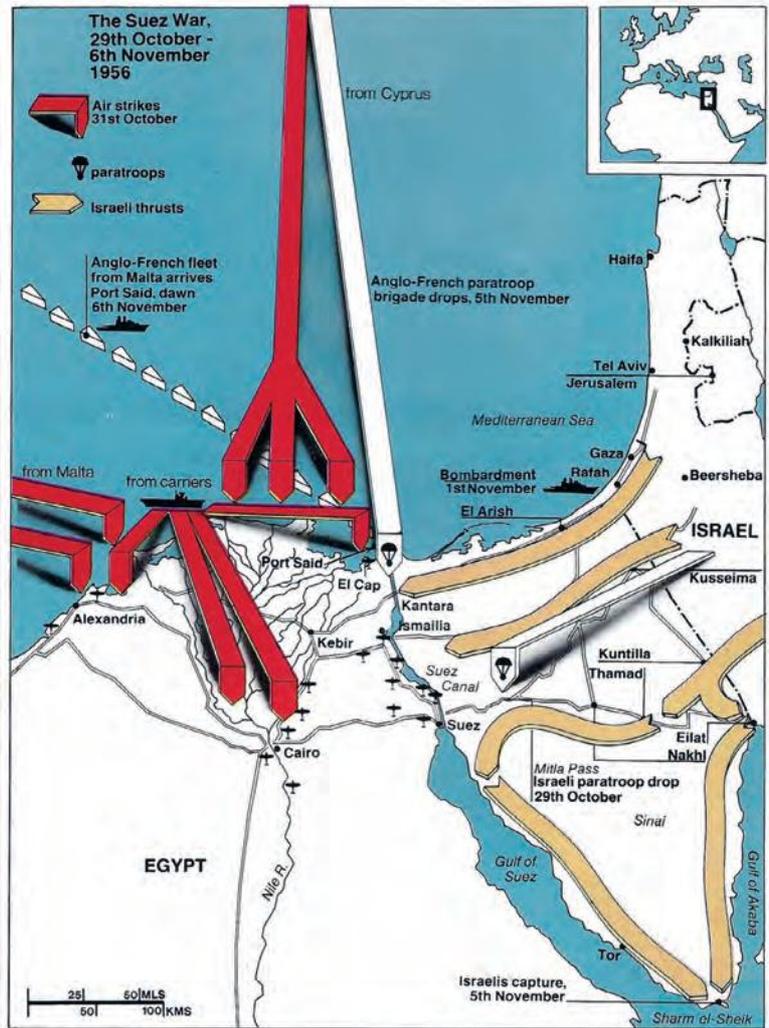
The British and French were reacting against the nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Egypt.

## Usefulness

Maps convey information clearly and simply and enable the reader to visualise what is happening.

## Limitation

Maps are limited in what they can tell a viewer. There is no information about causes, progress of events, outcomes. Maps portray the bias of the cartographer, who may have omitted essential details. Maps require interpretation and analysis (this is not always readily apparent).



## Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

# Data

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Statistics, charts, graphs	Gives information, for example population figures, industrial production etc.	Data may be omitted, falsified or randomly selected. Specific information may not be given. The size of the sample may be too small. The statistics need to be cross-referenced. The compiler's purpose/intention may be examined.

## Example

German election results after the First World War (1914–18).

### Usefulness

Gives information in tabular form. Allows for interpretation and analysis.

### Limitation

Data may have been selectively chosen to fit the bias of the author (note: 'Lies, damn lies and statistics' is a popular saying). The information needs to be cross-referenced with other information to ensure validity. Some terminology (e.g. Moderate Right) needs to be explained.

## Percentage of voters

	Jan 1919	June 1920	May 1924	Dec 1924	May 1928	Sept 1930	Jul 1932
NSDAP [Nazis]	—	—	6.6	3.0	2.6	18.3	37.4
DNVP & DVP [Moderate Right]	14.7	29.1	28.7	30.6	22.9	11.5	7.1
CENTRE & DVP [Catholic]	19.7	17.9	15.6	17.3	15.1	14.8	15.9
DDP [Democrats]	18.6	8.3	5.7	6.3	3.8	3.6	1.0
SPD & USPD [Socialist]	45.7	39.5	21.3	26.0	29.8	24.5	21.6
KPD [Communist]	—	2.1	12.6	9.0	10.6	14.3	14.6

*[The political allegiance of the parties is on a vertical plane, from extreme right-wing at the top to extreme left-wing at the bottom.]*

Prepared from data in G. Castellan, *L'Allemagne de Weimar 1918-1933*, Paris 1969, p.117, quoted in J.W. Hiden, *The Weimar Republic*, 1974, p.81, in R. Brown & C. Daniels, *Twentieth-Century Europe*, Documents and Debates, Macmillan Education, London, 1983, pp. 22-3

## Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

## History texts

Source type	Usefulness	Limitation
Other historians' descriptions (secondary source)	Gathers information from a number of sources and presents a description of people, places and events.	<p>Authors have biases. They may not have chosen texts (sources) that disagree with their biases.</p> <p>Take into account the year of publication (opinions may have become outdated due to subsequent information becoming available).</p> <p>Also be aware of the intended audience (academics, children, culture, gender, etc).</p>

### Example

The following is a historian's account of British actions following the Easter Rising.

On the direct orders of the cabinet in London, reprisals were swift .... The leaders were tried by court martial and shot: only when they were dead were their deaths announced. Among those thus killed was Willie Pearse, who was no leader and who, it was generally believed in Ireland, was killed because he had followed his famous brother; the invalid Plunkett; and, most disgusting of all to Irish minds, Connolly and who had to be propped up in bed for his court martial in his hospital room. He was shot in his chair, since he could not stand.

The 1916 Easter Uprising in Ireland was a rebellion against British rule. Although it was unsuccessful in the short term, because of British brutality in its reprisals, it indirectly led to Irish Home Rule in 1922.

### Usefulness

Gives information. The historian is able to consult a range of primary sources and reflect on the information given. He/she is able to summarise the information researched.

### Limitation

The name of the historian is not given nor is the date of publication. The text is emotive (e.g. 'most disgusting of all'). The author has his/her bias. He/she may have ignored or put a slant on information that did not fit his/her bias. There is no information given about the motives of the British who sat on the court martial. Opinions do change in the light of "new" information being uncovered, which may make the author's information and opinions outdated. For example, Willie Pearse may have had a specific role to play that led to a finding of guilty as charged. Cross-referencing with other information may make the information more valid.

### Exercise

Find an example of this source type and make notes about its usefulness and limitations.

..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....
..	.....

## How to answer Sources Analysis questions

The first question, and sometimes the second, is a **comprehension** question designed to your understanding of a source.

You need to be succinct and answer the question in sentence form. Usually one sentence will be sufficient to fully answer this question.

### Common mistake

Students write too much and waste valuable exam time.

The next question is usually an **interpretation** question where students are asked to make a conclusion from the source.

You need to work out what you can extract from the source – the underlying idea or theme. You can write anything that is relevant so long as you can support your conclusion by using evidence from the source.

### Common mistake

Students treat the question as a comprehension question where they only repeat or copy the words of the source and therefore do not produce their own work.

A **cross-reference** question follows.

You can identify this type of question if it asks *To what extent does Source X support Source Y?*

You need to write a paragraph that shows similarities between the two sources and another paragraph showing differences, as the statement 'to what extent' indicates the need to include both sides of the issue in the answer.

Be aware that you should write about **the evidence that is in the source** not the nature of the source itself. This is better left to the question on usefulness.

### Common mistake

Students only consider similarities or differences not both and hence fail to achieve full marks.

A **usefulness** question is also set.

This is identified by the words *Assess the usefulness and limitations ...*

The word 'assess' should guide your response.

At different times, examiners have provided clues to answering this question by telling the students to consider **content** and **reliability**.

Revise reliability by checking in the previous chapter the usefulness and limitations of various forms of evidence (diary, memoir, cartoon, etc.)

### Common mistake

Students

- only consider content
- do not analyse reliability in any depth. They continually say it is biased without explaining the ways in which it is
- do not consider who, when, why, for what purpose (etc.) was the document produced
- forget to supply evidence from the source in support of their statements.

The last question is a **proposition**.

It is identified usually by a quote with an accompanying rider that states *Evaluate this proposition with reference to all the sources*. The word 'evaluate' should guide your response.

This is a mini-essay where you address the issue of the question and then look at other factors. This is similar to the other two essays you do in the paper. They are then required to make a generalisation by having a brief

opening statement stating what they are going to evaluate and a recommendation about the proposition based on their analysis of all the sources.

### Common mistakes

- Students do not refer to and use all the sources in their answers.
- Students only refer to the issue of the question.

For example, in a past examination paper, the proposition was:

*The problems of eighteenth century London centred on the drinking of gin.*

Here, students only wrote about gin. You should look at other issues as well. For example, for the proposition above, you should consider other problems such as food, housing and unemployment.

- Many students treat this question as a comprehension question. Students quote what is in each source and retell the source's content without any analysis of the proposition.
- Slightly better students do look at both sides of the issue, but still only refer to the sources in order, instead of entering into a discussion where they use all the sources randomly.
- Students do not acknowledge the sources used. They should say '... as in Source 2', or put the number of the source in brackets.

## Sources analysis exemplar

Printed below is an example from the 2007 Modern History Sources Analysis question. It contains the documents, questions, suggested answers, mark scheme and errors to avoid.

### 2007 Modern History Sources Analysis question

#### The Rise of the Merchant Class in Tokugawa, Japan

The Tokugawa period in Japan (1603–1868) was a time of great social and economic change. The rise of a wealthy merchant class was one of the most significant features of this period. The merchants used their wealth to challenge existing power structures in society and to promote the development of an urban culture based on the arts and entertainment. The influence of the merchant class was welcomed by some, but despised by others.

#### SOURCE 1 – A historian’s view of the rise of the merchant class in Tokugawa, Japan.

Throughout the Tokugawa period merchants were disliked and increasingly feared by the authorities. Originally the merchant was put at the bottom of the class system because he was considered a parasite, adding nothing to the economy: it was merely by the handling of goods and produce that were the fruit of another’s toil that he received money and so made his livelihood. Nevertheless, the merchant class rose to a position of ever greater influence and power as time went on, symptomatic of the change from a feudal to a commercial society. As the merchants flourished, so many samurai<sup>1</sup> became increasingly impoverished...

<sup>1</sup> Members of the military ruling class.

*C.J. Dunn, Everyday Life in Traditional Japan, Batsford, London, 1969, p. 97.*

#### QUESTION 1 (Comprehension – one mark):

According to Source 1, how did merchants earn a living in Tokugawa, Japan?

*Answer:* Merchants made money by selling things made by someone else to make a profit.

*Criterion for the mark:* It needs to be one sentence that accurately expresses the answer.

*Mistake to be avoided:* Students write four to five lines that plagiarise a section of the document. Only one sentence, preferably in your own words, worth one mark is needed.

## Your turn to try Sources Analysis

In the following pages, there are six Sources Analysis questions with spaces supplied for your answers.

Check your answers with the suggested answers provided in the back of the book.

#### Topics:

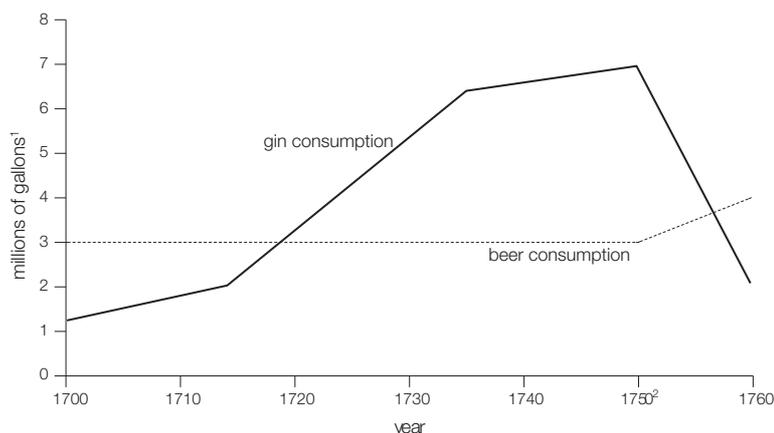
- Gin Lane page 79
- Industrialisation page 83
- Glenelg 1839–1930 page 87
- The Roaring Twenties page 91
- Persecution in society page 96
- The hippie movement page 101

## Gin Lane

### Problems in London in the 18th century

With a population of 700,000, London had become the largest city in Europe by the middle of the 18th century. A number of problems emerged in this large city, including the increasing consumption of gin (a strong alcoholic beverage). Many English artists, writers, social reformers and magistrates drew attention to these problems.

**SOURCE 1 – A graph showing the annual consumption of gin and beer in England and Wales in the 18th century.**



<sup>1</sup> A gallon is equivalent to 4.55 litres.

<sup>2</sup> The 1751 Gin Act introduced selling restrictions that resulted in an increase in gin prices.

*Graph based on data in Abel, EL 2001, 'The Gin Epidemic: Much Ado about What?', Alcohol and Alcoholism, Oxford Journals, vol. 36, no. 5, September-October, p. 401.*

**SOURCE 2 – A modern view of problems in 18th century London.**

To a large degree, the social unrest of the mob, which the genteel class equated with 'lawlessness', was due to sharply rising food costs throughout the 18th century. Labouring families spent as much as 50% and sometimes as much as 80% on essential foodstuffs, especially bread or grain. While they could barely make ends meet in good years, when prices shot up in times of poor harvests, families faced starvation. Rioting often occurred, and desperate people turned to robbery and other crimes for money, or to gin because it provided calories at a lower cost, although it lacked associated nutrients.

... reformers pointed to excessive gin drinking as the cause of social unrest ... [However,] poverty and overcrowding laid the foundation for the era's social problems, and the low cost of gin offered an escape from those realities. Reformers ... were also inclined to blame gin because it was not only the preferred drink of the 'inferior class of people', but also a 'foreign' drink and therefore they could avoid self-recrimination, because they could dismiss problems associated with gin drinking as not of their own making.

Abel, EL 2001, 'The Gin Epidemic: Much Ado about What?', *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, Oxford Journals, vol. 36, no. 5, September-October, pp. 403. 405.

SOURCE 3 – A pair of artworks entitled *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane* were created by William Hogarth in 1751.



Source 3(a): *Beer Street*

In this idealised view of London, Hogarth presents beer drinking as being at the heart of English character and as a healthy activity that contributes to people's well-being.



Source 3(b): *Gin Lane*

In this contrasting view of London, Hogarth presents gin drinking as an unhealthy activity that causes serious social problems.

Abel, EL 2001, 'The Gin Epidemic: Much Ado about What?', *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, Oxford Journals, vol. 36, no. 5, September-October, pp. 403, 405.

SOURCE 4 – Views on London in the 18th century from a transcript of *London: The Greatest City*, a 2004 television documentary.

The gin of the 18th century ... was cheap and lethal. 'This new drink from Holland suddenly arrived among a people who weren't used to drinking spirits,' says Patrick Dillon [a historian]. 'The strongest thing they had drunk before was strong beer ... Stronger than anything they'd tasted before ... [gin] would instantly get them drunk. There was a famous signboard over gin shops that said: "Drunk for a penny, dead drunk for tuppence<sup>1</sup>, straw for nothing" – of course, you got the straw to crash out on once you had drunk too much.'

The government fuelled London's gin craze by removing restrictions on distilling, and soon the city was awash with gin shops ... It was estimated that a quarter of the buildings in St Giles were drinking dens.

... 'The real villains of this debauchery, drunkenness and destruction of human life,' says Professor Dabydeen [a historian], 'were the landowners who made tons of money by selling their corn for the purposes of gin distillation. So there was an economic stranglehold on the poor. They were encouraged to consume something that would destroy their lives ...'

According to Patrick Dillon ... 'Gin was also seen as attacking the economy. At the time, the wealth of the nation was thought to depend on how much poor people could make. If poor people, instead of working hard, were lying slumped in the doorway of a gin shop, then they weren't making anything.'

<sup>1</sup> Two pennies.

Channel 4, [www.channel4.com/history/microsites/H/history/i-m/london4.html](http://www.channel4.com/history/microsites/H/history/i-m/london4.html)





## Industrialisation

### Industrial change in Britain

**SOURCE 1 – A letter sent by a Luddite<sup>1</sup> to an owner of mechanical shearing frames<sup>2</sup> in Yorkshire, c. 1812.**

Sir,

Information has just been given in, that you are a holder of those detestable shearing frames, and I was desired by my men to write to you, and give you fair warning to pull them down, and for that purpose I desire that you will understand I am now writing to you, you will take notice that if they are not taken down by the end of next week, I shall detach one of my lieutenants [assistants] with at least 300 men to destroy them. Further more take notice that if you give us the trouble of coming thus far, we will increase your misfortunes by burning your buildings down to ashes, and if you have the impudence to fire at any of my men, they have orders to murder you and burn all your housing. You will have the goodness to go to your neighbours to inform them that the same fate awaits them if their frames are not taken down, as I understand there are several in your neighbourhood [who are] frame holders.

Signed by the General of the Army of Redressers

Ned Ludd, Clerk

Cole, GDH & Filson, AW (eds) 1965, *British Working Class Movements: Select Documents 1789–1875*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, pp. 114–115.

<sup>1</sup> Luddites – bands of machine-breakers, named after a mythical hero, Ned Ludd.

<sup>2</sup> Shearing frames – weaving looms.

**SOURCE 2 – Autobiography of Joseph Gutteridge, a young apprentice ribbon-weaver, in Coventry, c. 1820.**

When I had served about three years of my apprenticeship, a serious riot occurred among the weavers during a strike ... The proposed reduction in the price of labour, and the introduction of steam power and female labour, incensed the weavers to such an extent that the town was soon in a state of ferment and uproar. Mass meetings of the discontented weavers were held, who after violent denunciations from the leaders, formed themselves into procession and [walked around] ... the town. The attitude of the men became more threatening every day, and the civil power [police] was almost helpless against the outbreak. The Magistrates called in the aid of the military to disperse the people. The massacre by the yeomanry cavalry [a volunteer cavalry force] at a mass meeting of weavers in a field at Peterloo [in 1819], near Manchester, was fresh in the memory of the people, and the appeal to the military so increased the excitement that the worst results were anticipated ...

Chancellor, VE (ed.) 1969, *The Autobiography of Joseph Gutteridge* (1893), Evelyn, Adams and Mackay, London, UK, pp. 101–102, in P Pickering and A Tyrrell (eds) 1991, *Work and Society: The Impact of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions on Britain*, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia, p. 33.

**SOURCE 3 – The Peterloo Massacre, 1819, contemporary print by George Cruikshank.**



*From: The Mansell Collection*

The three banners on the right-hand side of the picture read: 'Univeral Suffrage', 'Liberty or Death', and 'Universal Civil and Religious Liberty'.

Pearce, ML 1986, *Sources in History: The Nineteenth Century*, Bell and Hyman, London, UK, p. 30.

SOURCE 4 – Riots and disturbances between 1811 and 1842.



Sauvain, P 1985, *British Social and Economic History 1760–1980*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, UK, p. 49.

**Questions**

1. Examine Source 4. Name one place where orator Hunt addressed people. (1 mark)

.....

.....

.....

2. From Source 1, identify two actions Ned Ludd's supporters would undertake if his demands were not met. (2 marks)

.....

.....

.....

.....

3. What two conclusions can be drawn from Source 2 about the troubles that existed in England as a result of industrialisation? Support your answer with examples from the text. (2 marks)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....



### Other questions that may be asked

1. Examine Source 2. According to Joseph Gutteridge, why was there social unrest amongst the weavers in Britain?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

2. What impact would the scene in Source 3 have on Joseph Gutteridge (Source 2)?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

3. Examine Sources 2 and 3. To a historian, which would have the greater impact? Give evidence from the sources to support your point of view.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

4. From reading all the sources, what were the causes of unrest in England in the early years of the 19th century?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

*Turn to page 248 for suggested answers.*

## Glenelg 1839–1930

**SOURCE 1** – The early township of Glenelg, c. 1839: a description by George Soward, early settler, architect and Mayor of Glenelg between 1895 and 1898.

### THE ORIGINAL TOWN

... Glenelg was comprised in a block of land 65 acres in extent ... Tenders were called by government for the land, at £1 an acre, and it is said that upwards of 1000 were received ... A township was laid out, in 1/2 acre allotments, and several buildings were almost immediately begun ... [The] original town was laid out 'by Messrs. W. Light and B.T. Finniss ...

Soward, G 1896, *Glenelg Illustrated, 1836–1896*, W.K. Thomas and Co., Adelaide, Australia, p. 76.

**SOURCE 2** – Residence on Glenelg's South Esplanade built in 1878 for William Kyffin Thomas, proprietor of the Adelaide newspaper, the Register.



Perry, D 1985, *The Place of Waters: A History of the First Fifty Years of Glenelg*, published by the author in association with the Corporation of the City of Glenelg and the National Trust of South Australia, Glenelg Branch, Adelaide, Australia, p. 69.

**SOURCE 3** – Glenelg in 1896: an impression by George Soward, early settler, architect, and Mayor of Glenelg between 1895 and 1898.

### TODAY

Glenelg is a most attractive town with a resident population of over 4000, who live in some 800 houses. Many of these buildings are amongst the finest and most choice specimens of architecture to be seen in the province ... The care and attention paid by the Town Council to the streets of the municipality are in keeping with the buildings adorning it, for everywhere are to be found road and foot ways (most of the latter asphalted or tar dressed) remarkable for cleanliness and splendid condition. Sanitation forms a special feature of corporation work, for six times a week throughout the year every paved gutter from one end of the town to the other is carefully swept, besides being frequently flushed with water. The principal streets of the town are well lighted at night, the illuminant being gas.

Soward, G 1896, *Glenelg Illustrated, 1836–1896*, W.K. Thomas and Co., Adelaide, Australia, p. 36.

**SOURCE 4** – Glenelg between 1920 and 1930: comments by historian Tom Brown.

Glenelg was an island of upper class residential development far from the business and commercial centre of the city, and thus, performed a unique function in the development of Adelaide. Although only the wealthy could afford to live in Glenelg, where there was little or no employment, and work in the city every day, anyone could catch an omnibus or coach to Glenelg at weekends for a holiday.

... With the introduction of the motor car, Glenelg lost its exclusive character and its unique advantages. The great urban wave of subdivision opened up the entire coast for settlement and swallowed most of the green belt that had isolated Glenelg and given it its charm for over a century.

... Glenelg was still very much the centre of all Adelaide's holiday activities in the 1920s, and although the town was growing up rapidly and the days of a mansion society were long past, it remained a unique, self-contained and proud community.

Brown, T 1973, *Glenelg 1836–1972: Growth and Function of an Urban Village*, T.J. Strehlow, St Peters, South Australia, pp. 30, 64, 72.

SOURCE 5 – Glenelg’s Luna Park, 1930: a photograph showing Glenelg’s popular seaside attraction, the Big Dipper, and the adjoining sideshow area.



*Glenelg City Council 1979, Historic Glenelg: Birthplace of South Australia 1855–1979, Glenelg City Council, Glenelg, South Australia, p. 169.*

**Questions**

1. According to Source 1, what was the original size of Glenelg? (1 mark)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

2. In reading Source 4, why did Glenelg lose its unique character in the 1930s? Give evidence from the source to support your point of view. (2 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

3. Analyse Source 3. What two conclusions can be drawn about the nature of Glenelg in the 1930s? Give evidence from the source to support your point of view. (2 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

4. Examine Sources 3 and 4. To what extent did change occur between c. 1880 and c. 1930? (4 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .



### Other questions that may be asked

1. How might George Soward (Source 3) have viewed the sideshows described in Source 5? Give evidence from the sources to support your point of view.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

2. Examine Sources 2, 3 and 4. Identify two examples of continuity evident between 1870 and 1930.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

3. How do the sources assist us in understanding the unique nature of Glenelg?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

*Turn to page 250 for suggested answers.*

## The Roaring Twenties

The term 'Roaring Twenties' describes the years 1920–29, a period of social change that arose in response to the devastation of the First World War. The phrase refers to new, permissive attitudes which many countries experienced during the 1920s. However, the carefree lifestyle was only one aspect of a complex society.

### SOURCE 1 – A modern historian's account of the flappers in the 1920s

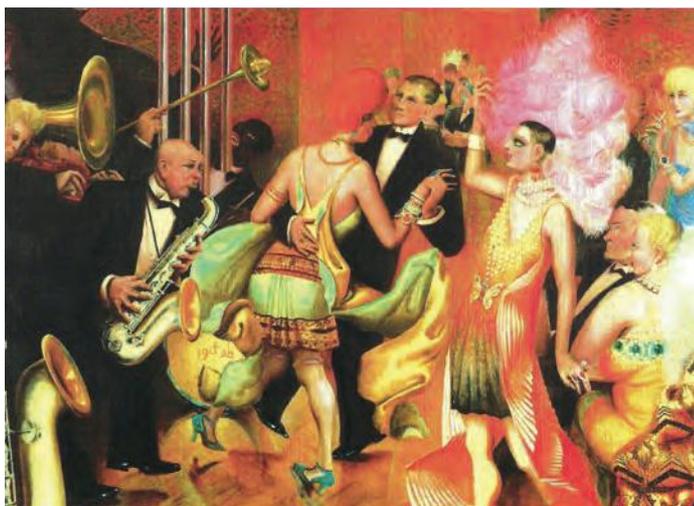
After the First World War young people seemed to rebel against their parents' customs and behaviour. Younger women, especially in the cities, wanted more freedom. They gave up wearing corsets, long skirts, large hats, and complicated hair styles that required long hair and much time to arrange. Bobbed hair<sup>1</sup>, short and shapeless dresses gave them much more freedom of movement. These were the 'flappers' who used make-up, drank alcohol, smoked in public, drove cars and rode motor cycles.

On the whole, only young women from city families with higher incomes enjoyed this new freedom.

<sup>1</sup> Short hair

Swinton, J 1996, *USA 1919–45: The Rise to World Leadership*, Longman, Melbourne, Australia, p. 24.

### SOURCE 2 – An Otto Dix painting, *Big City*, 1927–1928. In the 1920s, Dix lived in the German cities of Dresden, Düsseldorf, and Berlin



Lacey, G & Shepherd, K 1997, *Germany 1918–1945*, John Murray, London, UK, p. 29.

### SOURCE 3 – A transcript of the television documentary *Legendary Sin Cities*, 2005

... [F]or a time in the twenties and theories there was one place known as the wickedest city in the world it was Shanghai ...

The French [in Shanghai] ended up by having their chief detective become the leading racketeer<sup>1</sup> of the French concession and the leading policeman of the French concession<sup>2</sup>. In Shanghai, police and gangsters were one and the same ...

'Big Ears' Du became the godfather of crime in Shanghai, and the money from gambling, prostitution, drug trafficking and protection rackets just kept pouring into the coffers of [his] Green Gang. In the late twenties and early thirties, it was estimated that one-third of China's entire income was under the control of 'Big Ears' D ...

For many Shanghailanders<sup>3</sup> women, life revolved around their social clubs, where they could while the day away with their tennis, horseback riding and mahjong<sup>4</sup>. Pink gins in the afternoon and champagne at night completed a fruitful day.

<sup>1</sup> Someone who makes money by illegal means

<sup>2</sup> An area of Shanghai under French control

<sup>3</sup> Western people living in Shanghai

<sup>4</sup> A popular Chinese card game

*Legendary Sin Cities: Paris, Berlin, Shanghai 2005*, television program, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

#### SOURCE 4 – A front-page article from *The New York Times* reporting on the Valentine's Day Massacre in Chicago, 1929

##### 7 Chicago Gangsters Slain By Firing Squad of Rivals, Some in Police Uniforms

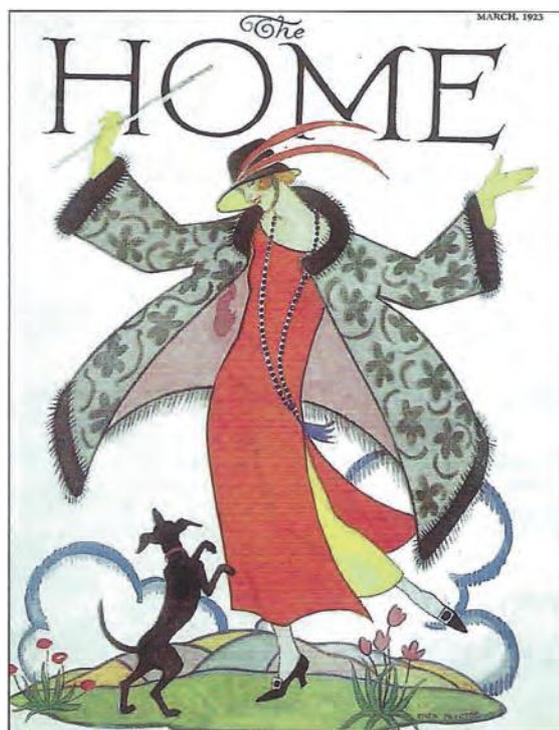
Chicago, Feb. 14 – Chicago gangland leaders observed Valentine's Day with machine guns and a stream of bullets and as a result seven members of the George (Bugs) Moran-Dean O'Banion, North Side Gang are dead in the most cold-blooded gang massacre in the history of this city's underworld ...

The killings have stunned the citizenry<sup>1</sup> of Chicago as well as the Police Department, and while tonight there was no solution, the one outstanding cause was illicit liquor traffic.

<sup>1</sup> People

'7 Chicago Gangsters Slain By Firing Squad of Rivals, Some in Police Uniforms', 1929, *The New York Times*, 15 February, p. 1, viewed 5 August 2019, [www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0214.html](http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0214.html)

#### SOURCE 5 – A cover from a popular Australian women's magazine, *The Home*, 1923



Darlington, R & Hospodaryk, J 1999, *A History of Australia since 1901*, Heinemann, Melbourne, Australia, p. 65.

#### SOURCE 6 – A historian's description of the lower classes in England in the 1920s

Besides children and the elderly, the other groups to suffer hardship most persistently were the sick, the widowed, the low-paid and the unemployed. The latter group, however, made up the largest group of poor in only one study. The problems of the chronically sick and the families which lost their male wage-earner had changed little since the years before the Great War. Prolonged illness in a working-class family, especially a large family, usually meant a bitter struggle against poverty. Moreover, it was still true that for many women widowhood meant not only the loss of a husband but also poverty. Normally, if they earned more than a small amount they forfeited their widow's pension. Frequently this condemned them to eking out a poverty-stricken existence on the pension or accepting low-paid, menial work.

Stevenson, J 1984, *British Society 1914–45*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, UK, p. 136.

## Questions

1. Examine Source 1. Identify two characteristics of the 'flappers' in the 1920s. (1 mark)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

2. What two conclusions can be drawn about life in Germany in the 1920s? Give evidence from the source to support your conclusions. (2 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

3. Examine Source 3. How credible is this source? Give reasons for your opinion. (3 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

4. To what extent is the information given in Source 3 supported by Source 4? Give evidence from each source to support your answer. (4 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

5. Examine Sources 4 and 5. With reference to the content and nature of both sources, assess the usefulness and limitations of these sources for historians studying the 1920s. (5 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .



3. What evidence is there in Source 2 to support the historian's theme described in Source 1?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

4. What is the difference between Source 6 and the other five sources?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

5. Examine Source 5. Why would some people be critical of the cover of *The Home* magazine?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

6. Examine Source 3. What evidence is there that the author is being sarcastic about the type of society in Shanghai?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

*Turn to page 251 for suggested answers.*

## Persecution in society

### Persecution and hope: power and powerlessness in society since c. 1500

SOURCE 1 – A photograph of a classroom in a segregated school in the United States of America, 1949



Brooman, J 1989, *The World since 1900: Sourcebook*, Longman, London, UK, p. 114.

SOURCE 2 – An extract from a speech by anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela in a South African court, 1962

The white man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts and accuses us, and he sits in judgement over us.

It is fit and proper to raise the question sharply, what is this rigid colour-bar in the administration of justice?

Why is it that in this courtroom I face a white magistrate, am confronted by a white prosecutor, and escorted into the dock by a white orderly? Can anyone honestly and seriously suggest that in this type of atmosphere the scales of justice are evenly balanced?

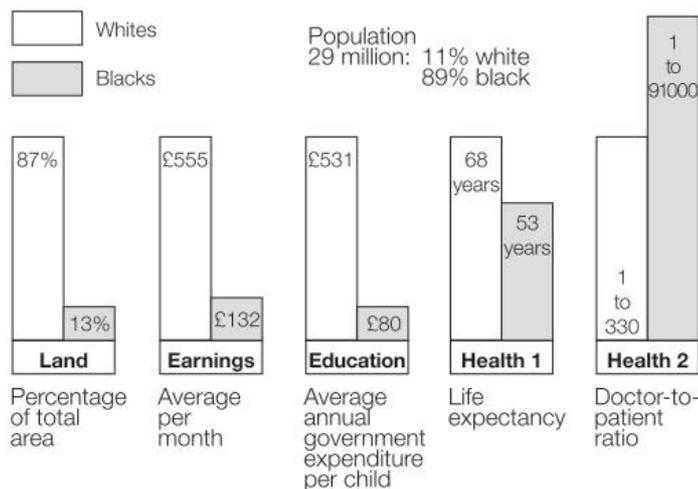
Why is it that no African in the history of this country has ever had the honour of being tried by his own kith and kin, by his own flesh and blood?

I will tell Your Worship why: the real purpose of this rigid colour-bar is to ensure that the justice dispensed by the courts should conform to the policy of the country, however much that policy might be in conflict with the norms of justice accepted in judiciaries throughout the civilised world.

I feel oppressed by the atmosphere of white domination that lurks all around in this courtroom. Somehow this atmosphere calls to mind the inhuman injustices caused to my people outside this courtroom by this same white domination.

Mandela, N 1962, 'Black Man in a White Court', extracted transcripts of court proceedings, 15 October to 7 November, Old Synagogue Court, Pretoria, South Africa, viewed 5 August 2019, [https://www.un.org/en/events/mandeladay/court\\_statement\\_1962.shtml](https://www.un.org/en/events/mandeladay/court_statement_1962.shtml)

**Source 3 – A chart showing a comparison of conditions for black and white South Africans, 1983**



Cannon, J, Clark, B & Smuga, G 1985, *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Cooperation?*, 2nd edn, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, Scotland, p. 47.

**SOURCE 4 – A historian's assessment of the South African legal system**

The law is part and parcel of the apartheid system, an instrument for maintaining the power and privilege of the ruling minority, and for suppressing resistance.

Laws are enacted by the Parliament of the white minority government, or in the case of many of the major laws affecting Africans, simply by proclamation of the President (acting on the advice of the Department of Cooperation and Development). The law regulates, legitimates and promotes the unequal distribution of political, civil, economic and social rights according to the racial classification of those concerned.

In the courts and in the legal profession, white domination and segregation are visible.

The body of legal personnel is overwhelmingly white. In 1977, for example, all of the 87 judges of the Supreme Court were white, as were all but 15 of the 550 advocates and all but 200 out of the 4200 practising Attorneys. At that time all the magistrates and commissioners (the equivalent of magistrates in the special courts for Africans) were white apart from a handful in the bantustans.<sup>1</sup> The same held for prosecutors. As a result of critical staff shortages in the legal system, a few more black magistrates had been appointed by 1982, but the number was very small.

<sup>1</sup>Areas designated by the government as the homelands of black South Africans

*International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa 1983, Apartheid – The Facts*, in cooperation with the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, London, UK, p. 22.

**SOURCE 5 – An extract from an address by the United States president, Lyndon Johnson, to a Joint Session of Congress on 15 March 1965, explaining his Bill to eliminate voting inequalities**

Yet the harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting because they are Negroes.<sup>1</sup> Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been raised to deny this right. The Negro citizen may go to register only to be told that the day is wrong, the hour is late, or the official in charge is absent.

If he persists, and manages to present himself to the registrar, he may be disqualified because he cannot spell out his middle name or because he abbreviated a word on the application.

If he manages to fill out an application he is given a test. The registrar is the sole judge of whether he passes this test. He may be asked to recite the entire Constitution, or explain the most complex provisions of state law. Even a college degree cannot be used to prove that he can read or write. For the fact is that the only way to pass these barriers is to show a white skin...

<sup>1</sup>A term that was in common use until the end of the 1960s to refer to Americans of African origin.

Heather, D 1988, *Case Studies in Twentieth-Century History*, Longman, London, UK, p. 136.

**Questions**

1. From Source 1, list two points to show how poor were conditions in a school for African Americans. (2 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

2. In Source 2, what is Nelson Mandela’s view of the court system? Support your answer with evidence. (2 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

3. What two conclusions can be drawn from Source 3 about the extent of discrimination against black South Africans? Give evidence from the source to support your opinion. (2 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

4. To what extent are the views in Source 2 supported by the views in Source 4? (4 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

5. Examine Sources 1 and 5. Assess the usefulness and limitations of these sources for historians investigating discrimination against African Americans in American society. (4 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .



5. In considering the nature of apartheid, how might one find Nelson Mandela’s speech (Source 2) more useful than the statistics shown in Source 3?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

6. Compare Sources 2 and 3. What does the comparison suggest about the nature of South African society?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

7. Examine all sources. How do the sources help historians understand the problems faced by black South Africans in society?

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

8. What is the main idea expressed in Source 4? Does any other source provide any evidence to support this idea? Explain your answer.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

*Turn to page 252 for suggested answers.*

## The hippie movement

### The counterculture of the hippie movement in the 1960s

A new social group that arose in the United States and spread to many other countries in the mid-1960s was called the 'hippie movement'. This name was taken from the language of jazz, indicating an individual who is 'hip' – aware of the true meaning of life. The hippies withdrew from mainstream American culture and established a counterculture based on different values. The middle class saw the hippie movement as a subversion of what it viewed as the Western way of life.

#### SOURCE 1 – A historian's account of 1960s hippie culture

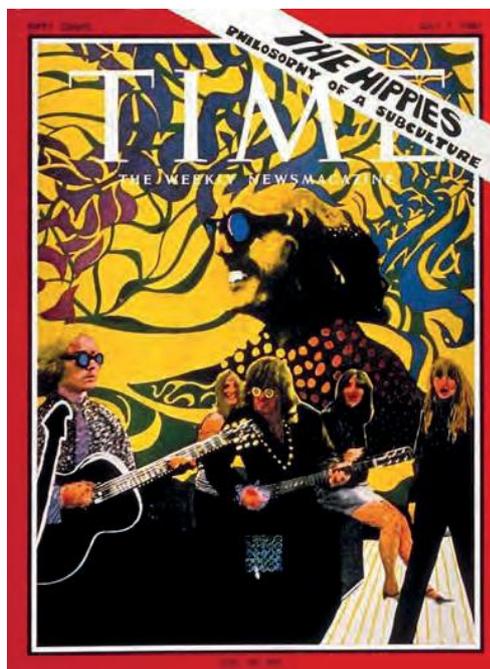
[...] bands of well-to-do white youths came into the streets as the hippies, flower children, dropouts, and rebels of the 1960s. Though a minority of their age group, they were so visible and so audible that they always seemed far more numerous than they were [...] They crowded the sidewalks around college campuses. They became the most committed white partisans<sup>1</sup> of black rights and the bulwark<sup>2</sup> of a marching, chanting peace movement. [...] their protest groups rallied many more young people behind specific campaigns for student rights and social justice. By 1967 and 1968, student strikes were commonplace. So were colonies of young people, including swarms of teenage runaways, who experimented with communal life, drugs, and poverty.

<sup>1</sup> A person who is very strongly devoted to a party or cause

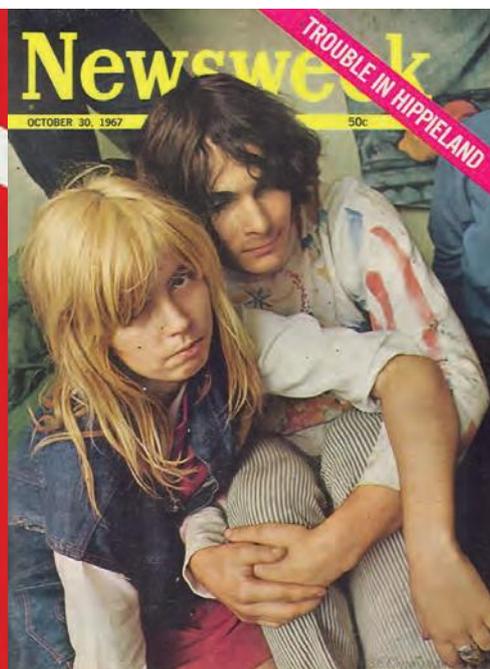
<sup>2</sup> Defender of a cause

Bailyn, B 1981, *The Great Republic: A History of the American People*, 2nd edition, D.C. Heath and Company, Lexington, Massachusetts, USA, p. 904.

#### SOURCE 2 – The covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*, 1967. These were two popular American news magazines of the 1960s



Source 2(a) *Time*, 7 July 1967,  
www.time.com



Source 2(b) *Newsweek*, 30 October 1967

## SOURCE 3 – A pamphlet by the Edge of Culture Group presenting its view of the hippie movement, 1969

## FIGHT HIPPIE FILTH!

Secure your future and well-being of your children from the hippies poisonous influence.

Let reason defeat their idiotic and barbarous philosophies.

HOW do the HIPPIES

HURT YOU?

LOOK at your pay-cheque your weekly taxes!

Someone is paying for their laziness, their carelessness, their un-wed mothers, their welfare cheques, their drug-damages, their criminal activity, their demoralization of youths, their poisonous influence, their arrests and jailings and so on and on and on.

This someone is you! Yes, you pay for them with your taxes!

Some day they may cost you much more than that...

HIPPIES ARE NOT PEACEFUL, but most violent revolutionaries. In fact, they are a communist weapon in action against us. Let us be fully aware of this fact. There are mountains of evidence to prove this reality.

Their empty talk of love and peace is cheap and deceptive. It is merely aimed at the thoughtless young minds and appeals to the ideals of youth; it seeks to attract ignorant victims and place them into the poisonous influence of communist propaganda. Then, with enough time and plenty of perverted reasoning, the youngsters are conditioned into becoming hate filled revolutionaries for the cause of communist advance.

Aronsen, L & Benedict, J 2007, 'Hippies and their Discontents: Cultural Conflict in Vancouver, 1965–1970', *West Coast Line*, vol. 41, no. 2, Summer, p. 29.

## SOURCE 4 – A journalist's analysis of the hippie movement, 1967

...[T]he hippies have emerged on the U.S. scene in about 18 months as a wholly new subculture, a bizarre permutation<sup>1</sup> of the middle-class American ethos from which it evolved. Hippies preach altruism<sup>2</sup> and mysticism<sup>3</sup>, honesty, joy and nonviolence. They find an almost childish fascination in beads, blossoms and bells, blinding strobe lights and ear-shattering music, exotic clothing and erotic slogans. Their professed aim is nothing less than the subversion of Western society by "flower power" and force of example.

<sup>1</sup> Variation

<sup>2</sup> Unselfish concern for the welfare of others

<sup>3</sup> Belief or experience beyond everyday understanding or experiences

'Youth: The Hippies' 1967, *Time*, 7 July, viewed 5 August 2019, <http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,899555-1,00.html>

## SOURCE 5 – Two photos taken in the 1960s depicting hippies



Source 5(a): A photograph of actors from the stage show *Hair*, 1968. The musical reflected the hippie movement in a popular form

Burrows, T (ed.) 2005, *The Visual History of the Modern World*, Funtastic, p. 330.

Source 5(b): A man smiles while driving his Ford Mustang to the Woodstock Music and Art Fair, August 1969. This event attracted thousands of hippie followers

Burrows, T (ed.) 2005, *The Visual History of the Modern World*, Funtastic, p. 330.

SOURCE 6 – A cartoonist's view of a hippie and his neighbour, 1977. This cartoon was published in the *Ubysey*, a student newspaper of the University of British Columbia, Canada



Aronsen, L & Benedict, J 2007, 'Hippies and their Discontents: Cultural Conflict in Vancouver, 1965–1970', *West Coast Line*, vol. 41, no. 2, Summer, p. 23.

## Questions

1. Examine Source 1. Identify two aims of the hippie movement.

(1 mark)

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

2. What two conclusions can be drawn from Sources 2(a) and 2(b) about hippie culture? Give evidence from both sources to support your conclusions.

(2 marks)

..

..

..

..

..

..

..

3. In what ways can Source 3 be considered biased? Give evidence from the source to support your answer. (2 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

4. To what extent do the images in Sources 5(a) and (b) support the views expressed in Source 4? Give evidence from each source to support your answer. (4 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

5. Examine Sources 5 and 6. With reference to content and reliability, assess the usefulness and limitations of these sources for historians studying the hippie movement. (4 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

- 6. 'The goal of the hippie movement can be summed up in one word – peace.'  
Evaluate this statement with references to all the sources.

(6 marks)

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

**Other questions that may be asked**

- 1. Which of Sources 2(a), 2(b), 5(a), 5(b) and 6 best reflects the journalist's view of the hippie movement expressed in Source 4? Give a reason for your answer.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

- 2. Examine Source 3. Give two reasons why the Edge of Culture group was so opposed to the hippie movement.

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

.. .. .

3. Examine Source 1. According to the historian, what were two causes of the hippie movement?

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

4. What problem exists for the historian using Source 3 as evidence?

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

5. What problem exists for the historian in using magazine covers (Sources 2(a) and 2(b)) as evidence?

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

6. Explain, in your own words, the main idea expressed in Source 6.

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

.. ..... \*

Turn to page 254 for suggested answers.

## SECTION

## 3

## Topics

The topics included in this section of the book can be divided along simple lines: examinable topics, and non-examinable topics.

## Examinable areas of study

The following examinable topics were chosen for the reasons below:

### Germany (1918–1948)

This is Topic 3 in the SACE Subject Outline.

The story of the rise of Adolf Hitler, the reasons he came to power, the nature of his regime and the war and its aftermath have been popular areas of study that have captivated students and teachers over a long period of time.

Begin this topic on page 108.

### The Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004)

This is Topic 4 in the SACE Subject Outline.

This area of study has been very popular with students and teachers alike for many years. The scope of the topic has changed with the new syllabus with a concentration on events near to the present day. Russia is a powerful player in the global world order.

Begin this topic on page 131.

### China (1948–c.2012)

This is Topic 6 in the SACE Subject Outline.

China has become a powerful player in the Asia–Pacific region. With its influence spreading into many areas of Australia's interests including migration, economics and political relationships, a knowledge of China, its place in the world and the forces that have shaped it is seen as an integral area of study.

Begin this topic on page 164.

## Non-examinable areas of study

The new SACE Modern History course includes areas of study that will not be tested in the two-hour examination at the end of the year. These areas of study will be a strong focus for student investigation and analysis.

The topics included in this book are provided as a guide for student research. The two topics chosen for inclusion are seen as integral areas of study that will engage student interest. These two topics are:

**The Changing World Order (1945– ),** page 193.

**National Self-determination in South-East Asia (1945–),** page 222.

These are Topics 7 and 9, respectively.

## Germany (1918–48)

### Background study: The aftermath of defeat (1918–19)



*A 1914 cartoon showing the 'characters' of Europe playing their parts in the war with Germany.*

### Germany at the end of the First World War

At this time, Germany had not been invaded and therefore believed it had not been defeated but 'stabbed in the back' by Jews and Communists.

Germany was subjected to a blockade by Allied shipping till the signing of the peace treaty. The blockade caused immense suffering with thousands of deaths owing to disease and starvation. Although the Allies were on hand to provide food supplies, none were delivered until Germany handed over its merchant shipping.

A request made to the United States for a loan to help Germany recover from their problems was refused.

The end of the war saw the abdication of the German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and the establishment of a republic later called the Weimar Republic. The Weimar Government was named after the Weimar Constitution, which was created in the German town of Weimar in 1919 after the First World War.

In January 1919, there was a general strike known as the January or Spartacist Uprising, which aimed to create a communist government in Germany. The Spartacists were set up in November 1918 and led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. This uprising was put down by the Republican government with the assistance of the Freikorps, who were ex-soldiers armed with weapons and military equipment left over from the First World War.



*Kaiser Wilhelm II, 1915*

## Impact of the postwar settlements, particularly the Treaty of Versailles on Germany.

The Treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany was a chance for France to get revenge on Germany for the humiliation caused back in 1871, when, after the Franco–Prussian War, the German Kaiser was crowned in the French palace of Versailles. In that 1871 treaty, France lost the two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and had to pay a large amount in reparations.

The cost of First World War was huge and had to be met through reparations that Germany and their Allies had to pay.

The Treaty of Versailles became a dictated peace.

The treaty was based on the 14 points of President Wilson of USA, which included self-determination of subject peoples and the formation of a ‘world government’: the League of Nations. Wilson tried to maintain an even-handed approach until he was struck down by an attack of influenza. Thereafter he became more open to compromise to the demands of Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau of France. Overall, Wilson’s points were very idealistic and could not stand up to the competing demands of other Allied leaders.

One Allied leader was David Lloyd George of Great Britain who, despite going to the treaty negotiations to make Germany pay, adopted a more conciliatory view of Germany’s situation. He did this for the following reasons:

- There was growing animosity towards France and France’s intransigence.
- He saw need for a stronger Germany as a bulwark against Communist Russia.
- He wanted a stronger Germany as a trading partner in Europe.

Another leader was Clemenceau, nicknamed ‘The Tiger’. He went to the treaty negotiations with one aim: revenge. The French desire for revenge originated in 1871 when Germany seized the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The desire for revenge only grew during the First World War, as much of the fighting took place on French soil and involved much loss of life and property.

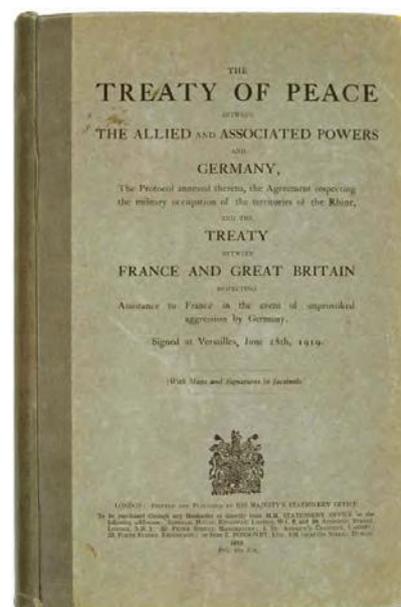
### Key elements of the Treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany

#### *Loss of territory*

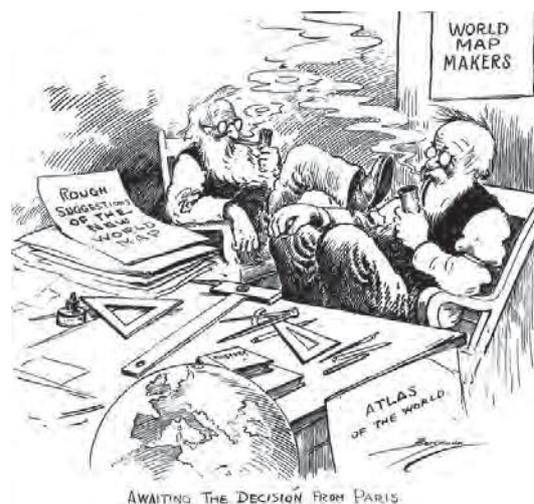
- Germany lost outright Alsace–Lorraine to France, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, West Prussia to the new state of Poland, and the Sudetenland to Czechoslovakia.
- Under the concept of self-determination (people to decide by plebiscite), Germany lost northern Schleswig to Denmark, and eastern Upper Silesia to Poland.
- The Rhineland (a strategic area between Germany and France) was retained by Germany but Germany was not allowed to station any armed forces within it.
- The Saar basin, an area rich in minerals, was put under control of the League of Nations, but the profits from the sale of its wealth were to be appropriated by France.
- Danzig, an important port on the Baltic Sea, was also put under control of the League of Nations.

#### *Loss of armed strength*

- Germany was forbidden to have more than six battleships, six light cruisers, 12 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats.
- Germany was not allowed any submarines nor combat aircraft.
- The German army was restricted to 100 000 personnel to protect internal security.



*The cover of the Treaty of Versailles*



*Cartoon by Clifford Berryman, 18 September 1919*

*Loss of empire*

- Germany's empire in Africa, the Pacific and Asia was taken away from her and entrusted to the League of Nations (Mandate Territories). In practice, they went under the control of the Allies.

*Union with Austria*

- This was forbidden.

*Reparations*

- Germany had to surrender excess military supplies, 5000 locomotives, 1500 wagons and 5000 motor vehicles to the Allies.
- Germany had to pay £24 000 000 000 to the Allies and suffer military occupation of a key mining area called the Ruhr until it was paid.

*'War guilt' clause*

- This clause was most annoying to Germany, who had to accept blame for the war.

*Immediate effect on Germany*

- Germany was not present at the discussions of the treaty but called in to sign at the end of the discussions. The Allies threatened to resume war if Germany did not sign the treaty.

**Aims and goals of the Weimar Republic**

- To rebuild a shattered economy after the First World War. To do this, they issued a new currency, the Rentenmark (RM).
- To avoid hyperinflation.
- To negotiate and hence pay back reparations to begin the return to prosperity.
- To establish a stable democracy that was accepted by the people.
- To remove the threats of extremists from the Left (Communists) and the Right (future Nazi supporters, ex-army personnel, authoritarian government sympathisers).
- To establish negotiated agreements with wartime enemies. This was established with the Treaty of Locarno which guaranteed the postwar borders of Germany, France and Belgium.
- To be admitted as an equal nation to the League of Nations.



500 Rentenmark (RM) note from 1923. 500 RM was the equivalent of 5 trillion 'old' Reichmarks.

## Focus area: the liberal experiment

This focus area explores three core ideas about change in German society between 1918 and 1948: economic, political and social.

### Economic change in Germany

#### Key points

The changing economic conditions, including reparations, hyperinflation and the Great Depression.

It is undeniable that Germany suffered economically in the years following the First World War; reparation payments to Germany's wartime opponents contributed significantly to this turmoil.

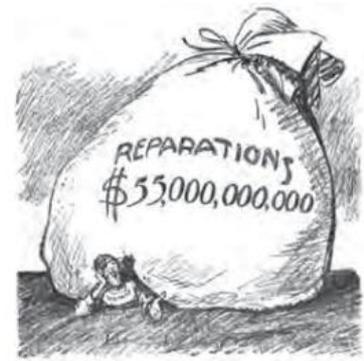
#### Reparations

A Reparations Commission was set up to fix the amount to be paid. In 1921, it was fixed at 6600 English pounds to be paid over 42 years.

Germany paid a small amount in 1922 but defaulted in 1923. As a result, French and Belgian troops invaded the German industrial area called the Ruhr. Eventually, the troops left the Ruhr, after all parties agreed with the Dawes Plan, which set a lower level of payments to be paid over a longer period. This was further scaled down in 1929 by the Young Plan. Germany was assisted in its repayments by loans supplied by the US governments.

Germans saw the issue of reparations as a national humiliation.

In 1932, as a result of the Great Depression, the Allies suspended the payment of reparations. In 1933, the German Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, abolished reparation payments.



Cartoon in *New York World*, 1921

#### Aa Definition

**Reparations:** Compensation for damage caused by the war.

#### ? Key issue

Given the times, was the issue of reparations fair on Germany?

---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---

Turn to page 256 for thoughts on this issue.

#### Hyperinflation

The German unit of currency was the Mark. In 1923, the Mark lost all value when the government of the time printed extra money to cover reparation payments and to pay the workers of the Ruhr. In 1921, there were 4 Marks to the dollar. By November 1923, there were 4 210 500 000 000 Marks to the dollar.

People lost their savings overnight. Prices of goods doubled within the hour and people were paid a wheelbarrow full of million dollar Marks – this was barely enough to buy essential goods.

#### Aa Definition

**Hyperinflation:** Monetary inflation occurring at a very high rate. Prices of goods rise astronomically.

The situation arose because of the high reparation demands and the passive resistance of German workers to the French and German troops who occupied the Ruhr.

In these times of crisis, the promises of extremist parties such as the Nazis on the Right and the Communists on the Left became very appealing.

### The Great Depression

This began in the United States of America (US) as a result of the Wall Street Crash. As Germany relied on American loans to pay reparations (viz. the Dawes and Young Plans), the Depression hit Germany really badly. The experiences of the 1923 Depression re-emerged. Hyperinflation, food shortages and high unemployment re-appeared. To many people, this was 1923 revisited and extremist political parties grew more popular again.

### ? Key issue

What types of promises would extremist political parties make to gain support?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Turn to page 256 for thoughts on this issue.

## Political change in Germany

### Key points

The nature and response to political threats from the Left and Right, which questioned stability and legitimacy.

After the war, and after the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II, many parties from the Left and Right (as well as a Catholic Centre Party) were established in the new German republic.

#### The Left in Weimar Germany

The leader of the Social Democratic Party (a moderate left-wing party and the majority party in the Reichstag) was Friedrich Ebert. Ebert became president.

At the same time, a German Communist Party called the Spartacists was formed under the leadership of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. This party modelled itself on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and tried to seize power based on the successful revolution in Russia in October 1917. They were defeated by a volunteer party (right-wing) of ex-soldiers called the Freikorps created by Ebert. Luxemburg and Liebknecht were captured and shot.



Portrait of Friedrich Ebert.  
(Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 102-00015 / CC-BY-SA 3.0)



2. Why was the Right more likely than the Left to succeed in Germany?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Turn to page 256 for thoughts on these issues.

## Cultural change in Germany

### Key points

The changing nature and expression of social class, including movements in architecture, art, music, and/or cinema.

During the Weimar period, there was a great flowering of the arts, science, philosophy and ways of life. This can be summed up as the **modernisation** period, which was at odds with **traditional** period of pre-First World War Germany. It was the 'new' vs the 'old'; the 'young' vs the 'old'.

#### Examples of 'new' vs 'old' Germany

**Architecture:** The Bauhaus vs classical architecture

**Art:** 'degenerative' art vs expressionism

**Music:** jazz/cabaret vs traditional classics

**Lifestyle:** city life vs country ideals

**Social life:** sex without marriage, promiscuity, growth and popularity of prostitution vs traditional values

### ? Key issue

How did the clash of cultures reflect the political system in Weimar Germany?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Turn to page 256 for thoughts on this issue.



## Hitler's rise to power

### Key points

The following points are all covered under discussion of Hitler's rise to power:

- The aims, methods and appeal of the Nazi movement, which resulted in the move from political fringe to government.
- The role of key individuals and groups working for and against the Nazi victory.
- The consolidation of power in the hands of an elite within one party.

### Hitler's personality

Hitler had an electric speaking ability that enabled him to enthrall huge numbers of people with his:

- appeal to order
- contempt for Germany's present economic and social position
- appeal to the glorious days of Frederick the Great and Bismarck
- appeal to the future.

Hitler was to capitalise on the fears of the people by offering all things to all people:

- jobs to the unemployed
- security to the nation
- removal of the fear of Bolshevism, which scared factory owners, business people, others who had wealth
- markets for goods which appealed to farmers
- factory workers, who were afraid of losing their jobs
- small businessmen ('petite/petty bourgeoisie')
- a secure place to bring up families
- good times for all except the Jews and Communists.

### Significant issues in Hitler's rise to power

#### *Treaty of Versailles*

Germany had received unfavourable peace terms at the Treaty of Versailles. In his speeches throughout the 1920s and 30s, Hitler reminded the people of the **November Criminals**, the people who signed the Versailles Treaty. For all the economic troubles of the 1920s and 1930s, the causes were simplified to 'Jews and Communists and International Capitalists' who had agreed to the unfavourable terms of the treaty.

#### *Hitler's organisation in the early years (1924–1933)*

Hitler had fought with distinction (he won an Iron Cross) during the First World War.

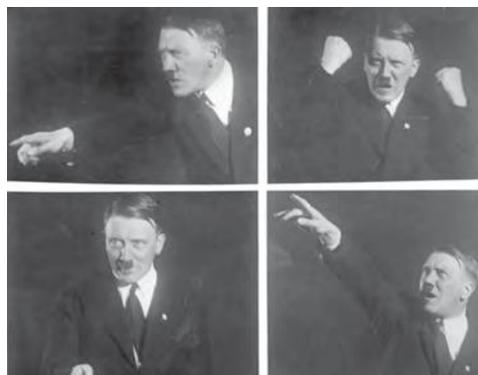
After the war, he joined many returned servicemen who believed that Germany had not lost the war but had been defeated at the peace negotiations. He joined a small right-wing political party – the Nationalist Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP = Nazi) – in 1921 and soon rose to the top because of his speaking ability.

After an abortive uprising in Munich in 1923, Hitler was thrown into gaol where he compiled his thoughts into a book called *Mein Kampf*, which became a 'bible' for the Nazi movement.

After serving 10 months of a five-year sentence, he was released and decided to organise the party and come to power through the election process.

By 1927, Hitler's tiny party (72 000 members) was divided into 34 geographical sections, six separate occupational sections (e.g. youth group, women's group) and four departments – one each for propaganda, campaigning, policymaking and storm troopers (the SA and SS).

As the party grew in size over the years, this organisational structure grew comparably. This meant that when Hitler came to power in 1934, the party was able to take over the running of the country.



*Hitler rehearsing poses for his speeches, c. 1927*  
(Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 102-10460 / Hoffmann, Heinrich / CC-BY-SA 3.0)

### *Weakness of existing governments*

In Germany, the Weimar Government was always a series of coalitions. Frequent elections were held. These factors meant that there was no stability.

The government was also blamed for Versailles, signing treaties with 'enemies', and causing economic depressions.

The climax to this was the Nazis' use of the election process to achieve power. In the 1932 elections in Germany, the Nazis became the strongest party but did not achieve an absolute majority. Hitler was invited to become Chancellor (Prime Minister) by rival politicians who thought they could cash in on the popularity of the fascists yet control Hitler in the Reichstag (the German parliament). They were mistaken.



*Adolf Hitler shakes President Hindenburg's hand in 1933  
(Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-S38324 / CC-BY-SA 3.0)*

Soon after Hitler was named Chancellor, the Reichstag suffered a serious arson attack. Hitler blamed the fire on the Communists, but many people believe Hitler engineered the attack. He used the fire to declare a 'state of emergency'.

In a snap election (1933), Hitler still did not get enough support, so he banned the Communist Party and did deals with other parties to secure a two-thirds majority. This majority meant he could pass an Enabling Act that gave him power to make laws without the consent of parliament. He used this power to ban all parties except the Nazi Party.

After the death of the president (First World War army General Paul von Hindenburg) in 1934, Hitler was able to become president after a night of terror (see page 119), whereby he gained control of the army. Hitler secured the power of a dictator (*Fuhrer*).

### *Fear of Communism*

The Russian Revolution in 1917 and its aftermath caused great fear in the German people. The people who were most afraid were those who had property and felt that they would lose it if Communists came to power. During the Great Depression, Communism gained much support. Hitler was able to blame all of Germany's woes on the Communists and their 'allies', the Socialists.

### *Hitler's ability to attract powerful supporters*

In the 1920s and 30s, Hitler was able to win support from key people in media, finance and industry who supplied money to the Nazi Party. One such person was Alfred Hugenberg, who controlled a monopoly of media interests. Another was Baron von Krupp, a leading industrialist whose industries supplied much of Hitler's armaments in the Second World War.

Key Nazi figures at this time were:

- **Joseph Goebbels**, who headed Hitler's propaganda machine
- **Hermann Goering** (Göring), the second most powerful figure in the party
- **Heinrich Himmler**, the leader of Hitler's SS
- **Ernst Röhm**, the leader of Hitler's paramilitary force, the SA

However, **Hitler's support was never total**. Some opponents included:

- some members of the Catholic Centre Party
- many of the old aristocratic families who regarded Hitler as an upstart
- leading figures in the army who disliked the growing influence of the SA
- Jews
- Social Democrats
- Communists.



*Nazi propaganda poster, 1940. The text translates to 'Into dust with all enemies of Greater Germany!', i.e. 'Smash the enemies of Greater Germany!'*

*Hitler's use of propaganda*

This propaganda included visual (what people could see) and aural (what people heard) material.

**? Exercise**

In the space below, give examples of the propaganda techniques (aural and visual) that Hitler used. Use your textbooks to find examples and place them in the table.

Aural	Visual

*Hitler's use of terror tactics*

In Germany, terror tactics (bashings and murders of opponents, the breaking-up of meetings etc.) were handled by the SA (Sturmabteilung, Storm Troopers, Brownshirts – Hitler's private army) and the SS (SchutzStaffel – Hitler's security force).

These groups disrupted meetings that were organised by rival political parties. They attacked and burned rival party headquarters and assaulted opponents. The Jews and rival politicians were constant victims of attacks.

The greatest example of terror was in 1934 when the SS, in an occasion known as the **Night of the Long Knives**, murdered several hundred of Hitler's opposition. This included members of Hitler's private army (the SA – Brown Shirts). Hitler ordered this because the regular army, which Hitler needed for support, thought that the SA were becoming too powerful. This was the price Hitler had to pay to become president and thus gain control of the army.

*The Great Depression*

The problems of the Great Depression in Germany attracted mass support for Hitler. People had:

- lost their jobs
- watched as their life savings dropped to nothing as the value of the currency dwindled to nothing
- had to search in rubbish bins for food
- had to sell their possessions to get money
- had to stand on food lines
- were easily attracted to people who promised them a better future.

Hitler had promises to entice all these people.



## Focus area: the Nazi State in peace and war

### The creation and consolidation of the totalitarian state

#### The nature and personality of the leader

Hitler was, first and foremost, determined to command personally. According to his so-called 'leader principle' (*Führerprinzip*), ultimate authority rested with the Führer and extended downward. At each level, the superior was to give the orders, which the subordinates had to follow to the letter.

Hitler was a spell-binding orator who could articulate the grievances of the masses. He knew and utilised aspects of crowd control. People felt that he was addressing them as individuals. He dressed in military outfits to command a presence of order and authority. To the masses, he appeared as a god-like person who would bring them security and prosperity.

#### Ideology as the philosophical basis of the state's power

Nazi ideology can be classed as an anti-philosophy. It was anti-democratic, anti-liberal and, above all, anti-Communist, as it sacrificed the individual to the needs of the state. Under Nazi rule, capitalism was subordinated to the needs of the state. Nazi ideology included beliefs in internal unity, in the strengthening of the state, in the leader and in cooperative struggle.

#### Army and security forces as a measure of control

In Germany, the army was the symbol of the state. It was supplied with the latest technology and trained to a state of readiness for war. Because it could be seen as a prospective rival to power, the army was made to swear an oath of allegiance to Hitler.

#### Emphasis on past traditions

In Germany, the fascist state placed great emphasis on past traditions as the basis of the state. Through artworks and education, Germans were reminded of the days of the Teutonic Knights when the German race stood firm against Slavic 'hordes'. Other heroes whom Hitler admired were:

- Frederick the Great, the Prussian\* king, who was famous for developing the strongest army in Europe and using war as a key element of foreign policy
- Otto von Bismarck (the unifier of the German states under Prussian control through his policy of iron = industry and blood = war)



October 1938: Hitler is driven through the crowd in Cheb, Czechoslovakia, which had been annexed to Nazi Germany as part of the Munich Agreement. (Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 137-004055 / CC-BY-SA 3.0)

#### Aa Word focus

\***Prussia:** the strongest German state outside of Austria in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

## Propaganda

The propaganda was visual, i.e. what people were able to see. This included:

- flags
- banners
- uniforms
- the Berlin Olympics in 1936
- rallies, such as the Nuremberg Rally in 1934
- film
- posters
- bands
- marches
- classical art.

The propaganda was also aural, i.e. what people heard.

Joseph Goebbels (Minister of Propaganda in Germany) had a radio set up in every house. Emphasis was placed on past greatness, the denunciation of communism, the wrongs of Versailles, racial purity, the rooting out of traitors to the state (in Germany, these 'traitors' were the Jews).

The propaganda made promises of a 'glorious future'.

## Education

The Nazi regime brought all schools under state control, purged teachers, censored books and emphasised past traditions and physical fitness. Courses on racism emphasising Aryan purity were introduced. Also there were intensive programs of rallies and physical education. History books were rewritten to emphasise past greatness in line with Nazi ideology.

## Youth movements

The Nazi regime saw youth as the 'caretakers of the future'. Hitler spoke of a 'Thousand-Year Reich'. The **Hitler Youth** movement and the **League of German Maidens** had over two-thirds of the German youth enrolled in them by 1938. In 1939, membership was made compulsory. Activities in Hitler Youth groups were healthy and exciting.

## Building the strength of the state

In Germany, there was a **labour front** and an **agriculture front** under the control of the state. The aim was to reach *Autarky*: self-sufficiency in industry and agriculture.

The labour front fixed wages and conditions, and provided workers with rest and recreation facilities. This scheme was known as **Strength through Joy**. Under this plan, leisure activities – including cut-price theatre tickets, sports activities, hikes, paid-for holidays and cruises – were provided to industrious workers.

The agricultural front protected the small farmer, stabilised prices and ran marketing. In agriculture and industry, a quota system was set up under a series of **Four-Year Plans**.

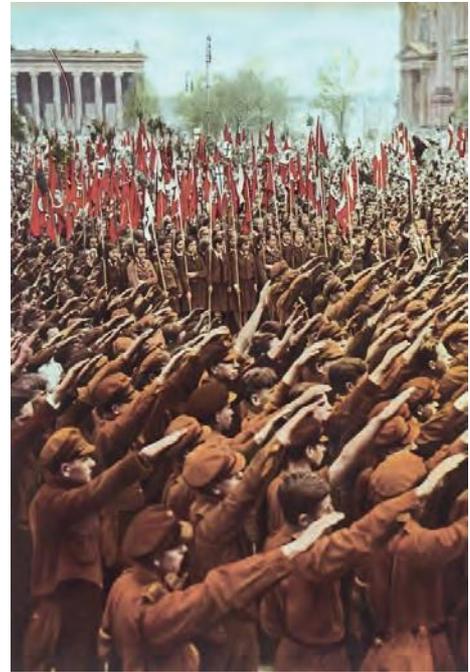
In agriculture, Germany reached 80 per cent self-sufficiency.

Economic achievements of Hitler's regime in Germany included:

- public works being set up (e.g. buildings, roads, hospitals, schools)
- industrial production of armaments, ships and aeroplanes, which was established in defiance of the Versailles Treaty
- the establishment of The People's Car (*Volkswagen*) industry.



*Two members of a propaganda group with a NSDAP radio loudspeaker van, c. 1939. (Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 101I-036-0175-16 / Harren)*



*Hitler Youth performing the Nazi salute at a rally in Berlin, 1933. (Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 147-0510)*

## The 'pure German state' and the 'Master Race'

The true German was blond, blue-eyed, tall, lean and athletic. The women were expected to be beautiful and child-bearers.

Jew, Slavs, Gypsies were 'subhuman' and eventually to be removed – firstly by forced migration to Madagascar, and later by extermination.

## Foreign policy

Other aspects of Hitler's totalitarian state were:

- to make Germany the dominant country in Europe
- to unite all German-speaking people into the Third Reich
- to be rid of the *diktat* that was the Treaty of Versailles concluded at the end of the First World War.

Germany aimed to reclaim territories taken at the Versailles peace conference, and to punish France for its vengeance at Versailles. Germany also wanted to expand into the 'black soil plains' of Russia; this had been the aim of foreign policy since the 19th century. This was known as *lebensraum*.

To this end, in 1936, Hitler moved his troops into the Rhineland.

In 1938, he moved into Austria where he formed an *Anschluss* (union), which was overwhelmingly approved by a plebiscite of Austrians.

Later in 1938, Hitler contracted an agreement with President Edouard Daladier of France, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain of Britain, and fascist dictator Benito Mussolini of Italy to take over the German-populated area of the Sudetenland before taking over western Czechoslovakia.

Hitler's movement into Poland forced the Allies to declare war on him in 1939.

His walk down the Champs Elysées in Paris marked the zenith of his military career (1940).

In 1941, Hitler won over large tracts of the USSR in operation Barbarossa, before being halted at Moscow and routed at the Battle of Stalingrad in 1943.

By the time Hitler was finally defeated, he had conquered France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Norway.

## Culture

Culture was used to instil Nazi ideas, especially those of race. There was no freedom of expression. Writers and artists were told what to write and draw.

Paintings portrayed the Nazi idea of a simple peasant life; hard work was heroic; men and women were in perfect proportions.

In 1937, Hitler wanted to show how Modern art was objectionable and anti-German. To demonstrate this, he set up a 'Degenerative' (Modern) exhibition, which showed 650 artworks that Hitler viewed as un-German and decadent. Instead of disgusting people, the display was very popular. Approximately 2 million people viewed the exhibition (20 000 per day).

In relation to architecture, there was a rejection of Modern (Bauhaus) architecture and an emphasis on classical architecture, similar to that of Ancient Greece and Rome. Hitler's chief architect, Albert Speer, was tasked with designing Berlin to be rebuilt in a classical fashion.

Literature in Nazi Germany was heavily censored. Only works that featured Nazi ideals were allowed to be published. Others – including works of Jews and foreigners – were proscribed (forbidden). Book burnings symbolically occurred.

All film scripts were checked by the Ministry of Propaganda. Directors and actors could neither be Jews nor opponents of the Nazis. Films were vehicles to portray Nazi ideals and their successes. The official film of the 1936 Berlin Olympics, *Olympia*, typified the Nazi spirit.



## Resisters to the Nazi state

Opposition occurred in the following areas:

- Confessing Church (churches opposed to Nazism) who had their leaders confined to concentration camps and their property confiscated. This led in 1938 to attacks on all churches (**Church Struggle**) where ministers had to apply for licences and religious holidays were banned.
- Ordinary citizens who were opposed to Nazi atrocities against Jews and hid them.
- Left-wing opposition (Communists, Socialists, trade unionists). Many were thrown into concentration camps and had their property confiscated. Their political parties were banned.
- The army was the traditional power base of Germany. Many in office resented Hitler's championing of his paramilitary forces (the SA and later the Gestapo). Army officers regarded Hitler as an upstart. Opposition was focused in the Kreisau Conspiracy of 1938.

## Anti-Semitism leading to the genocide of the Final Solution

There had been a long history of anti-Semitism in Germany. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jews were persecuted and accused of all manner of evils. Atrocities were committed against them. Anti-Jewish literature was written in the 19th century.

One of the reasons why people supported Hitler coming to power was his denunciation of Jews whom he accused of being among those who had betrayed Germany by signing the Treaty of Versailles.

*With Hitler in power, Jews were targeted.*

- They were banned from professional jobs in education, industry, medicine, dentistry etc.
- They were demonised in propaganda films.
- In one night, known as *Kristallnacht* (Crystal Night), Jewish shops were targeted, shop fronts were vandalised and looted. Synagogues were destroyed.
- Racial purity laws forbade non-Jewish Germans from marrying or having sexual relations with Jews.
- Aryan doctors could only treat Aryan patients.
- Jews lost citizenship rights.

*During the war, the targeting of Jews escalated.*

- Jews were forced into ghettos and concentration camps.
- Jews suffered food rations and faced restrictions on entry into certain stores.
- Jewish people were made to wear the yellow Star of David.
- Hitler's first plan for the mass deportation of Jews was to Madagascar off the east coast of Africa, but Allied control of the seas made this impossible.
- 1942 Wannsee Conference chaired by Reinhard Heydrich formulated plans for the Final Solution: mass deportations of Jews to Nazi death camps mainly in occupied Poland (e.g. Auschwitz–Birkenau, Treblinka and Sobibor).
- Between 160 000 and 180 000 German Jews were killed.
- By 1943, Germany was declared free of Jews.

## ? Key issues

1. Did Hitler have total control in his totalitarian state?

Lined writing area for question 1.

2. Why was the Holocaust such a monstrous act?

Lined writing area for question 2.

*Turn to page 258 for thoughts on these issues.*





## Initial postwar division of Germany

By 1949, the three non-Soviet sectors (Britain, France and the US) of Germany were amalgamated into West Germany with its capital at Bonn.

In 1949, the Russian zone became East Germany with its capital in East Berlin.

Germany remained divided until 1990.

## The Nuremberg trials

The aim of the Nuremberg trials was to bring Nazi war criminals to justice.

The Nuremberg trials were a series of 13 trials carried out in Nuremberg, Germany, between 1945 and 1949. The defendants, who included Nazi Party officials and high-ranking military officers, along with German industrialists, lawyers and doctors, were put on trial on such charges as crimes against peace (e.g. waging wars of aggression), war crimes (e.g. violation of the rules of war) and crimes against humanity (e.g. murder and enslavement of civilians and persecution of people based on political, religious and racial grounds).

The first of the Nuremberg trials was the Trial of Major War Criminals, held from 20 November 1945 to 1 October 1946. There were prosecutors and defence lawyers, but the decisions and sentences were imposed by a panel of judges each representing the victorious powers. Twenty-four men were put on trial, along with six Nazi organisations determined to be criminal (such as the 'Gestapo' – the secret state police).

In the end, all but three were found guilty, and twelve including the Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and Hitler's designated successor Hermann Goering were sentenced to death and executed. (Goering died by suicide the night before his execution.) Hitler's deputy, Rudolf Hess, was given life in prison. Albert Speer (Hitler's architect and Minister of Armaments) was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

Following the Trial of Major War Criminals, there were 12 additional trials held at Nuremberg. These proceedings included the Doctors' Trial (1946–47), in which defendants were accused of crimes against humanity, including medical experiments on prisoners of war. The Judges Trial (1947) was conducted against lawyers for furthering the Nazi plan for racial purity.

Other Nuremberg trials dealt with:

- German industrialists accused of using slave labour and plundering occupied countries
- high-ranking army officers accused of atrocities against prisoners of war
- SS officers accused of violence against concentration camp inmates.

These trials were (and continue to be considered) controversial, because:

- The rules of war the accused had violated were legislated and set up after the criminal actions had been committed.
- The trials were criticised as being **victors' justice**, as atrocities committed by Allied troops weren't dealt with.
- It has also been alleged that several Nazi figures, such as Kurt Debus (a V-2 rocket flight director and SS officer) and Walter Dornberger (in charge of V-weapons and slave-labour tunnels) escaped punishment as their wartime activities were deemed to be useful in the postwar struggle against Communism.



*Nuremberg trials, defendants in the dock, c. 1945–6. Front row, from left: Hermann Goering, Rudolf Hess, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Wilhelm Keitel. Second row, from left: Karl Dönitz, Erich Raeder, Baldur von Schirach, Fritz Sauckel*



Roads, rail and canal routes from West Germany to West Berlin were closed by the Soviet. This would starve West Berlin into submission and hand it over to Communist rule. It would remove a 'keyhole' into the Communist world.

**Crisis unfolding**

The West decided to airlift supplies to West Berlin. 4000 tonnes of food, medicine and fuel were delivered daily. This happened for 11 months.

Western aircraft with A-Bomb capabilities were on standby to support this operation.

West Berliners stood fast against Soviet tactics.

**Outcomes**

The Soviets gave in and the land routes were reopened.

West Germany was formalised as a sovereign state called the German Federal Republic (May 1949). East Germany was likewise formalised as a separate country called the German Democratic Republic (October 1949).

Tensions heightened between East and West.

The Berlin Wall was created in 1960. This made the separation of West and East Berlin physical and permanent, until the downfall of Communism in Europe in 1989.



*People crowd onto the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989. The Brandenburg Gate can be seen in the background. (Source: photograph by Sue Ream.)*

**? Key issues**

1. How close was the world to a nuclear war in the Berlin Crisis?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. Why was the Berlin Crisis a Cold War crisis?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Turn to page 259 for thoughts on these issues.

# The Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004)

## Background study

### Key points

The background study of this topic, *The Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004)*, covers the following three areas:

- a nation leads the union
- economic, political and social system
- ethnic and religious diversity.

The Russian empire used to be called **all the Russias**, as it consisted of approximately 100 ethnic groups (e.g. Slavs, Turkic, Chechens, Cossacks, Inuit, Karelians, etc.). In relation to religion, 60% were atheist, 20% Russian Orthodox, 15% Muslim, 7% Roman Catholic, 1% Jewish, etc. 200 languages were spoken by Russian peoples. This ethnic, religious and linguistic mix was inherited by the Soviet Union after the Revolutions of 1917.

For 300 years up to 1917, Russia was an absolute monarchy ruled by kings (and queens) called *tsars* (*tsarina*). The state comprised a huge area of diverse nationalities from the Baltic Sea in the east to the Pacific Ocean in the west, and from the arctic circle in the north to the Black Sea in the south. In the first decade of the 20th century, there was great economic achievement but little in regards to political reform.

The First World War saw Russia undergo catastrophic losses that culminated in two revolutions in February and October 1917. The first revolution saw the overthrow of the monarchy and a period of liberal reform. The second revolution saw the world's first Communist state established. Among the decrees of Vladimir Lenin, the new leader, was one that established several countries independent of Soviet control (self-determination). These included Finland, Ukraine and the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania).

In the years following the October Revolution, the Soviet Union, now so-called, witnessed years of civil war and foreign intervention. Afterwards, Lenin introduced a period of state-controlled capitalism (New Economic Policy) to restore some stability and prosperity to the war-ravaged countryside.

Lenin's death in 1924 heralded a period of leadership tussle between Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin, two key figures in Lenin's USSR. In 1927, Stalin was victorious. This victory ushered in a series of five-year plans that set ambitious targets for the modernisation of industry and agriculture, with corresponding hardships for the people and the purging of real and imagined opponents of Stalin.

In 1941, the USSR was invaded by the forces of Nazi Germany. Great destruction of property and a huge loss of life characterised this period.

With the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945, Stalin embarked on another period of economic reform and political repression, coupled with national **brinkmanship** with the West. Stalin died in 1953.

After a short period of internal power plays, one of Stalin's lieutenants, Nikita Khrushchev, came to power. In a devastating speech before the Russian Congress in 1956, Khrushchev denounced the 'crimes' of Stalin and set upon a period of lessening tensions with the United States, known as *détente*. This was a period of not only industrial progress and some social reform but also periods of intermittent tension spikes, one of which, the **Cuban Missile Crisis**, spelled the political demise of Khrushchev.



Vladimir Lenin, 1916



Leon Trotsky, 1920

The Soviet Union continued on its path of industrial development, Cold War tensions and social stagnation under Khrushchev's successors – Leonid Brezhnev and the geriatric leaders Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko – before the election of **Mikhail Gorbachev** in 1985.

Gorbachev radically changed the Soviet Union. He saw:

- the Soviet Union was falling behind the West in social and economic development
- military pressure applied by the United States that recalled the worst days of the Cold War (1950s and 60s)
- the increasing influence of the media, which knew no boundaries

So, Gorbachev embarked upon a series of reforms known as **glasnost** (open dialogue) and **perestroika** (restructuring).

Gorbachev was a Communist and wanted to modernise Communism to compete with the West. So he began a period of economic, social and political reform that unleashed a period of revolution in the Soviet bloc of nations.

The results of Gorbachev's reforms were significant: Eastern European Communist governments were toppled; democratic and capitalist systems of government were instituted in all Eastern European countries in 1989.

Gorbachev provoked the ire of hardline Communists who said he was stirring up trouble. His reforms failed to raise the living standards of ordinary people. Boris Yeltsin, once a key ally of Gorbachev, turned rival and in 1991 was elected as the first President of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. In that position, Yeltsin formally ended the Soviet Union and declared himself in favour of a market economy and a multiparty political system.

By December 1991, 15 former Soviet states had seceded from the Soviet Union to form their own sovereign countries. An attempted coup by hardliners was crushed. In the same year, when Gorbachev resigned as the Soviet President, Yeltsin formed a new **Commonwealth of Independent States**, consisting of nine member states and two associate members. In 2008, Georgia withdrew its membership, while the three Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) chose not to participate.

As President of Russia, Yeltsin carried out free-market reforms. These reforms were allowed to go unchecked. A small number of overseas and Russian entrepreneurs bought up shares of newly privatised state industries that had been distributed to the people and became millionaires. Compared to this wealthy few, the majority of Russian people suffered from poverty and unemployment.

Faced with political unrest, Yeltsin resigned the presidency and was replaced by Vladimir Putin.

Putin has charted a new path for Russia. As a nationalist, Putin has rekindled 'Russian greatness' through economic reforms and political growth as a powerful player on the world stage.

Vocal opponents to Putin's regime have been imprisoned and some have been assassinated. He now leads an increasingly autocratic state.



7 December 1988 – US President Ronald Reagan (centre) and Vice-President George H. W. Bush (right) meet with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev (left) on Governor's Island, New York.



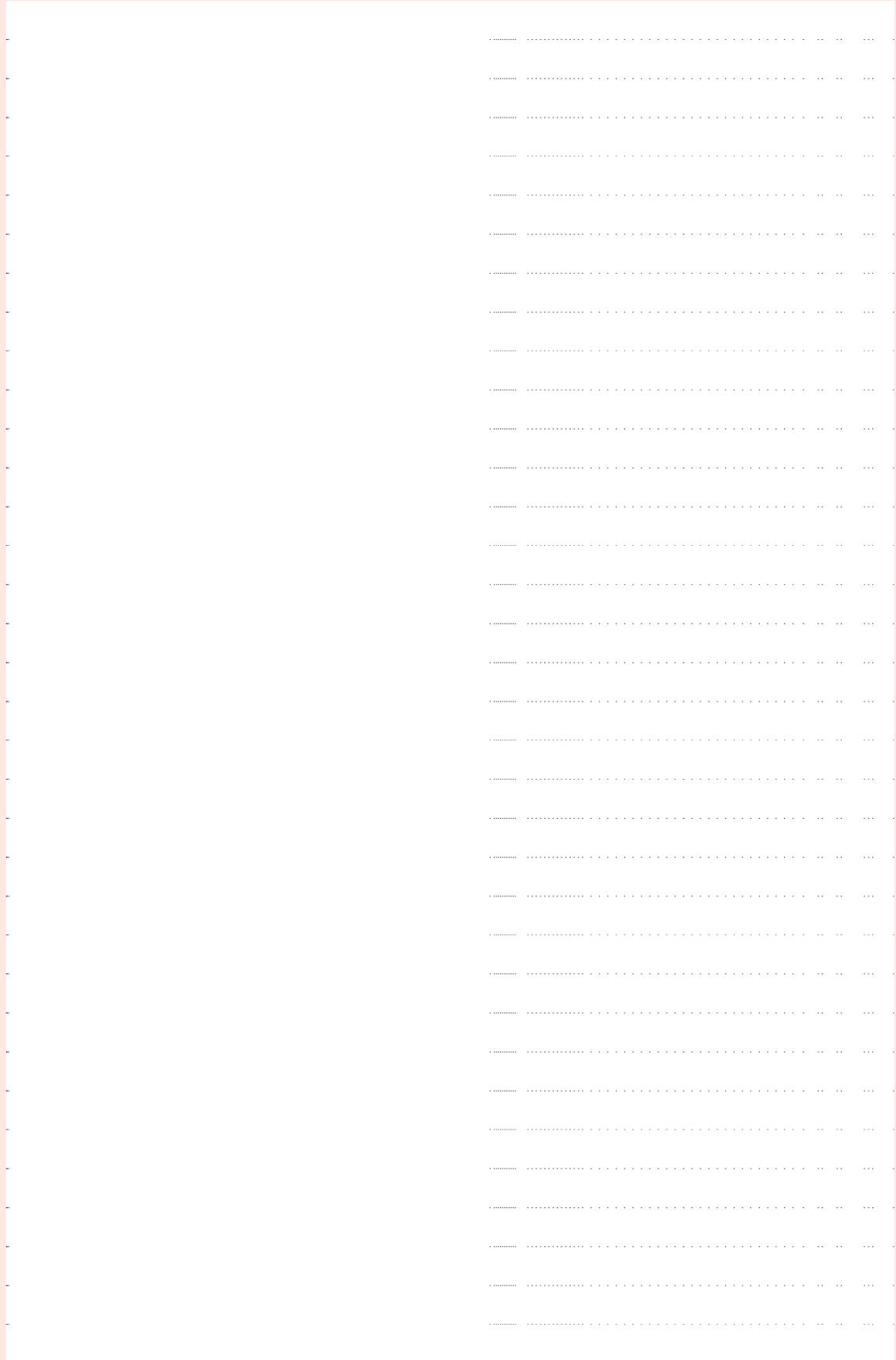
The 15 independent post-Soviet states: 1. Armenia – 2. Azerbaijan – 3. Belarus – 4. Estonia – 5. Georgia – 6. Kazakhstan – 7. Kyrgyzstan – 8. Latvia – 9. Lithuania – 10. Moldova – 11. Russia – 12. Tajikistan – 13. Turkmenistan – 14. Ukraine – 15. Uzbekistan.



Vladimir Putin, 2006  
(source: Kremlin.ru)

**? Key issue**

To what extent was the Soviet Union after the Second World War similar to that before the Second World War?



*Turn to page 259 for thoughts on this issue.*







### Soviet foreign policy

In **foreign policy**, in order to protect the Soviet Union and to establish a Soviet 'empire' in Eastern Europe, Stalin reabsorbed the Baltic region and Eastern Poland. He set up governments and economies that were 'friendly' to the Soviet Union.

### Cultural control in the Soviet state

In 1946, a close associate of Stalin, Andrey Zhdanov, helped launch an ideological campaign designed to demonstrate the superiority of socialism over capitalism in all fields. This campaign attacked writers, composers, economists, historians and scientists whose work allegedly demonstrated Western influence. This purge stifled Soviet intellectual development.

### In summary

The Communist state recovered fairly swiftly following the Second World War and became a threat to Western European countries. In 1946, Winston Churchill, the British wartime prime minister, said that 'an Iron Curtain [had] descended across the continent'. Hence the Cold War began, spawning the American propaganda machine and the Arms Race.

### Key issue

'It was necessary for Stalin to take control of Eastern European countries after the Second World War.' Do you agree?

A large rectangular area with a light orange border, containing horizontal dotted lines for writing a response to the key issue question.

*Turn to page 260 for thoughts on this issue.*

## Russia after Stalin

### Key points

The renunciation of Stalinism and moves towards liberalisation of the economy.

#### Renunciation of Stalinism

On the last day of the 20th Party Congress in 1956, the Premier of the USSR, Nikita Khrushchev, delivered a speech denouncing Stalin. He attacked:

- Stalin's **Cult of the Personality**
- his distortion of the principles of Marxism–Leninism
- Stalin's rudeness, which Lenin had referred to in his Testament of 1922
- the purges that Stalin was answerable for
- various other crimes that Stalin had committed.



*Nikita Khrushchev and Joseph Stalin, 1936*

Khrushchev claimed that the Communist Party had been hijacked by Stalin during his dictatorship.

*Causes of Khrushchev's speech:*

- Khrushchev's desire to cement his position as leader of Communism before 1500 representatives from the communist world
- Khrushchev's belief that the Party was stagnating after years of Stalinist repression
- Khrushchev's desire to revitalise the Communist Party.



*A daring new era: (L–R) cosmonauts Yuri Gagarin, Pavel Popovich and Valentina Tereshkova with Khrushchev, 22 June 1963.*

*Results of Khrushchev's speech:*

- A de-Stalinisation of the Party, which included removing anything to do with Stalin such as photos and statues. Stalin's body was removed from the pantheon of Soviet leaders.
- A period of détente with the West. It was believed that Communism would triumph over Capitalism by peaceful means, rather than through war.
- Democratic movements arose (but were squashed) in Hungary and Poland.
- Reforms within the Soviet Union. These reforms included: the opening of international trade; the introduction of cultural activities such as fashion, popular music and uncensored books; and increased involvement in international sport activities.

#### Moves towards liberalising the economy

Khrushchev's attempts to reform the economy led to clashes between the old guard and new reformers in most branches of the Soviet economy.

This was evident through Khrushchev's:

- reforms in agriculture. He encouraged peasants on collective farms to grow more produce on their private plots and paid them more for what they produced.
- reform of the administrative organisation. He aimed to recast party organisations along economic lines. The goal was to weaken the central state bureaucracy in 1957.
- replacement of the industrial ministries in Moscow with regional councils.



*The Cuban Missile Crisis – cartoon in The Washington Post, November 1962.*

- introduction of the concept of a minimum wage. The idea was met with much criticism, as the minimum wage was so small that most people were still underpaid.
- financial reform. He restructured the rouble (Russian currency unit).

In 1964, Khrushchev’s prestige had been damaged by the problems with his reforms as well as a number of foreign reverses (the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Berlin Wall and the split with China). He was deposed and replaced by a hardliner, **Leonid Brezhnev**, who reversed some of his reforms.

**? Key issue**

To what extent did Khrushchev reshape the Soviet Union?

A large rectangular area with horizontal dotted lines for writing.

*Turn to page 260 for thoughts on this issue.*

## Economic and political problems facing the Soviet Union

### Key points

Problems facing the Soviet economy and political system and their impact on everyday lives.

#### Problems facing the Soviet economy

Under Nikita Khrushchev:

- His plans for growing corn and increasing meat and dairy production failed miserably.
- His reorganisation of collective farms into larger units caused confusion in the countryside.
- Decentralisation of industry into 'Regional Areas' led to disruption and inefficiency at all levels and was abandoned.
- Two years short of its completion, Khrushchev's special seven-year economic plan (1959–65) was abandoned.

Under successive leaders (Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko) there was a period of stagnation:

- **Central planning** was inefficient and market mechanisms were ignored.
- Soviet production could not compete on favourable terms with the West.
- Brezhnev and his colleagues wanted Soviet citizens to be as prosperous as those in the capitalist nations. To increase production of goods for consumption, the Soviets tried to incorporate innovations from the West. The Soviets could not see the nuances that were related to Western prosperity, so their attempts to 'better' the West fell short.
- The Soviet Union was not keeping up with sophisticated techniques in computing, software or communications electronics. They could also not match the Western, Taiwanese or Korean producers designing and manufacturing automobiles.
- Emphasis was placed on heavy industry and military hardware rather than consumer goods. Because of this, the standard of living for Soviet citizens was low.
- The people suffered food shortages.
- Government property was pilfered.
- The black market thrived.
- There was an underground trade with foreigners for Western goods (e.g. denim jeans).
- The vodka industry thrived, which led to a decline in life-expectancy and an increase in infant mortality rates as a result of wide-scale alcoholism.
- The real disposable income of the people was very low.
- Whatever reforms that were undertaken were resisted by party hardliners, so little was achieved. For example, economist Yevsey Liberman proposed a general economic reform program emphasising a profit motive and freedom for individual enterprises from outside controls. This program was opposed by hardliners and Party managers, and so it was abandoned.
- Five-Year Plan targets were not met.

It was a **socialist** system but, in theory, a **state capitalist** system.

Despite the apparent failings of the Soviet system, the Union prevailed:

- By 1980, the Soviet Union showed the highest European and second-highest worldwide industrial and agricultural output.
- The 18 years of Brezhnev's leadership of the Communist Party saw real incomes grow by more than 1.5 times.
- At the same time, the average rent for families did not exceed 3% of the family income.
- Housing, health care and education were affordable.





## Promotion of Soviet nationalism

### Key points

Promotion of nationalism through the sport, technology and the arts.

#### Sport

At the end of the war, the Soviet aim was to catch up and overtake the most advanced industrial powers. This takeover included everything – even sport. Soviet leaders saw sporting prowess as a way of demonstrating to the world the advantages of the socialist system over capitalism. To achieve that, the Soviet government created full-time, well-remunerated athletes and teams, and gave them considerable support.

At the end of the Second World War, the Soviets were approaching international standards in a few sports. In football, this standard had evidently been reached, demonstrated by Moscow Dinamo's four-match unbeaten tour of Britain in the autumn of 1945. The tournament was a display of 'goodwill' between the British and Russian allies, showing their friendship in defiance of their enemies.



*At the opening ceremony of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games, hosted in Moscow, guests were greeted by representatives of the 15 USSR member states, dressed in traditional costumes. (Source: RIA Novosti archive, image #487026, Vladimir Vyatkin.)*

It was not long before the Soviet Union was to become a very successful and versatile nation. The Soviet Union:

- became world champion in ice hockey (1954)
- became unrivalled in chess, which was classified as a sport. From the USSR came such chess grandmasters as Hillar Karner and Anatoly Karpov.
- excelled in the summer and winter Olympic Games, competing primarily against the USA.

The pinnacle of sporting glory for the USSR came in 1980 when it became the first communist country to host the Summer Olympics. On 23 October 1974, in Vienna, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) selected Moscow as the 1980 host. Moscow won the vote comfortably over its sole rival, Los Angeles. At the time, many felt the USSR worthy of the honour: not only was it the most successful nation in Olympic history in terms of sporting performance, but it was considered to have done much in Olympic forums to enhance the pre-eminent role of sport and the Olympic movement. It was a popular choice with Eastern European and many Third World\* countries, whose political and sporting causes had gained Soviet support in such matters as, for example:

- banning racist South Africa and Rhodesia (the nation now known as Zimbabwe) from the Olympic movement
- training sports coaches
- construction of sports facilities
- free admittance for athletes and coaches in Soviet sports institutes.

However, the Soviet Union was denied the opportunity to prove its supremacy at the Moscow Games: the United States, along with some other Western nations, refused to participate in retaliation for the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1978.

Aa

### Definitions

**Third World countries:** Countries which were neither aligned with the West (USA, UK, France etc.) nor with the East (Communist countries). These were the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

## Technology

Soviet technology made great advances after the Second World War, and was seen through the development of weapons systems and space exploration. The Cold War between the Soviet Union and the USA meant that the Soviets had to develop a sophisticated weapons system to match the US. This morphed into a nuclear weapons race, and later a space race. In this period, there was the development of the atomic and hydrogen bombs, the creation of intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear submarines.

However, Soviet technological expertise and its rivalry with the United States reached its zenith with the **Space Race**. Although the Soviet Union was not the first nation to put a man on the Moon, it achieved a number of firsts.

On 4 October 1957, a Soviet R-7 intercontinental ballistic missile launched **Sputnik**, the world's first artificial satellite and the first man-made object to be placed into the Earth's orbit.

Soon after, in November 1957, the Soviet Union launched **Laika**, a dog, into orbit. It was one of the first animals in space and the first animal to orbit the Earth.

In 1959, the Soviet space program took another step forward with the launch of **Luna 2**, the first space probe to hit the Moon.

In April 1961, the Soviet cosmonaut **Yuri Gagarin** became the first person to orbit Earth, travelling in the capsule-like spacecraft called Vostok 1.

Further successes with the Vostok program followed:

- Gherman Titov became the first Soviet cosmonaut to manually control his Vostok 2 craft on 6 August 1961.
- The Soviet Union demonstrated 24-hour launch pad turnaround and the capability to launch two piloted spacecraft, Vostok 3 and Vostok 4, in essentially identical orbits, on 11 and 12 August 1962. The two spacecraft came within approximately 6.5 kilometres of one another, close enough for radio communication.
- Vostok 4 also set a record of nearly four days in space.
- This was followed by Valentina Tereshkova becoming the first woman in space.

However, Soviet successes were undone by the USA, which was the first nation to put a man on the Moon (Neil Armstrong) in July 1969.



14 April 1961: Yuri Gagarin's space flight claims the front page of a Soviet newspaper. In the top image, Gagarin can be seen embracing Khrushchev.



'Communists pave the way to the stars' – a sheet of commemorative stamps celebrating Soviet space exploration, 1964.

## Arts

### Propaganda

The most obvious form of art that evoked the national spirit was propaganda that extolled the Soviet way of life and how much superior the socialist way was against decadent capitalism.

### Cinema

Movies were another way of extolling the socialist way of life. Soviet audiences thrilled at spy stories showing how their KGB agents protected the motherland by foiling dirty work by America's nefarious Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). In the same fashion as the United States, the Soviets were eager to depict their enemy in the most unflattering light possible. Between 1946 and 1950, 45.6 per cent of on-screen villains in Soviet films were either American or British. Films addressed non-Soviet themes that emerged in American film in an attempt to derail the criticism and paint the US as the enemy. Attacks made by the United States against the USSR were simply used as material by Soviet filmmakers for their own attacks on the US.

Despite efforts made to elevate the status of cinema, such as changing the Committee of Cinema Affairs to the Ministry of Cinematography, cinema did not seem to work as invigorating propaganda. Although anti-American films were notably popular with audiences, the Ministry did not feel the message had reached the general public, possibly because the majority of moviegoers were, perhaps, the Soviets most likely to admire American culture. Many of the films released throughout the late 1950s and 1960s focused on spreading a positive image of Soviet life, intent to prove that Soviet life was indeed better than American life.

### Literature

Russian science fiction after Stalin showed real Soviet achievements in the Space Race, typified by Ivan Efremov's galactic epic novel, *Andromeda* (1957). Official Communist science fiction looked to a glorious future under a universal socialism.

Much literature was produced by dissidents, such as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who wrote *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, *Gulag Archipelago* and *Cancer Ward*.

Another writer was Mikhail Sholokhov, a Russian author who won the 1965 Nobel Prize for Literature. He wrote the classic novel *All Quiet Flows the Don*. His novel *Tikhyy Don*, his best known work, describes the struggle of Cossacks against the Bolsheviks.

### Dance

The Bolshoi Ballet, which had its origins in the 18th century, was held up as a pinnacle of the world's ballet.



*'People of the world do not want a repeat of the disasters of the past': this poster shows a Soviet man firmly rejecting capitalism. The scroll held by the 'banker' figure has the words Soviet-Atlantic Pact written on it – the worker is rejecting the Marshall Plan devised by the US after the Second World War.*



*This poster shows a Western worker on the left, counting his pennies while the 'fat cat' boss lies back and enjoys the fruits of the worker's labour. On the right, a happy, healthy Soviet worker is shown, arms laden with goods – he has so much, he has to tie packages to his jacket buttons!*

## In summary

The theme in the arts in was to glorify the Soviet way of life by portraying the West as decadent and rapacious. However, many intellectuals found the emphasis on socialist realism and censorship in the arts as very restrictive. These people became the core of radical dissidents in society.





## The war in Afghanistan

### Key points

The impact of the war in Afghanistan



*Afghanistan*

### Background

Afghanistan was a conservative society in the 20th century, gradually modernising and opening up to outsiders. In 1978, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan launched a coup and took control of the country. The government undertook a radical modernisation campaign throughout the country. This campaign was deeply unpopular with the traditionally minded Afghan people.

The government suppressed their opposition, and arrested and executed many people. The government was unstable. Anti-government revolutionary groups were formed and, in 1979, they deposed the government.

Chaos continued and, in December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded the country, staged another coup and installed a puppet government under a Soviet loyalist, **Babrak Kamal**.

In 1980, foreign ministers of 34 Islamic countries demanded Soviet withdrawal. Insurgent groups called the *mujahideen* received aid and military training from Pakistan and China and were financed by the United States. One of the leaders of this mujahideen was Osama Bin Laden.

A full-scale war broke out and continued until 1987, when the Soviet leadership under Mikhail Gorbachev – reacting to huge international pressure and the ever-increasing costs of the war – began withdrawing from the battle arena. This withdrawal was completed in 1989.

### Impact of the war

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had the following effects:

- Protests erupted within the Soviet Union and the outside world.
- The Soviets could not match the spending power of the US. The war had a huge cost and required increased armaments production. The high (monetary) cost of war was a factor in the Soviet need to seek rapprochement with the US.







2. Justify the opinion that separatism was like a ‘cancer’ that spread through the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.

A large rectangular area with a light orange border, containing horizontal dotted lines for writing.

*Turn to page 261 for thoughts on these issues*

## The Commonwealth of Independent States

### Key points

The reasons for and the processes leading to the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) formed when the former Soviet Union (now called **Russia**) totally dissolved in 1991. Boris Yeltsin met secretly with leaders of Ukraine and Belarus and together they agreed to dissolve the Soviet Union. In its place would be a voluntary union: the Commonwealth of Independent States.

At its conception, the Commonwealth consisted of 10 former Soviet republics:

- Armenia
- Belarus
- Kazakhstan
- Kyrgyzstan
- Moldova
- Russia
- Tajikistan
- Turkmenistan
- Ukraine
- Uzbekistan.

Georgia and the Baltic states elected not to join.

In September 1993, the heads of the CIS states signed an agreement on the creation of an Economic Union to:

- form common economic space, grounded on free movement of goods, services, labour force and capital
- coordinate monetary policy, taxes, prices, customs and external economic policy
- bring together methods of regulating economic activity
- create favourable conditions for the development of economic matters of common interest.

In summary, the Commonwealth of Independent States was established through/by:

- the nature of the Soviet Union with its many different nationalities.
- nationalist dissidents in the 1960s, 70s and 80s.
- Gorbachev's perestroika programs, which gave impetus to separatism.
- free elections in 1991, which gave separatists a voice in the Chamber of Deputies (parliament).
- the dissolution of the Soviet Union.
- the secret deal done by Gorbachev with the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus.

**? Key issue**

The collapse of the Soviet Union was inevitable.

A large rectangular area with a light orange border, containing horizontal dotted lines for writing.

*Turn to page 261 for thoughts on this issue.*





Rather than creating new enterprises, Yeltsin's policies led to international monopolies hijacking the former Soviet markets. Critics called these people **robber barons** or a **gangster clique**. This meant that the old domestic prices for Russian commodities suddenly rose to the prices being paid in the Western world. Russia suffered inflation and economic collapse. Living standards of Russians collapsed. In 1992, this led to widespread riots.

Much of the Yeltsin era was marked by widespread **corruption**. The seizure of state property and the theft of social resources spelled disaster for masses of people. Pensions and wages went unpaid, and poverty, homelessness and hunger soared. Over the course of the 1990s:

- Russia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fell by 50 per cent
- fully 30 per cent of the population fell into poverty
- the mortality rate increased by 50 per cent
- life-expectancy for men was cut by six years.

Two scandals stand out. One occurred at the time of Yeltsin's re-election campaign in 1996. At that time, two high-ranking functionaries in the Yeltsin pre-election headquarters were seized with \$500 million in cash that they had been carrying out of a government building.

Another similar scandal, the 'Bank of New York' affair, happened three years later. It became known that billions of dollars had been hidden in Western bank accounts as part of a money laundering scheme to shelter the incomes of Russian **oligarchs** under the protection of leading government bureaucrats and with the participation of Western businessmen.

### Political crises in the 1990s

Yeltsin's rule was marked by political crises as well. Yeltsin, having come to power via the democratic process, began to abuse that process. His decision to collapse the Soviet Union and initiate capitalism was done by **presidential decree** without the authorisation of parliament. In 1993, elected parliamentarians resisted his decision to rewrite the Constitution which gave him **unlimited power**. The parliamentarians attempted to remove him from office. The resistance was met by troops loyal to Yeltsin shelling the parliament, killing hundreds of people. The people killed were classed as 'wreckers' and 'saboteurs' bent on 'resisting the will of the people'.

Over time, Yeltsin became immensely unpopular. He gave the impression of being jovial and supported by the people but increasingly he was seen drunk and, in the latter years of his presidency, he withdrew into isolation before resigning under political pressure in 1999.

### The rise of Vladimir Putin

Yeltsin was succeeded as president by a little-known head of the KGB (the Russian secret police), **Vladimir Putin**, who won 53 per cent of the total vote.

Putin has been called 'The Man Without a Face'. For Russians hoping for a more democratic system arising, Putin offered was more of the same:



Yeltsin surrounded by supporters, 1996.  
(Source: kremlin.ru)



7 October 1998: a protest workers and veterans against Yeltsin's economic reforms. The posters say 'Yeltsin to resign', 'Down with Yeltsin!' and 'It was our salary – now it's taxes!'



31 December 1999 – Boris Yeltsin hands Vladimir Putin the Presidential copy of the Russian Constitution. (Source: kremlin.ru)

- The first presidential decree that Putin signed, on 31 December 1999, was titled 'On guarantees for former President of the Russian Federation and members of his family'. This ensured that 'corruption charges against the outgoing President and his relatives' would not be pursued.
- In December 2000, a case of Putin's alleged corruption in metal exports from 1992 was reported by Marina Salye, a parliamentarian who headed a commission looking into corruption. However, she was silenced and forced to leave Saint Petersburg.

Other issues that cast doubt over Putin were:

- **winning a power struggle with 'criminal' oligarchs** (in Yeltsin's time) by arriving at a bargain with them (allowing them keep their wealth in return for supporting Putin's government).
- **Yukos oil case.** In the 1990s, Yukos oil and gas company, a state-owned enterprise, was taken over by Mikhail Khodorkovski. By 2003, it was one of the biggest and most successful companies producing 20 per cent of Russia's oil. Khodorkovski, the richest man in Russia, becoming a spokesperson for international cooperation, was arrested for allegedly unpaid taxes and fraud, and Yukos was broken up. In May 2005, he was sentenced to nine years in prison. It was said that Putin's aim was to take back control.
- criticism that he took a long time to visit the scene of a disaster when **the nuclear submarine, Kursk, sunk in the Barents Sea.** All on board drowned.
- the **Moscow theatre hostage crisis (2002)** where 50 Chechen (see next point) rebels took 700 theatre-goers hostage. After a 57-hour stand-off, soldiers, under Putin's orders, pumped a gas into the theatre rendering all the occupants unconscious before raiding the theatre. All the attackers were killed, as well as approximately 130 hostages.
- the 2004 **Beslan school massacre** where Chechen rebels took 1000 hostages mainly children in a school hall. The siege ended three days later when Russian security forces – using extreme force and heavy weapons such as anti-tank cannons, flame throwers and grenade launchers – stormed the building. 186 children were killed. All but one hostage-takers were killed. Survivors said that the authorities, including President Putin, knew that an attack was being planned but did nothing. This was supported by the European Court of Human Rights. A Russian investigation into the situation stalled and was never completed.



22 August 2000 – 10 days after the Kursk disaster, President Putin meets with family members of the sailors who died. (Source: kremlin.ru)

In the last two cases, critics say that President Putin was complicit in these outrages for the purpose of maintaining his power. After Beslan, he did suffer a momentary loss of support but, in the end, 83 per cent of people surveyed after the Beslan massacre supported Putin's actions.

Any public shows of protest were ruthlessly dealt with. For example, in 2006, a reporter called Anna Politkovskaya was shot and killed in a hotel lobby. Other critics were also silenced from time to time. Demonstrations by opposition groups were met by police action, which included arrests, beatings and interference with the travel of the protesters.

On a positive note, in Putin's first term of office (2000–2004), he set about reconstructing his impoverished country. This was a success. Under his presidency, Russia's economy saw GDP double, climbing from 22nd to 11th largest in the world. The economy made real gains of an average 7 per cent per year. By 2008, Russia was the sixth largest economy in the world. During Putin's eight years in office, industry grew by 75 per cent, investments increased by 125 per cent, and agricultural production and construction increased as well. Real incomes more than doubled, and the average salary increased eightfold from



20 December 2013 – Putin grants a Mikhail Khodorkovski a pardon.

\$80 to \$640 per annum. The number of people living below the poverty line also decreased (from 30 per cent in 2000 to 14 per cent in 2008).

Other achievements included:

- Russia becoming an oil–gas superpower
- Russia being an efficient manager of oil revenues
- Russia’s industrial production growing from 3.7 per cent per annum in 2003, to 6.3 per cent in 2006.

Unfortunately, this was matched by:

- high inflation
- high dependence on food imports
- growing gap between rich and poor.

When Putin stood for election for a second term as President, he was re-elected with 71% of the vote. It seemed that the majority of Russians were prepared to accept restrictions on human rights and hardline tactics for the sake of bringing prosperity and maintaining order in society.

**? Key issues**

1. Was Boris Yeltsin good for Russia?

A large rectangular area with a light orange border, containing horizontal dotted lines for writing a response to the question above.



## Conflict in the Caucasus

### Key points

Wars in the Caucasus and pro-national terrorism in Russia.

Since 2004, there have been numerous wars in the Caucasus area of the Russian Commonwealth of Independent States. These include the:

- First and Second Chechen Wars (1994–6, 1999–2009)
- war in Dagestan (1999)
- Armenia–Azerbaijani border conflict (1994)
- war in Georgia (2004).

### Chechnya (including the Dagestan conflict)

Chechnya is one of a number of areas in the southern Caucasus mountain region. The area is home to a large variety of non-Russian ethnic groups many of whom are Muslim and wanted very little to do with Russia. They had endured bloodshed and deportations under Stalin's regime.

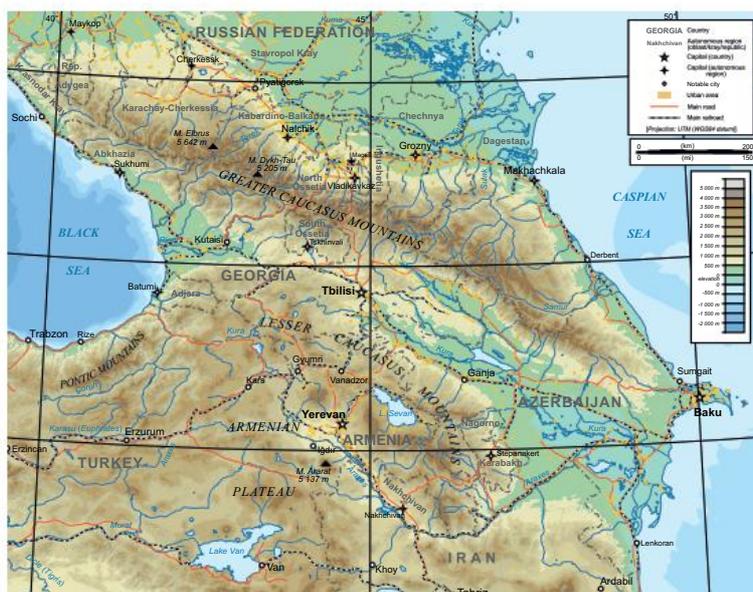
When the Soviet Union disintegrated, three of the southernmost states (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia) declared independence. Areas to the north including Chechnya began to agitate for independence too. Russia was opposed to this because the area was rich in oil. Between 1991 (when Chechnya declared independence) and 1994, relations between Chechnya and Russia deteriorated resulting in a Russian declaration of war in 1994.

#### First Chechen War

The First Chechen War was fought from December 1994 to August 1996. After the initial campaign of 1994–1995, Russian federal forces attempted to seize control of the mountainous area of Chechnya but were set back by Chechen guerrilla warfare and raids on the Chechen plains despite Russia's overwhelming manpower, weaponry and air support. The resulting widespread demoralisation of Russian forces and the almost universal opposition of the Russian public to the conflict led Boris Yeltsin's government to declare a ceasefire with the Chechens in 1996. Both sides claimed victory but Chechnya had to remain part of Russia.



Geopolitical map of the Caucasus region, 2008.  
(Source: Jeroencommons)



Map of the Caucasus mountain region. You can see Chechnya and Dagestan in the northeast. (Source: Bourrichon)

### *Dagestan Conflict and the Second Chechen War*

Border clashes continued as Chechen separatist leaders harassed Russian forces. One of the separatist groups was the Islamic Internationalist Brigade, which aimed to create a fully independent Chechen state united with neighbouring Dagestan.

In 1999, the Islamic International Brigade invaded Dagestan in support of Dagestani separatist groups. The Dagestani Government with Russian support resisted the International Islamic Brigade which retreated back into Chechnya.

During the Dagestan campaign, Russia suffered from terrorist attacks in which explosions destroyed apartment buildings in cities throughout Russia. Russia, under the leadership of Boris Yeltsin, blamed Chechnya for the terrorism and launched a Second Chechen War. Putin came to power in Russia on the strength of prosecuting a successful war against Chechnya.

Fighting broke out in August 1999 in the Russian area of Dagestan as guerrilla forces infiltrated from neighbouring Chechnya.

Following months of clashes and tension in the border area of the semi-independent state of Chechnya and the Russian Republic of Dagestan, rebels seized control of several villages and battled Russian troops. Approximately 2000 self-proclaimed Islamic rebels battled the growing numbers of Russian troops. The Russian government reinforced the 17 000 soldiers already in the region and carried out airstrikes against the rebels. Within the first six days of the war's outbreak, Russian warplanes flew at least 200 sorties (raids).

Eventually Russian forces drove the rebels from Dagestan and moved to squash the Chechen republic began. Learning from their failed 1994–1996 war against the Chechens, the Russians made extensive and heavy use of long-distance weaponry. Chechen cities and villages were levelled by intense Russian air attacks and artillery bombardment. This culminated in the seizure of the Chechen capital of Grozny.

From there, the war turned into a terror campaign, firstly in the Chechen countryside and then within Russia. This included the 2002 terrorist attack on the Moscow theatre and the 2004 Beslan school massacre. Other terrorist attacks targeted subways, airports (including Moscow's Domodedova airport) and commercial aircraft.

The war is a continuing sore which has recently spread to the USA, culminating in the Boston bombing in 2013.



*January 1995 – A Chechen man prays during the battle for Grozny. The flame in the background is coming from a gas pipeline that was hit by shrapnel.  
(Source: Mikhail Evstafiev)*



*Chechen leader of the Islamic International Brigade, Shamil Basaev, photographed during the Budyonnovsk hospital crisis in 1995. (Source: Natalia Medvedeva)*

### Armenia and Azerbaijan

These nations were both former Soviet republics. The conflict between them erupted in the border region of Azerbaijan where the people of Nagorno-Karabakh (who were mainly Armenian) wanted to secede from Azerbaijan and unite with Armenia. A full-scale war broke out in 1992, resulting in Armenian control of Nagorno-Karabakh as well as 9 per cent of Azerbaijan.

Russia, afraid that this war might involve other areas in the Caucasus, brokered a ceasefire in May 1994 but the region of Nagorno-Karabakh, though nominally independent, remained unresolved.



*Cadets of the Chechen national guard, 1999.  
(Source: Natalia Medvedeva)*



*The 2013 Boston Marathon, 54 minutes before the finish line became a site of a bomb attack.  
(Source: Aaron Tang)*

### ? Key issue

Were territorial wars in the Caucasus countries inevitable in the new Russia?

A large rectangular area with horizontal dotted lines for writing, intended for student responses to the key issue question.

Turn to page 262 for thoughts on this issue.

## China (1949–c.2012)

### Background: establishing the People's Republic

#### Key points

The background study for this topic encompasses the following:

- Overview of China in 1949.
- The economic, political and social system that dominated at that time.
- The status of Taiwan.

In 1911, there was a revolution in China where the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty was overthrown and a republic was set up under Sun Yatsen (1911–1925).

From 1911 to 1945, however, the republic was convulsed in turmoil. Warlords took power in various regions of China, the Communist Party was set up and waged continual guerrilla campaigns against the Republican rulers. The principal Republican (Guomindang, GMD) ruler was **Chiang Kai-shek** (Jiang Jieshi), who suppressed, jailed and killed opponents. Chiang Kai-shek reigned from 1925 to 1949.

By 1930, Chiang Kai-shek had removed the warlords. However, he faced growing opposition due to his domestic policy. He confiscated the assets of businessmen and the government for his personal use. He exploited his links with gangsters and mismanaged the economy with hyperinflation. His government oppressed the peasants and growing working class, who supported Mao Zedong and his Communists.

The GMD also faced threats from Japan, which launched an attack on China in 1937. The Japanese occupation of eastern China with its brutal atrocities lasted until 1945.

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) and his Communists were different from other warlords who were systematically defeated by the GMD by 1930. The GMD treated peasants poorly, whereas Mao's Red Army treated peasants with respect. The Communists seemed to be the only ones willing to campaign forcibly against the Japanese. Also they enjoyed almost mythological status by their epic **Long March** and their **artful propaganda campaigns**.

During this time, Mao extended the areas under Communist control and the many peasants came to see the Communists as the true fighters against the Japanese.

When the Japanese were defeated in 1945, Chinese society was in tatters:

- Cities were ruined.
- Transport was non-existent.
- Refugees dotted the countryside and were in desperate need.
- Food and other essentials were in short supply and prices skyrocketed.
- The black market was thriving.
- Factories were closed.
- Peasants were still at the mercy of their landlords who still exploited them.
- American aid came into the country but much of it never found its way to the needy because of the corruption and inefficiencies of the GMD.



*Chiang Kai-shek, 1940.*



*1971 – Propaganda poster: 'Turn philosophy into a sharp weapon in the hands of the masses.'*

At the same time, the Communists:

- promoted land reforms in the areas under their control
- followed a policy of strategic retreat
- cared for the masses under their control
- waged an all-out assault on the GMD.

Through these actions, the Communists won control in 1949. On 1 October 1949, the Democratic Republic of China was pronounced in Beijing.

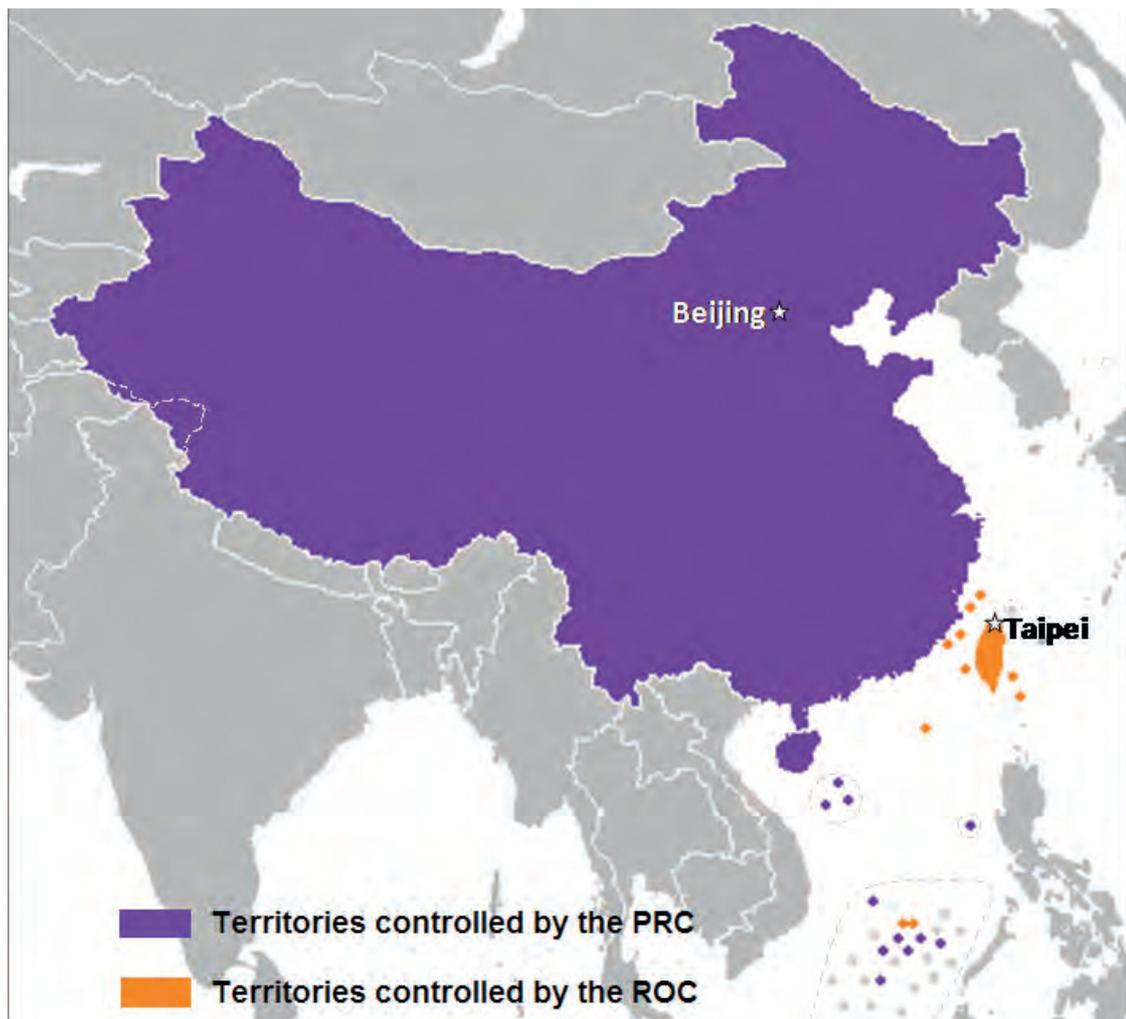
Mao's Communism was different from the communist system set up in the USSR. Whereas the Soviet Union's Communism was based on the urban working class, Communism under Mao was based on the majority of the people: the rural peasantry.



1966 – Red Guards wave copies of Mao's Little Red Book. (Source: Weng Naiqiang)

Chiang and the GMD were driven out of China and escaped to Taiwan, an island off the coast of China. There they set up a rival government. The USA donated military and economic aid to Taiwan and backed Chiang's continual threats to reunify China under his control in the future.

Today, the US recognises Communist China as the 'true' China, but the policy of **two Chinas** still exists and occasionally tension flares up between these two Chinas.



Territory controlled by the People's Republic of China (PRC) (purple) and the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan) (orange).

Note: the minor islands have been enlarged on the map so they can be more easily identified. (Source: natt Ang)



## Postwar China: instituting the Revolution

### Key points

Role of Mao Zedong and the Communist Party. Postwar reconstruction.

#### Setting up the government and its administration

- Political fragmentation and uncertainty from the previous regime was remedied over time.
- Disorder caused by foreign aggression and military invasion was stabilised.
- The process of building of a strong state (e.g. one capable of carrying out large-scale modernisation projects) was begun.
- Other political parties were allowed to exist until 1954. After that, people elected delegates to a National People's Congress. All candidates had to be Communist. All administrative positions were held by Communists (railways, education and health). All provincial representatives were Communist.
- Communists dominated schools, community organisations and cultural groups.
- Communists controlled virtually every aspect of society.
- Newspapers and books were censored and brought under government control.



*Red Guards study the Quotations of Mao Tse-tung (Mao's Little Red Book) in 1966.  
(Source: Weng Naiqiang)*

#### Land reform for the peasants

- All land deeds were systematically destroyed.
- Landlords were brought before people's courts and made to confess their crimes before a people's tribunal, which could sanction the death penalty.
- Land, surplus grain, farm equipment and animals were turned over to the peasants.
- A few years later, so as to increase food production for industry, peasants were organised into collectives. Each collective contained 30–40 families.
- The collectives could not meet food demands, so farms were made into **communes**. All land, farm animals and machinery were taken away and was owned by the state. Each commune had about 5000 hectares of land worked by 5000 families who were paid a wage, fed and housed. All produce was owned by the commune which was administered by a Communist Party member. He/she determined the employment of commune members and set quotas as to what had to be produced.

#### Setting up an industrial state

Industrial development was necessary before China could be a power and able to resist all enemies.

- Bridges, railways, roads and factories had to be constructed after the war. Technicians had to be trained. Schools had to be built. All this cost money. China got the money from loans from the Soviet Union, as well as from selling whatever agricultural produce they could.
- Heavy industry was nationalised and privately owned banks were amalgamated into a state bank.
- In 1953, China embarked on the **First Five-Year Plan**, which dictated production quotas for a range of agricultural and industrial goods. Agriculture was required to feed industry. Heavy industry (railways, power plants, tractor assembly, cement, mineral production) was a major focus of the Plan.
- After the success of the First Five-Year Plan, the Second Five-Year Plan (the **Great Leap Forward**) was begun with an emphasis on iron and steel production. New steel mills were constructed and each family was exhorted to use his/her blast furnace to make steel for the state. The over-ambitious plans were not met. After the failures of the Second Five-Year Plan, less ambitious targets were set.
- Nevertheless China continued to industrialise at a fast rate. In 1964, China became the fifth nation in the world to produce an A-Bomb.
- Women became part of the workforce.

## Social reforms

- To bring China up to the rest of the world, Confucian practices were uprooted.
- Women were made equal to men. Arranged marriages were discouraged and women were able to initiate divorce and have equal rights to men. They were also encouraged to leave home and find work either in industry or agriculture.
- There was an increased emphasis on literacy and developing skills to make people skilled for the workplace.
- To enable women to participate in the workforce, the traditional home was uprooted and a barrack-style existence was set up: people slept in dormitories, meals were served in dining rooms and children spent their days in nurseries and kindergartens.
- Libraries, museums, art galleries and hospitals were set up to show the benefits of Communism.
- The **100 Flowers Campaign** was instituted in 1956 to enable scholars and others to freely criticise state institutions with the aim of improving them. (The criticisms were so widespread that the campaign was discontinued.)



1954 – Propaganda poster: ‘We are proud to participate in the country’s industrial construction.’

## Opposition to the Revolution

### Key points

Treatment of ethnic, religious and political opponents.

### Ethnic groups and civil unrest

There are 56 ethnic groups in China including the Han, Tibetans, Uyghurs and Mongols. Most groups have assimilated with the majority Han ethnic group. The two groups that have been most restive have been the Tibetans and Uyghurs.

#### Tibetans

Tibet remained independent until 1951 when it was absorbed into the People’s Republic of China as an autonomous state. The leader of the Tibetans is the **Dalai Lama** who has a strong following not only as a political leader but as a religious one as well. He is a focal point of Tibetan resistance to Chinese rule.

In the **1959 Tibetan Rebellion**, the 14th Dalai Lama established a government in exile. Today, he spends much of his life abroad championing Tibetan independence.



*The 14th Dalai Lama, who has been acknowledged as the leader of Tibet since 1950, with Mao Zedong in 1954, and, 60 years later, with Barack Obama (2014).*

Continued unrest has been met by political crackdowns and a deprivation of many civil rights.

*Uyghurs*

The Uyghurs live in the largest of China's administrative regions, Xinjiang. Most Uyghurs are Muslim and Islam is an important part of their lives and identities. Their language is related to Turkish, and they regard themselves as culturally and ethnically close to Central Asian nations. An East Turkestan state came into existence in 1949 but later that year it was incorporated into China as an autonomous Xinjiang regional area.

There have been continual uprisings and terrorist activities where Xinjiang has sought independence to become another one of Central Asian republics such as Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. These uprisings have been vigorously suppressed.

There is great resentment over Chinese Han being given the best administrative jobs in Xinjiang. Also Uyghur commercial and cultural activities have been systematically curtailed, and protesters attacked and imprisoned by the Han Chinese (the main ethnic group).

China populated the area with Han Chinese so as to dilute the ethnicity of the area. Continual restrictions of human rights by the Han Chinese authorities have further fuelled extremism in the area.



*Map of China showing administrative divisions. This map includes claimed/disputed territories also.*

**? Key issue**

Why was there so much unrest between ethnic groups and the central government?

A large rectangular area with horizontal dotted lines for writing.

Turn to page 263 for thoughts on this issue.

### Religious opposition

Communist China is **atheistic** and bans Chinese officials from holding office while practising religion. The Communist government placed religious institutions under government control but religious institutions were suppressed during the Cultural Revolution (1966–75).

Except during the suppressive period of the Cultural Revolution, the Christian religion was tolerated in China. This tolerance ended if religious followers were involved in anti-government activities. For example, Catholics acknowledged the authority of the Vatican, and this was considered an anti-government activity and was persecuted. The Chinese Government set up the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Church, which did not recognise the supremacy of the Vatican council.

The main religious group that has been the target of Chinese suppression is the **Falun Gong** (Falun Dafa). It practised meditation and emphasised morality and virtue.

The Chinese Government did not view Falun Gong as a threat until the 1990s when the Government became alarmed at its growing popularity and its independent attitudes.



*A Falun Gong adherent is arrested in Beijing, 15 August 2001.*

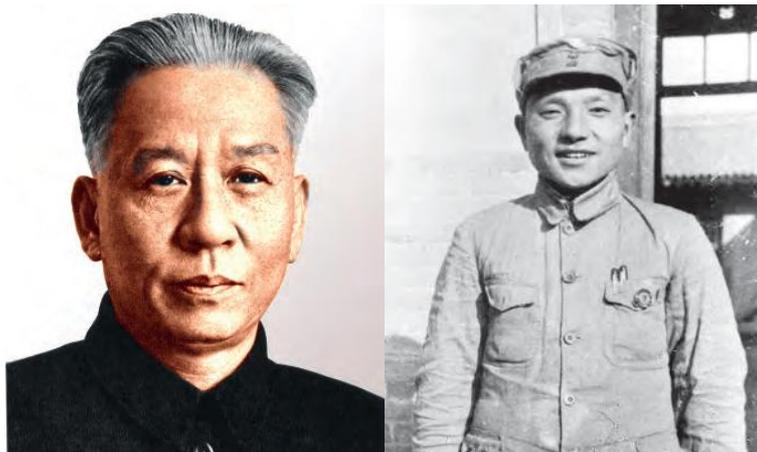
### Political opponents

- Isolated warlords were rooted out.
- Any Guomindang (GMD) who had not fled to Taiwan were tracked down.
- Supporters of GMD, such as landlords, merchants and city officials, were accused of being spies, saboteurs or counter-revolutionaries, put on trial and – depending on their crime – either executed, imprisoned or sent out to peasant communes to be ‘re-educated’ in the ‘true Communist way’. Many were made to confess to their ‘crimes’.
- People in careers that may be antagonistic to communism – academics, scientists, writers, artists and technicians – were re-educated.
- Secret Police were set up.
- Political meetings were prohibited unless officially sanctioned.
- Newspapers and journals were censored.
- Party officials moved throughout the country to lecture, threaten and persuade people to support the government.

### Revisionists (Communist officials straying from the Maoist line – modernisers)

When the Great Leap Forward (Second Five-Year Plan) failed, some Communist leaders (Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping) blamed Mao for the disaster and started to allow workers to have pay rises, and gave peasants small strips of land to own and farm.

Mao accused them of putting the interests of individuals ahead of the state. In his eyes, Liu and Deng and their supporters (factory managers, teachers, scientists and party officials) were abandoning Mao’s revolutionary ideals.



*Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969) and Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997). The photo of Liu is an undated, official Communist Party portrait (colourised). The photo of Deng was taken in 1937, and shows him in National Revolutionary Army uniform.*

## China's territorial claims and conflicts

### Key points

Defining and protecting the periphery of China, including the integration of Tibet, the Korean War and the start of the planned Han migration to Xinjiang

#### Tibet and Xinjiang

See pages 168 and 169, which detail the experiences of Tibetans and Uyghurs under modern Chinese rule.

#### Korean War (1950–3)

In 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea. The United States acting with other United Nation forces came to the South's aid. The result was the invasion of North Korea and the advance of American forces to the Yalu River, which is the boundary between China and North Korea.

China entered the war in fear that Manchuria would be invaded by the USA.

The problem was compounded by the desire of US General Douglas MacArthur (Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command) to drop an atomic bomb (A-Bomb) on China.

The war ended in 1953 with the boundaries in the same place as they were before the war started – in stalemate.

The animosity existing between USA and China lasted until President Richard Nixon visited China in 1972.



15 September 1950 – MacArthur (centre, holding binoculars) observes the shelling of Incheon from the USS Mount McKinley.



Chairman Mao shakes hands with President Nixon, 1972.

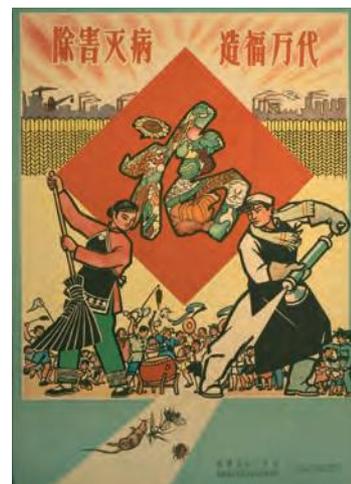
## The Great Leap Forward

### Key points

The 'Great Leap Forward' (1958–61). Consider the impact on everyday lives, culture and the lives of women.

#### Great Leap Forward – Agriculture

Land, surplus grain, farm equipment and animals were turned over to the peasants, who were later organised into collectives of 30–40 families. As these collectives could not meet food demands, farms were made into **communes** during the **Great Leap Forward** (Second Five-Year Plan). All land, farm animals and machinery were taken away and became property of the state. Each commune had about 5000 hectares of land worked by 5000 households who were paid a wage, fed and housed. All produce was owned by the commune, which was administered by a Communist Party member. He/she determined the employment of commune members and set quotas for what had to be produced.



1960 – 'Eradicate pests and diseases and build happiness for 10 000 generations.' The four pests can be seen at the bottom of the poster. Healthy vegetables underlay the test in the middle, and a booming industrial city can be seen at the top.

*Pest control under the Agriculture Plan:*

- One aspect of the Agriculture Plan was to protect peasants' crops. Mao was told that sparrows ate grain seeds, so an order was given to kill the sparrows. During the 'Great Sparrow Campaign' hundreds of millions of sparrows were killed.
- The campaign was part of the broader Four Pests Campaign, which also targeted rats, flies and mosquitoes—all with the aim of improving human hygiene.)
- The problem with the Great Sparrow Campaign became evident in 1960. The sparrows, it seemed, didn't only eat grain seeds. They also ate insects. With no birds to control them, insect populations boomed. Locusts, in particular, swarmed over the country, eating everything they could find — including crops intended for human food. People ran out of things to eat, and millions starved in what scholars have called 'The Great Famine'.

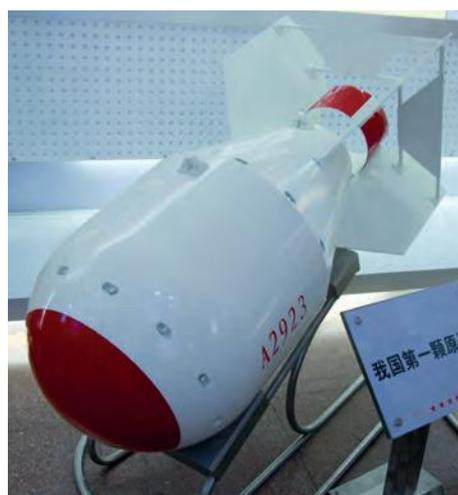
**Great Leap Forward – industry**

After the success of the First Five-Year Plan, the Second Five-Year Plan (The Great Leap Forward) was begun with the emphasis on iron and steel production. New steel mills were constructed and each family was exhorted to use his/her backyard blast furnace to make steel for the state. This produced inferior, useless steel, and took labour and equipment from the fields. Consequently, the over-ambitious plans were not met. After the failures of the Second Five-Year Plan, less ambitious targets were set.

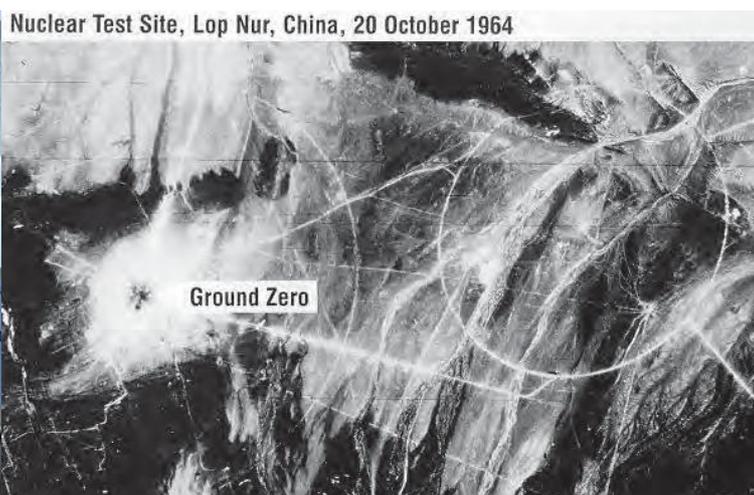
Despite these problems, China continued to industrialise at a fast rate. In 1964, China became the fifth nation in the world to produce an A-Bomb.



*1958 – Backyard steel furnaces from the Great Leap Forward era.*



*A replica of China's first nuclear bomb, A-2923.*



*20 October 1964 – US intelligence satellite image of the Lop Nur Nuclear Test Range four days after the China's first nuclear bomb was detonated.*

## Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

### Key points

The Cultural Revolution (1966–76). Consider the impact on everyday lives, culture and the lives of women.

When the Great Leap Forward (Second Five-Year Plan) failed, some Communist leaders (Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping) blamed Mao for the disaster and started to allow workers to have pay rises, and gave peasants small strips of land to own and farm.

Mao accused them of putting the interests of individuals ahead of the state. In his eyes, Liu and Deng and their supporters (factory managers, teachers, scientists and party officials) were abandoning the ideals of the revolution.

These were 'revisionists', who emphasised expertise rather than ideological purity, and emphasised modernisation, rather than a society based on the peasantry. The revisionists were accused of travelling on the same path as Khrushchev's Soviet Union, which had denounced the excesses of the Stalinist period.

In answer, Mao launched the **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution** to force people back to the 'true Communist path'. Everybody was to have his/her own **Long March**. Mao gathered a group of radicals, including his wife Jiang Qing and Defence Minister Lin Biao, to help him attack current Party leadership and reassert Mao's authority. To encourage the **personality cult** that sprang up around Mao Zedong, Lin Biao saw that the now-famous *Little Red Book* of Mao's quotations was printed and distributed by the millions throughout China.

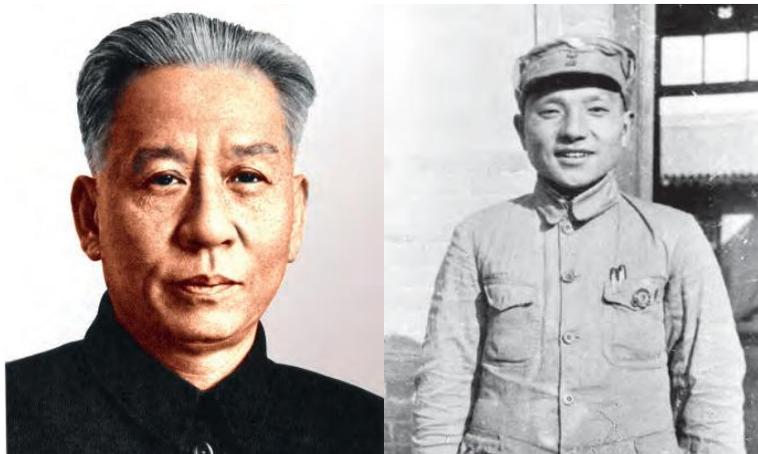
Thousands of students became Red Guards and hunted down anyone who (they believed) was not living according to Mao's principles. People wearing lipstick, keeping pets or wearing bright clothes were beaten up and forced to go out to work as peasants in the countryside. Teachers, scientists, technologists and others in 'modern' occupations were also targets. Many were killed; others went to re-education classes; others went into the fields.

With the help of the army, Mao dealt with his rivals in the Communist Party. Liu was branded as a 'capitalist inroader', imprisoned and killed. Deng and others were sent to work as farmers and labourers. In September 1971, Lin Biao, who had been instrumental in Mao's popular success, died in a plane crash while fleeing the country.

Eventually the Cultural Revolution threatened the development of the country:

- the government was disorganised
- education had come to a standstill
- production of goods was grinding down.

Eventually the army brought to a halt the activities of the Red Guards. Mao's deputy, the pragmatist Zhou Enlai, assumed a greater role in running the country. Zhou acted to stabilise China by reviving the educational system and restoring numerous former officials to power. Life returned to 'normal' with Mao nominally in charge until his death on 9 September 1976.



*Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969) and Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997). The photo of Liu is an undated, official Communist Party portrait (colourised). The photo of Deng was taken in 1937, and shows him in National Revolutionary Army uniform.*



*1966 – Propaganda poster. The text says: 'Criticise the old world and build a new world with Mao Zedong Thought as a weapon.'*





## Focus area: the search for harmony (1976–89)

### Deng Xiaoping's reforms

#### Key points

Reforms led by Deng Xiaoping (Four Modernisations) and their impact on the economic and social development of China.

#### Note

Even though Deng was a leading figure, he was not the titular leader of China in this period. The leaders were: Hua Guofeng (1976–81), Hu Yaobang (1981–87) and Zhao Ziyang (1987–89). However, Deng became a key figure in the leadership group and brought in a new way of thinking that combined communism with a pragmatic capitalist economy. The slogan of this movement was 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics'.

Deng opened China to foreign investment and the global market. Price controls were abolished in 1988 but were reinstated after riots.

Deng introduced a series of reforms called the **Four Modernisations**. These had been thought up by Zhou Enlai in 1963, but were enacted officially in 1977. The aims of the Four Modernisations were to accelerate the modernisation process and enable China to become self-reliant by strengthening:

- science and technology
- agriculture
- industry
- defence.

#### Science and technology

Science and tech underpinned the Four Modernisations campaign. Development in these areas was the key to transforming industry and gaining access to the western international community. Outmoded universities, and an overall lack of access to advanced scientific equipment, information technology, and management 'know-how' would be remedied.

#### Agriculture

Peasants were able to buy their own land, grow cash crops and sell their goods on the open market.

#### Industry

People were able to own small businesses and were encouraged to produce consumer goods. People could work overtime, have bonuses and share in profits. Foreigners were encouraged to invest in Chinese industry. Markets were opened up with the aim of obtaining machinery from Japan and the West.

#### Defence

A plan was introduced to modernise the military forces and strengthen China, thus insulating it from foreign attack.

To achieve these aims, the **education system** was modernised through the inclusion of practical subjects, and examinations based on economic development instead of ideology. Special schools for gifted students were established.

To further strengthen the country, **population growth** had to be checked. Campaigns were established to educate people about marrying late and accessing/understanding birth control. A special **one-child policy** was established for the Han majority. This was to have a deleterious effect as many families took steps to have only a boy child to carry on the family name and help them in the fields.

## Towards 'open' systems

### Key points

Moves towards a more open political and economic system.

The 'opening' of the economy has already been addressed. Politically, the years between 1976 and 1989 were tumultuous for China.

After the deaths of Mao Zedong (1976) and Zhou Enlai (1975) some political reform occurred but there were growing instances of repression.

#### 1982 – New State Constitution

This abolished the positions of Party and Deputy Party Chairman and re-instated the positions of State President and Vice-President. People's congresses and committees were established in towns and villages in a move to democratise the Party. These replaced the political work of communes. State bureaucracies were also pruned. For example, the number of Vice-Premiers was pruned from thirteen to two.

#### 1978 – Democracy Wall

On 5 December 1978, Wei Jingshen, a former Red Guard who had become a democratic activist, placed a poster on the **Xidan Wall** in Beijing calling for the **Fifth Modernisation**: democracy.

The 'Fifth Modernisation' followed the Four Modernisations (Agriculture, Industry, Defence, and Science and Technology) established by Zhao Enlai in 1963. At first, Deng Xiaoping supported the Democracy Wall concept, as the posters were critical of the Gang of Four, and soon Democracy Walls spread throughout the country. In Beijing, the large posters became more strident, more anti-government and began to attack Deng himself.



*Xidan Wall, 1979.*

*(Source: photograph by Daryl McCann.)*

In 1979, street demonstrations took place, which led to a crackdown on the democracy movement. Posters were torn down and Wei Jingshen was arrested and gaoled for 15 years for counter-revolutionary activities.

1986: although demonstrations were banned, they arose again when students in Beijing and Shanghai protested against inequality, denial of human rights and the lack of democracy.

#### 1989 – Tiananmen Square Massacre

This massacre and associated protests are addressed in greater detail in 3.3.3.3.

## Tiananmen Square protests (1989)

### Key points

Responses to the Tiananmen Square protesters.



*4 June 1989 – Famous ‘Tank Man’ photograph, showing a lone student protester standing in front of a line of tanks deployed by the government to crush the democracy movement. The man has never been identified. (Source: AAP/Jeff Widener.)*

### The Tiananmen Square Massacre

This protest is also called the **June Fourth Movement** or **89 Democracy Movement**. The major incident took place on 4 June 1989. This was a student-led demonstration that spread to other cities in China. The protests demanded:

- democracy
- greater accountability of government
- freedom of the press
- an easing of inflationary pressures.

The protests were forcibly suppressed by soldiers with assault rifles and tanks. The government declared martial law. A tent city in Tiananmen Square was crushed under tanks. The Movement was defeated. It was estimated that between 800 and 4000 people were killed although the authorities said that only 23 died.



*On 5 June 1989, in solidarity with their Chinese counterparts, students in Poland erected the first version of this artwork showing a crushed bicycle lying broken alongside tank tracks. The artwork was replaced with this version on 4 June 1999 to mark the 10-year anniversary of the massacre in Tiananmen Square.*

### Responses to the Tiananmen Square protests (1989)

- Thousands were arrested and imprisoned, and protest leaders were executed.
- Deng’s dictatorship was confirmed. Zhao Ziyang, who was sympathetic to the protesters, was purged from the Party.
- Protests were banned.
- Freedoms of speech, assembly and press were curtailed.
- Foreign journalists were killed.
- Killings were a warning not to challenge the Communist system.
- Internationally, there was wide condemnation of the massacres, particularly among Western nations. Several countries that had been favourable to China (namely India, North Korea and East Germany) condemned the rioters. Australia admitted a large number of student refugees into the country.



## Focus area: China resurgent (post-1990)

### National unity through construction

#### Key points

The characteristics and impacts of construction projects of national unity.

Since 1990, China has followed a policy 'grasping the large' (maintaining state control over the largest state enterprises) and 'letting the small go' (relinquishing control of small industries by allowing local government to control them or privatising them or shutting them down).

#### Large State-controlled industrial projects

In many cases, China is the leading producer in the world. Some key industries:

- automobile production, e.g. China Association of Automobile Manufacturers
- mining, e.g. coal, gold, bauxite
- chemical industries
- cotton and textiles
- heavy industries, including iron and steel, machine building, armaments, cement, chemical fertilisers
- energy industries (including petroleum and natural gas), nuclear power, and renewables such as wind, solar, geothermal and tidal power.

Several of the above listed industries are heavily polluting industries. Also there are many industrial accidents – for example factory explosions, mud slides and mine collapses – particularly in the coal industry.

**? Activity****Case study: Three Gorges Dam Project**

One of the best examples of state-controlled construction projects was the **Three Gorges Dam Project** on the Yangtze River.

*Do your own research into this project. Analyse it under the following headings:*

**Construction date**

---

---

**Purpose (suggest more than one purpose)**

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

**Reasons it was considered the biggest power station at the time**

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

**Advantages for China's society, government and economy**

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

**Problems it created for the environment**

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

## Reuniting China

### Key points

The return of Hong Kong (1997) and Macao (1998).

In the period 1839–1842, China fought Great Britain in the First Opium War. China's defeat led to **Hong Kong** being ceded to Great Britain in perpetuity. Later treaties granted Kowloon to Great Britain also in perpetuity and the adjacent New Territories on a 99-year lease. The 99-year lease expired in 1997. When the time came, Great Britain ceded all three territories to China.

### Macau (Macao)

Macau had been settled and governed by Portugal since 1535, but after the Second Opium War, China gave Portugal sovereignty over Macau in the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking.

Talks to cede Macau to China began in 1987 and discussions over the transition lasted over 12 years before the handover in 1999.

Macau is now an autonomous region of China. It is one of the world's biggest casino gambling centres, even though casinos are illegal in China. Despite restrictions being applied to Chinese gamblers in Macau, gambling related taxes account for about 80 per cent of government revenue.

Private ownership of property is allowed in Macau. Also, there are no restrictions on foreign ownership of property. The economy lacks a broad-based labour market, and the government sets standards for terms and conditions of employment. In return, the government provides generous subsidies for households.

Foreign trade with its 0% tariffs also accounts for Macau's wealth. Macau is one of Asia's top tourist drawcards with its mixture of casinos, colonial architecture and foreign cuisines.

Macau has its own judicial system. Its High Court is based largely on Portuguese law.



Macau. (Source: Sémhur / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-SA-3.0)



The lights of Macau at night (aerial view).



## Taiwan today

### Key points

The re-establishment of links with Taiwan.

Taiwan, previously known as Formosa, is an independent country officially called the Republic of China (ROC), situated approximately 180 kilometres from the Chinese mainland. It became part of China in the 19th century. As a result of the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, Formosa was taken over by Japan, and remained part of the Japanese empire until 1945.

After the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek's forces by the Communists in 1949, Chiang fled to Taiwan and set up a rival government with Chiang as dictator. He hoped to regain control of mainland China in the future (he never did).

The ROC sought to reunify Taiwan with China throughout the 1950s and 70s. In 1954 and 1958, Communist China bombed the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, territories belonging to Taiwan. This created international tension, as the USA threatened to come to Taiwan's assistance. In the 1960s and 70s, both sides bombarded the other with propaganda leaflets.

The uneasy relationship continued until the USA recognised mainland China as the sole legitimate government of the country. In 1971, Taiwan was expelled from the United Nations, and replaced by Communist China, which became a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.



*Taiwan (red).*

China and Taiwan have sharply disagreed on the island's status. China has asserted that there is only 'one China' and that Taiwan is an inalienable part of it. The 1992 Consensus reached by the two groups states that there was only 'one China', but with differing interpretations. This allowed the capitals (Beijing and Taipei) to agree that Taiwan belongs to China, while still disagreeing which parliament is China's legitimate governing body. The tacit agreement was that Taiwan would not seek independence, although there were groups within the ruling GMD that believed that Taiwan would become independent with US backing.

This belief is bolstered by US arms sales to Taiwan (totalling more than \$46 billion since 1990) and the increasingly friendly ties between US and Taiwanese leaders since the election of Donald Trump as President of the US.

China has favoured a steady deepening of ties with Taiwan, forging economic links that could ultimately become too costly for the island to sever, thus nudging it closer to unification. However, since 2012, China's President, Xi Jinping, has embraced a tougher, nationalistic stance towards all of the special regions it claims, including Hong Kong, Tibet, Xinjiang and Taiwan alike. Recently, China has kept closer scrutiny of cross-strait ties and President Xi has shown a willingness to use pressure to try to limit Taiwan's ability to reset the island's relations with the mainland. For example, in June 2016, Beijing suspended a cross-strait communication mechanism with the main Taiwan liaison office.

Meanwhile, Taiwanese leaders consider the re-establishment of formal diplomatic relations with major powers and international organisations essential if Taiwan is to survive separately from the Communist mainland.

Militarily, China has deployed missiles along the Taiwan Strait and has continued to modernise the bulk of its military capabilities. Although Beijing has continued to seek progress with Taiwan through the discussion of economic issues and high-level people-to-people exchanges, it has refused to renounce the use of force to resolve the dispute over the island's status. In response, Taiwan has continued to buy weapons, primarily from the United States.



*President Xi Jinping with Vladimir Putin in Moscow, 2015.*

### Economic cooperation

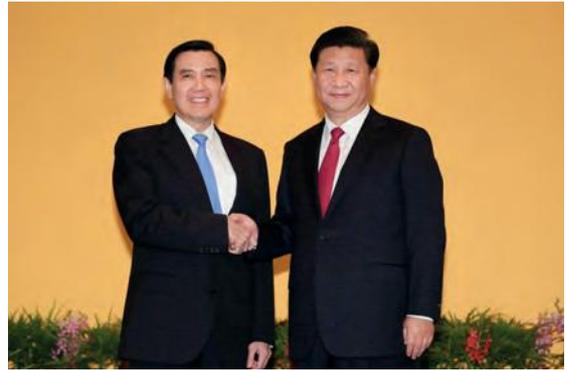
Taiwan began investing in China after reform policies were implemented by Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s. Despite intermittent friction, the cross-strait economic relationship has blossomed. China entered the World Trade Organization in 2001 and, within a month, Taiwan entered as 'Chinese Taipei'. The island holds member, observer, or other status in more than 40 organisations (such as the Asian Development Bank and regional fishery organisations).

In November 2015, China said that it would welcome Taiwan's membership in the Chinese-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.

Two-way trade between China and Taiwan in 2014 reached \$198.31 billion, up from \$8 billion in 1991. China is Taiwan's largest trading partner, accounting for almost 30 per cent of the island's total trade. In turn, Taiwan ranked seventh among China's top 10 trading partners in 2015. More than 93 000 Taiwanese businesses have invested in the mainland since 1988. Chinese investment in Taiwan is on the rise, but increasing at a slower rate.

China and Taiwan have also agreed to allow banks, insurers and other financial service providers to work in both markets.

In 2015, the number of direct flights between China and Taiwan hit just under 900 per week, up from 270 in 2009. More than 9.4 million people travelled across the strait in 2014, and, in September 2015, Taiwan upped its daily quota of mainland visitors from 4000 to 5000.



*7 November 2017 – President Ma Ying-jeou of Taiwan shakes hands with Xi Jinping. This occasion marked the first meeting between the nations' political leaders since the Chinese Civil War in 1950.*

### ? Key issue

'Taiwan is in a state of uneasy peace with China.' Discuss.

A large rectangular area with a light orange border, containing horizontal dotted lines for writing.

Turn to page 264 for thoughts on this issue.

## The Beijing Olympics (2008)

### Key points

The international status of the 2008 Olympics.



*Fireworks at the Opening Ceremony of the 2008 Summer Olympics in Beijing. (Source: wuqiang\_beijing)*

Beijing was awarded the Olympic Games over four competitors on 13 July 2001, having won a majority of votes from members of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The Chinese Government promoted the Games as a great 'coming out party': a chance to dazzle the world and showcase China's great economic strides. The Games would show the world that China was a 21st century world power. It invested heavily in new facilities and transportation systems. A total of 37 venues were used to host the events, including 12 constructed specifically for use at the Games.

Some politicians and non-government organisations criticised the choice of China as the Olympic host because of the country's human rights record, but others thought that the Games may prompt China to stem its repressive actions (particularly in relation to Tibet). This was not the case, as detentions and arrests continued as China sought to show that it had a strong and stable government.

Countless Chinese citizens also found themselves at odds with the government over the Olympics. Many Beijing residents were displaced as large areas of the city – many historically significant neighbourhoods – were razed to make way for Olympic venues and related development projects. Many dissidents, homeless people, street vendors and beggars from the streets of the capital were removed from sight, as the authorities wanted China to be seen as a powerful and wealthy country.

The international community, including the IOC, was oblivious to these situations or just ignored them. Any comments that were made were rebuffed as attempts to humiliate China or turn the Games into a political event.

The Games were a success for China and the Olympics. The world-class facilities in Beijing, and elsewhere in China, mainly used design technologies from Western companies. Many top multinational companies also benefited greatly from their sponsorships of the Beijing Games.



*9 April 2008, California – A protester carries a pro-Tibet sign at a rally against China's successful Olympic bid. (Source: Natalya Goryakina)*





## Tensions on the rise

### Key points

Increasing ethnic and religious tensions, political dissidents and responses to them.

#### Ethnic and religious tensions

The conflicts between China and minority ethnicities and religions has been covered earlier in this book.

**Tibetans** (ethnic and religious tensions) see page 168.

**Uyghurs** (ethnic and religious tensions) see page 169.

**Falun Gong** (religious tensions) see page 170.

#### Political dissidents

Dissidence to Communist rule has been evident since the Communist Revolution of 1949. Some was state sponsored, such as the 100 Flower campaign and the Democracy Wall campaign, until criticism became directed against the authoritarian rule of the Communist government, whereupon outspoken critics were punished. During the Cultural Revolution, so-called **revisionists** were treated brutally by the Red Guards. Tiananmen Square dissidents in 1989 were brutally repressed with hundreds killed – many fled abroad, with some political refugees seeking asylum in Australia.

Since 1990, dissidents have staged protests against the:

- authoritarian rule of the Communist Party
- suppression of human rights
- lack of freedom of speech
- lack of freedom of the press.

The government responded by deporting and imprisoning key leaders. It tried to isolate others by adopting some of their liberal ideas, such as **participatory democracy**. In 1979, this gave voting rights to the people to elect representatives to the National Assembly.

The Chinese Government argued that dissidence diverted attention from China's program of economic reform.

The **Chinese democracy movement** is the umbrella group under which many dissidents have acted.

Individual dissidents have come from a variety of occupations:

- writers
- intellectuals
- business people
- lawyers
- economists
- civil servants
- engineers.

Many have been gaoled for offences, such as:

- revealing state secrets
- counter-revolutionary activities
- inciting disorder
- subversion
- gambling
- economic crimes.

During the Beijing Olympics, dissidents sought the opportunity to present their grievances to the world. This was rebuffed by the authorities and many were either imprisoned or deported to the countryside.

## Consolidating power in the domestic sphere

### Key points

The consolidation of power and changes in domestic policy.

#### Consolidation of power

- The Chinese Government is mainly run by the Communist Party, which controls government appointments.
- Other parties exist and elections are held in villages and towns. Occasionally they put forward grievances but generally accept the will of the party.
- The leader is the President who holds power for a five-year term.
- Since 1990, the government has controlled dissidents, many of whom have been gaoled and tortured. They are accused of terrorism, separatism and extremism.
- The government is active in repressing opposition to its rule. Human rights abuses are justified in the government's pursuit of social stability.
- China has signed human rights treaties with foreign countries.
- Some corruption within government ranks has been exposed, and several people have been convicted in trials and sentenced to lengthy periods in gaol – or, in some cases, executed. In 2015, 300,000 officials were punished in government's war against graft. Former Chinese Security Chief Zhou Yongkang was sentenced to life in prison after a secret trial. Most others were given light, disciplinary punishment, while 10 centrally appointed officials were given drastic demotions.
- Despite its autocratic status, China has adopted capitalist economic policies allowing foreign trade and investment.
- The Communist Party controls the People's Liberation Army including the Navy and Air Force. It has the second largest defence budget in the world. It has been involved in international affairs including:
  - anti-piracy activities in the Gulf of Aden
  - the search for Malaysian Air Flight MH370 in the Indian Ocean
  - construction of military bases on artificial islands in the South China Sea, which has brought China into sea-border disputes with Vietnam, Philippines and Indonesia.
- It has an uneasy relationship with the US, which accuses China of:
  - cyber-hacking
  - restricting the US's rights to freedom of navigation
  - not being active in controlling North Korea's arms build-up and weapons deployment
  - imbalance of trade.



*A map of the conflicting claims in the South China Sea. China, Malaysia, Vietnam, Brunei, Philippines and Taiwan dispute the boundaries that divide the coastal region here.*





## Changing world order (1945– )

### Focus area: origins of the superpower rivalry

#### Key points

The origins and early development of the Cold War to 1948, e.g. ideological, cultural and political differences; the Berlin blockade; the Warsaw Pact; and the establishment of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization).

#### Note

Many say that the Truman Doctrine – when President Truman promised to help any country facing a Communist takeover – is believed to be the start of the Cold War. This is a contentious statement, and you are free to nominate any event in the 1940s as the start, so long as you can justify it.

#### Questions to keep in mind as you research this section:

- What were the political causes of the Cold War?
- What were the economic causes of the Cold War?
- Who was to blame for the origins of the Cold War?



*'Time to bridge that gulch', a Pulitzer Prize-winning political cartoon by Bruce Russell, 1946.*

### Timeline of circumstances prior to the end of the Second World War:

**19th century** – Ideological struggle between Capitalism and Marxism.

**October 1917** – Russian Revolution; Russia became the world's first Communist country. One aim was for working men of the world to unite.

**1918** – the Communist Internationale came into existence, a Communist regime took control in Hungary, and Spartacist riots arose in Germany.

**1918–1920** – Russian Civil War between the Reds (Communists) and Whites (non-Communists). The Whites were aided by foreign forces (Britain, France, USA, Australia) whose aim was to defeat the Communists and stop the spread of communism to the West.

**1926** – A war between Britain and the USSR nearly occurred, when the General Strike that happened in Britain was blamed on the Communists in Russia.

**1936** – Spanish Civil War. Although the war was between Spanish fascists and the republicans, many in the Western world saw the republicans as under the control of Stalin (the leader of Soviet Russia), despite the fact that Stalin had deliberately kept out of the conflict because of domestic issues.

**1930s** – Hitler made no secret of his hatred for Communism and often tried to get Britain to join him in overthrowing Communism in the USSR. This resulted in the German invasion of the USSR in 1941.

**1945** – A-Bombs were detonated on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. Ostensibly, this was to bring to a quick end the war against Japan but it also contained a subtle message to Stalin in the USSR.

## During the Second World War

Even though the USSR and Britain and USA were on the same side, there was **virtually no support** for the USSR from the Allies and vice versa. For the USSR, this was the second attempt in 20 years by the West to get rid of Communism in the USSR<sup>1</sup> and explains Stalin's desire to create security for his country after the Second World War.

## After the Second World War

- **Occupation of Eastern Europe by Soviet armies** as they moved west to defeat Hitler.
- **Postwar Conferences (1945) between USA, Great Britain and the Soviet Union** – Yalta (Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin) and Potsdam (Truman, Churchill and Stalin). These were held to decide on:
  - territorial boundaries of Europe
  - the involvement of the USSR in the war against Japan
  - the nature of governments after the war.

There was general agreement that the countries that were in the Soviet sphere of interest would adopt a government system that was friendly to the Soviet Union. There was no agreement over the government of Poland.



*Stalin, Truman and Churchill at the Potsdam Conference, July 1945. (Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-29645-0001)*

- Election of Harry S. Truman as US President following the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Truman saw the Soviet moves to control Eastern Europe as acts of treachery against 'freedom-loving peoples'.
- Between 1945 and 1948, countries in Eastern Europe had governments that were coalitions of liberals and Communists assisted by Stalin. Eventually, with the help of Soviet armies, the coalition governments were overthrown by the local Communists. Czechoslovakia was the only country that freely elected a Communist government.
- The **growing popularity of Communism in Western Europe** (e.g. France, Italy and Belgium) owing to poverty, economic ruin and popularity of local communists.
- **Civil War in Greece (1946–1949)** between the monarchists (supported by Britain and the US) and the republicans and communists (who had tacit support of the USSR).

<sup>1</sup>NOTE: The first was the Western intervention in Russia's Civil War between the Whites and Reds (1919–1922)

- **Formal division of Western and Eastern Europe into Blocs.**
  - This began with the partition of Germany (and Berlin) and Austria into British, American, French and Soviet zones. Note that the Allied sectors in Germany soon united to form one zone (West Germany).
  - The Eastern Bloc resulted from the Soviet government forming an alliance of Eastern European states called **Cominform** (Communist Information Bureau) in 1947 to counter the Western Bloc. This was formalised by the creation of the **Warsaw Pact** (named after the capital city of Poland) in 1955.
  - The **Western Bloc** was a grouping of Western (anti-Communist countries) under American influence. This was formed by the Truman Doctrine, created by US President Harry Truman to provide military and financial support to stop the spread of Communism in Europe. The process became known as a Containment Policy.
- By 1949, a set of military alliances were formed called the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, which made the containment official.
- The 'two Europe's' were separated by barbed wire, walls and machine gun posts.
- Winston Churchill's speech in Fulton, Ohio (USA), in 1946, wherein he said an **iron curtain was descending over Europe**.

### Economic causes of tension



23 July 1945, Potsdam Conference – General George Marshall (centre) after whom the Marshall Plan was named.

#### The Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan was created by an American, George Marshall, to restore Europe after the war and stop the spread of Communism in Western Europe. It was offered to the USSR but rejected by Stalin, as he saw it as an American plan to control Eastern Europe and threaten Stalin's hold on that territory.

#### Comecon

To counter the Marshall Plan and strengthen Stalin's hold over Eastern Europe, the **Molotov Plan** was set up in 1947. Its aim was a program of bilateral (two-sided) agreements between the USSR and each of their allies in Eastern Europe. It also meant increasing Stalin's control over Soviet 'satellite' countries.

In 1949, the Molotov Plan was amended to form a **Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon)** which created a centralised agency for stimulating and controlling economic development in Eastern Europe.

#### Note

These and later actions throughout the world became known as the Cold War, which lasted until 1989. The Cold War was not an all-out war. It was a period of tension, rivalry, propaganda and an arms build-up that kept politicians and people on edge.

## Focus area: nature of the Cold War

### Key points

The evolving nature and character of the Cold War (1948–1985), including:

- military and non-military (cultural/technological/sporting) rivalries
- the Arms Race and threat of nuclear war
- the Space Race
- espionage
- superpowers
- the impact on people and society.

The nature of the Cold War is many-faceted. Listed below are 11 aspects, which we will explore in the following pages.

1. Conflicting ideologies
2. Cold War crises
3. The Arms Race
4. Détente
5. Conflicting issues in the United Nations
6. Economic rivalry
7. The Space Race
8. Rivalry in sports
9. Rivalry in culture
10. Propaganda
11. Espionage

### Conflicting ideologies

Ideologies were the philosophical underpinnings of the tensions inherent in Cold War politics.

### Note

If you are undertaking a study of this theme, you can examine the works of prominent thinkers and how they rose to prominence in relation to: 1) each other and 2) the changing times after the Second World War.

Below are some examples of directions in which your research could take you.

#### Communism

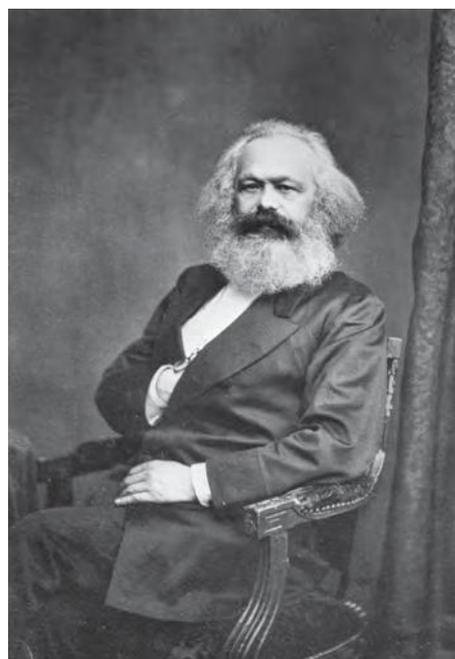
An exploration of growth, development and attraction of communism.

Examine the works of Marx and Engels (*Communist Manifesto*) in the 19th century and how later political figures adapted these works to gain support for themselves. Such political figures included:

- Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union
- Mao Zedong in China
- Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam
- Tito in Yugoslavia
- Euro-Communists in Italy, Spain and France after the Second World War.

#### Capitalism

An analysis of the growth, development of capitalist thought by examining the works of English philosophers Adam Smith (*The Wealth of Nations*) and Thomas Malthus, and Charles Darwin. To examine capitalism in the 20th century, consider the works of John Keynes and Ayn Rand (USA).



Portrait of Karl Marx, c. 1875.

**Fascism**

An analysis of growth, development and attraction of fascism as a counterbalance to communism.

Historical figures include: Mussolini, Hitler and Franco before and during the Second World War.

Groups include: the American Nazi Party, the Australia First Party, the Italian Social Movement and the British National Party.

**? Key issue**

To what extent did competing ideologies contribute to the Cold War?

A large rectangular area with a light orange border, containing horizontal dotted lines for writing.

*Turn to page 265 for thoughts on this issue.*

## Cold War crises

The Cold War was **not** a period of open hostilities between the superpowers (USA, USSR, China) and their allies. It was a period of surrogate wars and crises between satellite nations with the covert backing of the superpowers on either side.

### Note

If you are examining this theme, you may look at the **causes, events** and **outcomes** of one or more conflicts, and/or relate the event to the maturation of the Cold War itself.

Below is a non-exhaustive list of such conflicts with two crises (the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Hungarian uprising) explained in depth.

### Questions to keep in mind as you research this section:

- What are the causes of the crisis?
- Why were the superpowers involved in the crisis?
- What were the outcomes of the crisis?
- Why did the crisis not result in a war between the superpowers?

### Crises – examples for case studies

Greek Civil War 1946–49

Berlin Crisis 1948–49

Chinese Communist Revolution 1949

Korean War 1950–53

Iran Crisis 1951–52

Guatemalan Crisis 1954

Hungarian Crisis 1956

Berlin Wall Crisis 1961

Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

Vietnam War 1963–75

Czechoslovak Crisis 1968

Chilean Crisis 1975

Afghanistan War 1979

Invasion of Granada 1983

### Hungarian Revolution (1956)

#### Causes

- Brief reform period squashed by the reactionary forces of Mátyás Rakosi (General Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party).
- Dislike among Hungarians of being controlled by Soviets.
- Student and worker protests (immediate cause) demanding removal of Soviet troops and creation of non-Communist political party.

#### Revolt

- Support of protesters by reformist leader Imre Nagy.
- Invasion by Soviet tanks.
- Rebellion crushed.
- Soviet troop withdrawal followed by resumption of calls for independence.



*5 November 1956 – A demonstration in the Netherlands in support of Hungary.  
(Source: photograph by Wim van Rossem.)*



*1956 – Protesters demonstrate in the streets of Budapest, Hungary.  
(Source: photograph by Nagy Gyula.)*

*Outcomes*

- Imre Nagy executed
- Over 25 000 people killed.
- Tribunals set up.
- Hardliner Soviet supporter, János Kadar, became leader.
- Hungary returned to being a Soviet satellite state.

*Superpower involvement*

- Soviet government fearful of the spread of the Hungarian revolt into Communist-controlled Eastern Europe.
- Soviet troops invaded to 'restore order'. Thousands killed.
- Soviet-sponsored leaders returned to power.
- Western countries did not intervene out of a tacit understanding to not become involved in the Soviet sphere of influence. The West was also fearful of a 'hot war'.

**Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)***Causes*

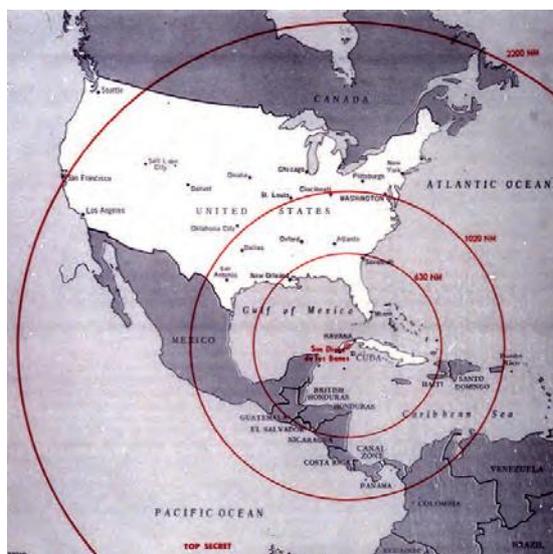
- Cuban society lived in poverty.
- Americans controlled the Cuban sugar industry.
- Havana, the capital of Cuba, was the 'playground' of rich Americans and a haven for gangster activity.
- Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista was corrupt.
- In 1959, Fidel Castro, having led an army of peasants, carried out guerrilla raids and took control. Many Cubans fled as refugees to the USA.
- Castro needed money to make changes to Cuba, so he began to take over American industries in Cuba, e.g. nationalised the sugar plantations. Americans saw this as stealing and, in retaliation, banned imports of Cuban sugar and cut off trading connections.
- In desperation, Castro turned to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. They agreed to trade and give financial, technical and military aid to Cuba on the proviso that Cuba become a Communist country. This it did.
- Having a Communist country so close to America angered US President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who began to supply weapons and ships to the Cuban refugees to prepare to retake the island. When President John F. Kennedy came to power, he continued this venture. After two rebellions in 1960, America supported a full-scale invasion of Cuba by 1400 Cuban exiles. When the exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs, they were surprised and routed.

*The Crisis*

- Castro was sure that America would try to invade again. He was supported in his belief by the dramatic weapons build-up by the US in Europe and Turkey, which is on Russia's doorstep. So, Castro appealed to Khrushchev for help. Khrushchev responded by sending rifles, tanks and aircraft.
- In October 1962, an American spy-plane photographed missile sites being built in Cuba. Kennedy was advised to invade and destroy the missile sites.



1956 – A red star has been smashed off this wall in Budapest, Hungary. The graffiti translates to the equivalent of 'Russians go home!' (Source: FORTEPAN, ID 23585.)



Map created by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) showing the range of the missiles under construction in Cuba.



New York, 1962 – Some of the 800 women strikers who joined a demonstration for peace. (Source: photograph by Phil Stanziola.)

- Instead, Kennedy ordered a naval and aerial blockade around Cuba. Russian ships carrying missiles were on their way to Cuba.
- Kennedy telephoned Khrushchev to tell him to order the ships to turn around and, later, the missile bases to be dismantled – or else he would order strikes against Russia. The world waited on the edge of a nuclear precipice for 10 days before Khrushchev ordered the ships to be turned around.
- Later, Khrushchev said the bases would be removed if Kennedy declared that he would not invade Cuba. He did, and the bases were removed.

*Outcome*

- In 1963, a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty forbidding weapons testing in the atmosphere was signed between the US, USSR and Britain.
- A hotline between Moscow and Washington was established to prevent any future mishap.
- USA established and has maintained an economic blockade on Cuba.
- Cuba sponsored revolutionary wars in South America and Africa in the 1960s and 70s.

**? Key issue**

How close was [your chosen crisis] to becoming a ‘hot’ war between the superpowers?

A large rectangular area with horizontal dotted lines for writing.

*Turn to page 266 for thoughts on this issue. The suggested response focuses on the Cuban Missile Crisis.*



## Détente

### Note

This should be studied alongside the Arms Race, as they were periods when the tensions of the Cold War were relaxed.

### Aa Definition

**Détente:** the easing of tensions between the superpowers.

There were two periods of Détente: 1969–1980 and 1985–1989.

### Détente 1 (1969–1980)

#### *Causes of Détente 1*

#### USA

- Fear of nuclear arms race getting out of control (especially evident after the Cuban Missile Crisis)
- President Johnson hoped that the USSR might put pressure on North Vietnam to end the Vietnam War.



19 June 1973 – Leonid Brezhnev (left) and Richard Nixon (right) meet in the US. This was considered a harmonious high-point of détente 1.

#### USSR

- Soviet Union felt it had reached nuclear parity with the West.
- Decline in economic growth.

#### *Nature of Détente 1*

- The holding of summits between the superpowers.
- The signing of treaties, for example:
  - SALT 1 (Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty)
  - Biological Weapons Convention
  - Antiballistic Missile Treaty
  - SALT 2.
- Agreements on trade, economics, politics and human rights.

#### *Collapse of Détente 1*

- Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979
- Election of Ronald Reagan as President USA (1981) who believed that the USA was too soft on Communism
- Mutual suspicions and the continual build-up of armaments and espionage.
- American concern of Soviet and Cuban interference in Nicaraguan and El Salvador (Central America) affairs

## Détente 2 (1985–1989)

### *Causes of Détente 2*

#### USSR

- The coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev, and his policies of glasnost and perestroika.
- Inability of the Soviet Union to match the military build-up of the USA.
- Further decline in the economic performance of the Soviet Union.

#### USA

- President Reagan's belief that the US was unchallengeable in the Arms Race and therefore sought peace from a position of strength.

### *Nature of Détente 2*

- Meetings between Reagan and Gorbachev.
- The collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe.

### *Outcomes*

- The setting up of democratic governments in former Communist countries.
- The independence of countries formerly part of the Soviet Union, e.g. the Baltic countries, Ukraine, etc.
- Renewal of regional tensions within Europe, e.g. Bosnia.
- Feeling of American dominance in world affairs and the heralding of a new age in world history. (Read Francis Fukuyama: *The End of History*).



*19 November 1985 – US President Ronald Reagan meets USSR General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.*



*12 June 1987 – Ronald Reagan giving a speech at the Berlin Wall, with the Brandenburg Gate in the background. In this speech, he challenged Gorbachev: 'Mr Gorbachev, open this gate. Mr Gorbachev, tear down this wall!'*

## ? Key issue

How successful was détente in defusing the tensions between the superpowers?

A large rectangular area with horizontal dotted lines for writing, intended for student responses to the key issue question.

*Turn to page 267 for thoughts on this issue.*





## The Space Race

Date	Event	USSR	or	USA
1957	First artificial satellite First signals from space	Sputnik 1		
1957	First dog in orbit (Laika)	Sputnik 2		
1958	First communications satellite	Project SCORE-ABMA		
1959	First lunar spacecraft	Luna 1		
1959	First photograph of Earth from orbit	Explorer 6-NASA		
1959	First impact into another celestial body (Moon)	Luna 2		
1959	First photos of far side of the Moon	Luna 3		
1960	First successful US spy satellite (returned intelligence data)	GRAB-1-NRL		
1960	First animals and plants returned alive from space (Belka and Strelka)	Sputnik 5		
1961	First human spaceflight (Yuri Gagarin) First orbital flight of a manned vehicle	Vostok 1		
1961	First pilot-controlled space flight (Alan Shepard) First human space mission that landed with pilot still in spacecraft and thus technically completing the first complete human spaceflight	Freedom 7		
1961	First crewed mission lasting a full day	Vostok 2, Gherman Titov		
1962	First active communications satellite	Telstar – AT&T		
1962	First dual crewed spaceflight First ship-to-ship radio contact and First simultaneous flight of crewed spacecraft	Vostok 3 / Vostok 4, Andriyan Nikolayev and Pavel Popovich		
1963	First woman in space (Valentina Tereshkova) First civilian in space	Vostok 6		
1963	First reusable piloted spacecraft and the first spaceplane (X-15, suborbital)	X-15 Flight 90-NASA		
1964	First multi-person crew (three people)	Voskhod 1		
1965	First extra-vehicular activity (spacewalk)	Voskhod 2		
1965	First Mars flyby	Mariner 4-NASA		
1965	First orbital rendezvous (station-keeping, no docking)	Gemini 6A / Gemini 7-NASA		
1966	First soft landing on another celestial body (Moon) First photos from another celestial body	Luna 9		
1966	First impact into another planet (Venus)	Venera 3		
1966	First spacecraft docking	Gemini 8 / ATV-NASA		
1966	First artificial satellite to orbit another celestial body: the Moon	Luna 10		
1968	First human-crewed spaceflight to, and orbit of, another celestial object: the Moon First human spaceflight that escaped Earth's influence	Apollo 8-NASA		
1969	First crew exchange in space	Soyuz 4 / Soyuz 5		
1969	First humans on the Moon First space launch from another celestial body	Apollo 11-NASA		
1970	First robotic automatic sample return from another celestial body: the Moon	Luna 16		
1970	First remote-controlled mobile vehicle on another celestial body: the Moon	Lunokhod 1		
1970	First soft landing on another planet (Venus) First signals from another planet	Venera 7		
1971	First human-crewed space station launched	Salyut 1		
1971	First mobile vehicle lunar rover driven by humans on the Moon	Apollo 15-NASA		
1971	First spacecraft to orbit another planet: Mars	Mariner 9-NASA		
1971	First soft Mars landing First signals from Mars surface	Mars 3		
1972	First human-made object sent on escape trajectory away from the Sun	Pioneer 10-NASA		
1972	First mission to enter the asteroid belt and leave inner solar system	Pioneer 10-NASA		







## Propaganda

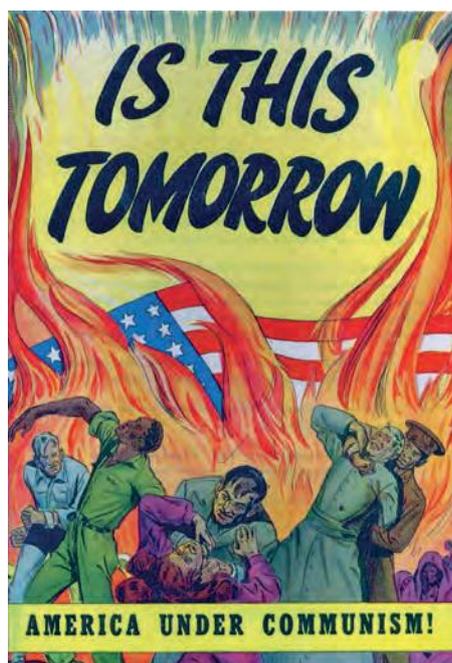
Propaganda is such an effective tool to convince the 'opposite side' of the righteousness of your cause.

During the Cold War, propaganda portrayed Communists as 'demons' and extolled the virtues of the Western way of life.

The most effective propaganda is that where the audience does not know that it is propaganda. For example, the film *Top Gun* never mentions the Soviet Union. However, it does describe the 'MIGs', which were Soviet fighter bombers. The television series *Father Knows Best* extolled the virtues of the American way of life.

Propaganda can be seen in the positioning and bias of newspaper articles. For example, President Reagan won his biggest landslide in 1984 on the editorial pages of daily newspapers by grabbing 86 per cent of the support. In debates, right-wingers argued that, while there were many conservative media executives, it was the 'left-wing journalists' whose opinions were more dominant.

Posters are a more obvious form of propaganda. Their messages were more overt.



*Is this tomorrow? The cover of a 1947 anti-Communist propaganda book, published in the USA.*

## ? Activity



Make a collage of different types of propaganda used by the superpowers. Show how the propaganda was effective through the use of the hidden messages, colour, language, demonisation of the opposition etc.

For inspiration, examine the above propaganda and note the types of propaganda therein.

*Turn to page 268 for thoughts on this activity.*

**? Key issue**

How important was propaganda for conveying messages?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Turn to page 268 for thoughts on this issue.

**Espionage**

Espionage was a key component of the Cold War, as each superpower sought to establish dominance over the other.

The Soviets through their spying contacts were soon able to gain the knowledge of nuclear technology after the Second World War. The US detonated the Atomic Bomb in 1945 and the Soviet Union followed suit in 1949.

For the Soviets, key **Atom Spies** in the years following included:

- Klaus Fuchs
- Harry Gold
- Julius and Ethel Rosenberg
- Rudolf Abel
- The Cambridge 5.

For the Americans, there was Francis Gary Powers, whose U-2 plane was shot down by the Soviets over the Soviet Union. Boris Yuzhin and Aldrich Ames were other American spies.



*29 March 1951 – Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, separated by a wire screen, seen leaving the courthouse after being found guilty of conspiracy to commit espionage.*

**? Key issue**

How important was espionage in Cold War politics?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Turn to page 268 for thoughts on this issue.

## Focus area: end of the Cold War

### Key points

Reasons for and experience of the end of the Cold War, including:

- political leadership
- political movements and demands for change
- economic changes
- social and cultural changes.

### Factors contributing to the end of the Cold War

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Soviet power was in decline. This was due to many factors, some of which are outlined below.

#### Inability of the Soviet Union to provide consumer benefits to the people of USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries

The influx of Western consumer society through tourism and television revealed the differences in standards of living between the West and the East, and made people of Eastern Europe restive.

#### Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia under the Brezhnev Doctrine (1968)

This caused a loss of support for Western European Communist parties, who were identified as being in league with a tyrannous regime. Before then, Euro-Communism (in evidence in Italy, France and Spain) had been gaining popularity.

#### Election of President Reagan of the US (1981)

Reagan identified the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire'. His renewed emphasis on military spending, including the 'Star Wars' concept, forced the USSR to increase their military spending (they could not afford this). This forced the Soviet leader, Gorbachev, to seek disarmament talks with Reagan and, thus, an easing of the Cold War.

#### Increasing restiveness of peoples in Eastern Europe including the rise of the Solidarity movement in Poland (1980)

It began with the workers at Gdansk in Poland protesting over rising costs. It led to the Solidarity movement when an independent trade union was set up. The Soviet Union was unwilling or unable to suppress these riots in Poland. Elsewhere, Hungary opened its border with Austria, thus guaranteeing people free movement across that border. Additionally, the modern advances in radio and television, which 'knew no boundaries', opened people's eyes to the material values of Western Europe. These values were in stark contrast to the lives lived by people in Eastern Europe.



*7 December 1988 – US President Ronald Reagan (centre) and Vice-President George H. W. Bush (right) meet with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev (left) on Governor's Island, New York.*



*The Polish Solidarity flag.*



*4 June 1979 – Pope John Paul II travels through the streets of Poland, greeted by rapturous crowds. (Source: photograph by Barbara Bartkowiak.)*

### Election of a Polish Pope (John Paul II) (1978)

He paid his first visit as Pope to his native Poland. He was a hardline conservative who spoke out on human rights issues. On his visit, the authorities were powerless to stop the adulating crowds.

### Deaths and/or resignations of old hardline Communist leaders, who were replaced by more 'realistic' Communist leaders.

These old hardline leaders included: Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko in USSR, Ulbrich in East Germany, and Kadar in Hungary. They were replaced by more realistic Communist leaders who were more willing to seek economic and political agreements with the West.

Chief among these new leaders was General Secretary Gorbachev of the USSR who issued a policy of *glasnost* (self-criticism) and *perestroika* (restructuring) in Russia. Gorbachev also met with Reagan to embark on a series of arms control agreements. This marked a second period of détente in Europe, which lasted until the collapse of Communism in 1989.



*Photograph of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1986, not long after the introduction of the policies of glasnost and perestroika. (Source: RIA Novosti archive, image #770913 / Yuryi Abramochkin / CC-BY-SA 3.0.)*

### Glasnost and perestroika

Under these two policies of Gorbachev:

- Russians were free to openly discuss their history.
- Mistakes of the past were freely admitted.
- Dissidents were freed from prison and exile.
- People were allowed to openly criticise government and society.

The Constitution was changed to allow a choice of candidates for the Russian parliament. Also, parliament was allowed to be televised and people could hear open debate. At this time, it was decided that the Communist Party would no longer play any role in the direct running of the economy and the terms of leadership of government were to be for a limited time only. In 1990, other political parties were allowed to exist.

### The end of Communism in Eastern Europe (1989)

The events that marked the beginning of the end for Communism were:

- Gorbachev's introduction of reforming policies (*glasnost* and *perestroika*)
- the creation of the Solidarity movement in Poland
- the election of a non-Italian (Polish) Pope (John Paul II), who was fiercely non-Communist.

Hungary's new government embarked on a period of reform and, in doing so, threw open its borders to the West. Thousands of people from Eastern Europe made their way to the West. Within months, the Berlin Wall came down, thereby paving the way for the unification of West and East Germany.

By the end of 1989, Communist governments had collapsed relatively peacefully throughout Eastern Europe or reformed themselves into Social Democracies, due to strikes and demonstrations and the withdrawal of Soviet support.

Only in Romania was the Communist regime overthrown by force and the leader, Nicolae Ceauşescu, executed.



*5 January 1990 – West Germans peek through a hole in the Berlin Wall; East German border guards smile back at them. Photograph by Hartmut Reiche. (Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1990-0105-029 / CC-BY-SA 3.0.)*



2. Both Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev won Nobel Peace Prizes for ending the Cold War. Who was the more deserving of the two?

A large rectangular area with a light orange border, containing horizontal dotted lines for writing.

*Turn to page 268 for thoughts on these issues*

## Focus area: consequences of the Cold War

### Key points

The changing nature of the world order since 1989, including the:

- peaceful reunification of Germany
- formation of the European Union (EU)
- disintegration of Yugoslavia
- Soviet–Afghan War
- emerging influence of China
- rise of nationalism.

### United States of America remains as the one superpower

With the demise of the Soviet Union, the USA remains the dominant superpower.

Its predominance in the world is measured by:

- its dominating influence in NATO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.
- the spread of its multinational enterprises (Coca Cola, McDonalds)
- the influence of the US dollar in world currency markets
- its involvement leading forces in world peacekeeping movements (Bosnia, Kosovo, Northern Ireland)
- its squashing of opponents who are, in many cases, branded as terrorists (Libya, Somalia, Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan)
- its technical superiority (World Wide Web, space technology and weaponry)

However, some uncertainty has been engendered by the election of Donald Trump as President of the USA.

### Russia – a non-Communist state

Mikhail Gorbachev was the architect of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring), which promised and delivered the end of Communism to Eastern European countries.

In 1988, Russians became free to openly discuss their history and criticise the government; mistakes of the past were freely admitted; and dissidents were freed from prison and exile. The Constitution was changed, allowing a choice of candidates for the Russian parliament. In the same year, parliament began to be broadcast on television, and people could hear open debate. At this time, it was decided that the Communist Party would no longer play any role in the direct running of the economy. Leadership terms in government were restricted to limited times. In 1990, other political parties were permitted to exist.

By 1991, the leaders of the Soviet Union voted for the end of Communism and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In that year, Boris Yeltsin was elected President of Russia and, soon after, Marxism was rejected as the official ideology of the state.

In 1993, the ‘Old Guard’ of Communists tried to reassert control but was crushed.

### Under Boris Yeltsin

- the Communist Party was abolished
- some former Soviet states were granted their independence
- a market economy was established
- freedom of religion and the press was instituted
- symbols like the old hammer and sickle flag were removed
- democratic elections were established.

Russia was admitted as an observer to NATO and the G7 (group of Western economies – USA, Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Japan and Canada).

Since the election of Vladimir Putin as President (1999), Russia has become increasingly authoritarian with dissidents gaoled or murdered, both in Russia and abroad.



*Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton laughing at a White House press conference, 24 October 1995.  
(Source: kremlin.ru)*

## The map of Europe and Asia redrawn

The collapse of Communism has led to the redrawing of the map of Europe and Asia. East and West Germany united to form Germany with its capital once again established in Berlin.

Different ethnic groups within the former USSR demanded and obtained their independence. The Baltic countries of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania – along with the former Soviet states of Belarus and Ukraine – became independent states in Europe. In 2014, Russia annexed Crimea in a sign of growing regional hegemony.

Czechoslovakia split peacefully into the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

In Asia, the following countries came into existence:

- Armenia
- Azerbaijan
- Georgia
- Kazakhstan
- Kyrgyzstan
- Tajikistan
- Turkmenistan
- Uzbekistan.



*The 15 independent post-Soviet states: 1. Armenia – 2. Azerbaijan – 3. Belarus – 4. Estonia – 5. Georgia – 6. Kazakhstan – 7. Kyrgyzstan – 8. Latvia – 9. Lithuania – 10. Moldova – 11. Russia – 12. Tajikistan – 13. Turkmenistan – 14. Ukraine – 15. Uzbekistan.*

## Democracy

Within the newly independent satellite countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Empire, democracy was established with representative assemblies and elections involving different political parties.

In Poland, for example, the founding leader of the Solidarity movement, **Lech Wałęsa**, became president of his country (1990). He was dumped at the next election (1995) for a former member of the Communist Party.

## Capitalist economies

Capitalist economies have sprouted up in the former Communist countries.

For example:

- Private television stations have been established.
- Foreign multinational companies such as Coca Cola and McDonalds have set up franchises throughout the once-Communist world.
- Western styles of fashion can be obtained readily in privately owned shops.
- Some ex-Communist countries have obtained loans from the World Bank. The conditions of these loans, enforced by the Bank, include the selling off of state-sponsored industries and the freeing-up of economic controls.

Even in countries that still have Communist governments (such as Vietnam), the official statement is 'a Communist government with a capitalist economy'. Japan has invested strongly in Vietnam, particularly in the north, with the construction of multilane highways.



*Lech Wałęsa at a strike at the Vladimir Lenin Shipyard in 1980. At the time, Wałęsa was the Chairperson of Solidarity in Poland. He would remain Chairperson until 1990, when he became President of Poland.*

## Free migration and tourism

With the opening up of society, campaigns have arisen to attract tourists, who are seen as investors in countries' economies. People are freer to travel in former Communist countries and even in countries that maintain a communist system of government, such as Vietnam and Cambodia. North Korea is the only exception.

Migration, which used to be severely restricted, has become much easier. Record numbers of former Soviet Jewish citizens are able to live in Israel, which used to be forbidden.

## Dialogue in Korea

North Korea has maintained its rigid system of government and society in a world which has become more Westernised (politically and socially). However, liberalisation (and the need for foreign investment in the face of crippling famine) has seen the tentative opening up of this bastion of Communism. The presidents of both Koreas (North and South) have met for talks on occasions. Also, family members who have been separated by the boundary between North and South Korea have been allowed to visit each other.

Despite this, tensions in the Korean Peninsula still remain high, due in part to North Korea's development of nuclear weapons and capacity to use them.

## Membership of NATO

NATO is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It was set up after the Second World War by the USA and several Western European countries (not including France) to contain Russia. Since the end of the Cold War, Eastern European countries have exercised their freedom and independence to join NATO.

In 1999, Hungary, Czech Republic and Poland have joined NATO and, since then, the Baltic states, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Slovenia have joined.

These Eastern European countries were once a shield for Russia against Western Europe and the USA. Russia is very wary of these states joining NATO and thus exposing Russia to possible future enemies. This has been exacerbated by the USA establishing military bases in the former Communist countries of Poland and Romania.

## International Monetary Fund and the World Bank

After the Second World War, these organisations under American control were responsible for coordinating the money flowing to Europe and other Western economies to stem the flow of Communism.

Since the downfall of Communism, most of the former Communist countries have become members of the World Bank. For example, Belarus (a former Soviet state) became a member in 1992 with the aim of improving its health, education, social security and environment. Generally, the Bank lends money to create a market economy in former socialist societies. Critics see the World Bank as part of America's financial control of the world.

## European Union (EU)

The end of the Cold War has seen the emergence of the EU with its political base in Brussels, Belgium, and the adoption of a single European currency – the Euro.

EU policies aim to:

- ensure the free movement of people, goods, services and capital within the internal European market
- enact legislation in justice and home affairs
- maintain common policies on trade, agriculture and regional development.

The EU originally formed among Western European countries but has since expanded to include former Communist countries.

While it has been seen as a powerful economic bloc, there is a resentment within some countries that believe they have sacrificed their autonomy (e.g. United Kingdom), or believe that the Euro has pauperised some regional economies (e.g. Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal).



*Member states of the European Union (2017).  
The United Kingdom is currently  
negotiating to leave the EU.*

## Regional wars

The collapse of Communism has led to regional conflict as ethnic groups in the former USSR and Yugoslavia have sought their freedom.

In **Russia**, the Chechens, having seen independence granted to their neighbours, sought independence for their homeland Chechnya. This was refused. This has led to bitter conflict, with terrorist attacks in Moscow and the Russian invasion of Chechnya. The problem still exists.



*Map of the Former Yugoslavia.*

In **Yugoslavia**, the ethnic groups that made up this multinational country remained at peace while the dictator Tito (Josip Broz) was in control. With his passing in 1980, and the collapse of Communism in 1989, these ethnic groups sought their freedom. The republics of Slovenia (1991), Croatia (1991), and Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992) broke away to be met with fierce resistance from the dominant ethnic grouping within Yugoslavia (Serbian). These states gained their independence but not without bloodshed, ethnic cleansing (massacres), and the destruction of architecturally beautiful cities such as Dubrovnik in Croatia. The fighting reached its fiercest in Kosovo with ethnic cleansing and mass evacuations. This was only halted by the intervention of the air forces of NATO and America in 1999, which led to Kosovo becoming an independent country.

## Liberalisation in China since 1989

The growing liberalisation in Eastern European societies had an impact on the rest of the world. In the 1980s, in China, students began to demand more political freedoms.

In 1989, a huge pro-democracy demonstration took place in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, China. After a short stand-off, the Chinese Government, on the orders of Deng Xiaoping, sent in the army with its tanks. The demonstration was crushed. Many protesters were killed. Some refugees fled; others were executed or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Politically, China's society has not been liberalised.

Economically, since 1989, China's society has been liberalised, allowing the West to invest in industrial development. A market society has been allowed to develop within the country. The resultant growth in unemployment among family industries has created an economically stratified society.

In 2016, economically, China is a regional powerhouse. It has been criticised for cyber-attacks on other economies.

Its naval forces are expanding, and artificial islands are being built in the South China Sea for military purposes.

## Religion

In Communist countries, religious practices were proscribed and practitioners were persecuted. Much religious worship occurred in secret.

The 1978 election of a Polish priest (Karol Wojtila) as Pope John Paul II, whose 1979 visit to Poland was received with rapturous welcome, fatally undermined the Polish Communist Government's opposition to Catholicism.

Since the downfall of Communism, people have been allowed to worship freely. The Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox church now holds a degree of influence in Russian society.

## Hostility between East and West Germany

The reunification of Germany has brought mixed results in Germany. When the Berlin Wall was breached and East Germans flooded into the West, they were greeted with rapturous emotion at first, as families who had been separated for 45 years were reunited.

But this has led to a degree of mixed emotions. Former state-owned industries in the East could not compete with the more efficient industries in the West and so closed down, thus throwing many people out of work. West Germans began to resent their taxes being spent to make the East Germans' transition to a capitalist society a smoother event. A flood of economic refugees from Eastern Europe and Turkey has led to the development of neo-Nazi gangs who have involved themselves in protests and riots. Many in these right-wing gangs are former East Germans who have become unemployed and poverty-stricken in the newly capitalist former East Germany.

In 2016, a united Germany was seen as the economic strength of Europe.

## Refugees

The opening up of borders and the development of capitalist societies in former Communist countries have led to a flood of refugees leaving their homelands in search of prosperity in the West. Albanians have fled to Italy, and Romanians have made their way to Greece, Italy, Germany and France.

In Asia, Vietnamese and Cambodians have made their way by boat to Malaysia, Hong Kong, Indonesia and Australia in search of better lives for themselves and their families.

Refugees arriving in Europe by boat from Africa and the Middle East have fled political unrest, war and poverty to seek a better life. This has led to extremists moving with the refugees and conducting terrorist activities in their new lands. This has led to a counter-reaction, with the emergence of far-right and neo-Nazi gangs seeking to 'make war' on refugees. In addition, this has created political instability with established parties either unable to cope or seeking to become more radical in their opposition to 'boat people'.

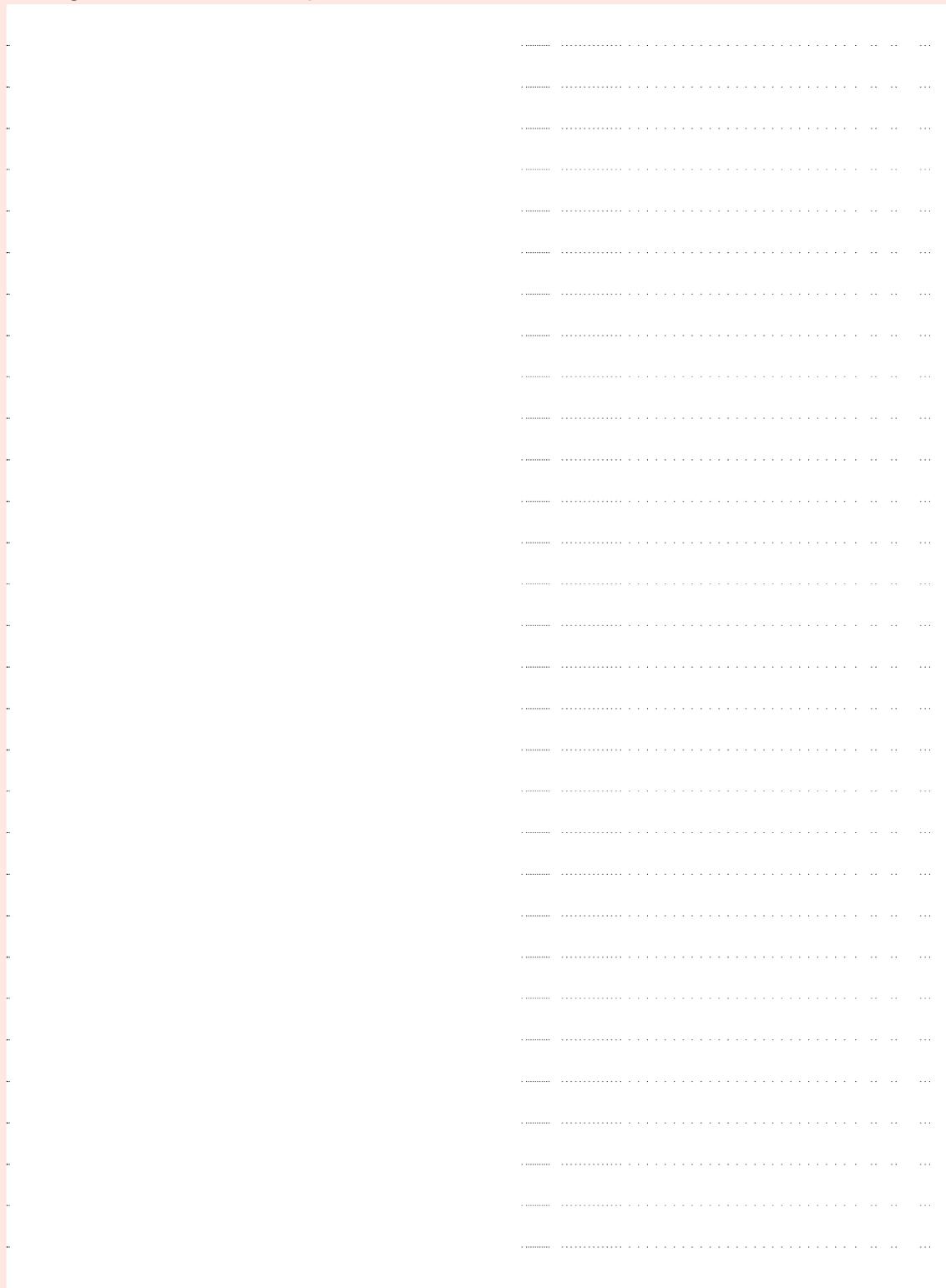
The same situation is occurring in Australia, with people from South Asia and the Middle East trying to seek better lives for themselves. Similar to Europe, there has been a counter-reaction through the growth of terrorism and far-right politics.



*A performer juggles on top of the Berlin Wall, 16 November 1989.  
(Source: photograph by Yann Forget / Wikimedia Commons / CC-BY-SA-3.0).*

**? Key issue**

How and why has the dissolution of Communism in Europe and Asia created new problems and led to the growth of new uncertainty?



*Turn to page 269 for thoughts on this issue.*

## National self-determination in South-East Asia (1945– ) (Vietnam/Cambodia)

This topic allows you to explore similarities and differences between countries that constitute South-East Asia or to examine a single country in depth. There are many issues to examine, for example:

- **Myanmar** (Burma), where there were years of repressive military rule before the relaxation of that rule because of national and international pressures.
- **Timor-Leste**, the former Portuguese East Timor, endured a fiery birth with severe consequences for Australia and Australians in its quest for independence from Indonesia.
- **Malaya**, a former possession of the United Kingdom, achieved independence through the work of Tunku Abdul Rahmann. It then faced:
  - separatist movements from traditional princes
  - a Communist insurgency
  - the barbs of Paul Keating, the Australian prime minister
  - racial divisions between Chinese and indigenous Malays.
- **Singapore**, traditionally a hub of trade and tourism, became a state within Malaysia before breaking away to chart its own destiny under the leadership of Lee Kwan Yew.

All these states have their similarities in their quest for national independence and recognition but there are many differences in culture, education and government as they continue to strive to be successful nations in the world order.

Within this book, Vietnam and Cambodia will be the focus areas for this topic. Both nations have experienced enormous turmoil from external powers and internal divisions that temporarily tore these countries apart.

## Focus area: case for national self-determination

### Key points

Overview of South-East Asia (1945–c.2005), exploring the decline of imperialism and the growth of nation states. Areas to examine include:

- importance of cultural, religious and/or ethnic ‘uniqueness’
- reactions to imperial economic systems
- the influence of ideology
- arguments raised by those for national self-determination and those against (i.e. those in favour of retaining imperial rule).

Prior to the Japanese invasion during the Second World War, Vietnam and Cambodia were part of the **French empire** in the Pacific Region. Vietnam had long sought independence. In fact, the Vietnamese leader, Nguyen Tat Thanh (Nguyen Ai Quoc/**Ho Chi Minh**), had been at the Paris Peace Conference at the end of the First World War where he agitated unsuccessfully for self-determination for Vietnam.

The Japanese conquest of Vietnam and Cambodia threw off the French yoke and indirectly gave impetus for the movement for independence after the occupation. The independence movement under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh swapped its focus from France to Japan, which ruled Vietnam just as harshly as the French.

At the end of the Second World War, the French moved to re-establish imperial control over their ‘empire’ in South-East Asia. This brought them into conflict with the Vietnamese and, in 1946, a war began between the French and the **Viet Minh**, the armed forces of the independence movement.

The French used **conventional methods of warfare** by concentrating on the towns, whereas the Vietnamese used **guerrilla warfare tactics** and focused on winning the support of the peasantry in the countryside. This was to culminate in the defeat of the French at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

**Culturally**, Vietnam had been ruled by China for over 1000 years (up to the 10th century AD) and, as such, had absorbed many Chinese influences such as Confucianism with its emphasis on ancestor worship and learning. Vietnam and Cambodia are largely Buddhist countries, but there are also minority groups of Hindu, Roman Catholic, Muslim and animist religious groupings.



*A map of 'French Indochina' (c. 1887–1954).  
(Source: Bastien Sens-Méyé.)*

**Politically**, traditional Vietnam was in a state of flux. In the 1000 years since the end of the Chinese period, Vietnam had a number of ruling dynasties, who ruled various parts of Vietnam. Some dynasties were:

- the Le Dynasty (1428–1788)
- the Nguyen Dynasty (1802–1945)

A special group of note were the two Trưng sisters who lived from around 12 AD to 43AD. They are still seen as national heroines who, as queens, led a Vietnamese army consisting of mostly women against Chinese occupiers in the years 40AD–43AD.



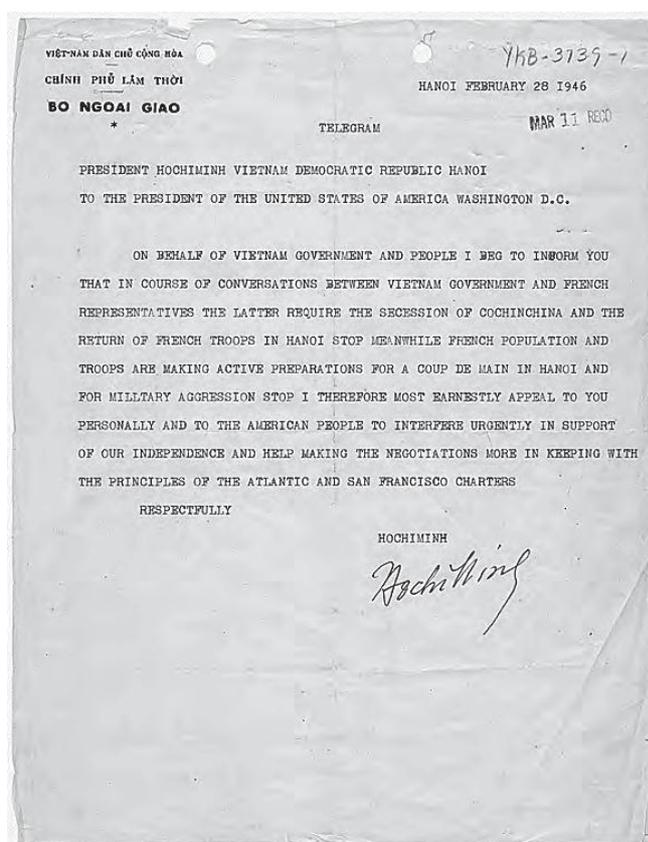
*Ten centuries on, the Trưng sisters are still celebrated in Vietnam. This photograph is from an elephant parade in the sisters' honour (1957).*

Cambodia had its 'heyday' with the ruling dynasties based in Angkor Wat up to the 15th century.

In Vietnam, the kings ruled as puppets of the French when the French established French Indochina in 1887. In comparison, Cambodia was historically a feuding ground for Thai and Vietnamese forces – this lasted from the post-Angkor period in the 15th century until the French established a protectorate over the country in the 19th century.

Both countries were peasant societies, but trading centres flourished on the coastlines. Vietnam was the centre of French influence, as the country's long coastline made it easy to set up trading outposts such as Nhatrang, Hoi-an, Da Nang and Hai Phong. Trade was conducted with the Portuguese, Dutch and French.

Vietnam is where the movement for **independence of Indochina** began. Ho Chi Minh was a Communist who based his ideas on French socialist theories and Chinese peasant socialism. However, he was also a nationalist who modelled his philosophy on Abraham Lincoln's anti-slavery ideas and the American Bill of Rights. He first petitioned for an independent Vietnam at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 after the First World War. After the Second World War, he petitioned President Harry Truman to support Vietnamese independence. On both occasions, he was rebuffed.



*28 February 1946 – Ho Chi Minh's telegram to US President Truman, 'begging' for US support in Vietnam's fight for independence from France.*

## Focus area: building national identity

### Vietnam

During the Second World War, Japan had occupied Indochina. When the Japanese were defeated in 1945, the Allies agreed that France was the 'legitimate' owner of Indochina.

Also during the Second World War, Ho Chi Minh had formed the Viet Minh, a nationalist guerrilla fighting force that soon became dominated by Communists. When the War ended, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the **Democratic Republic of Vietnam**.

Full-scale war, which pitted French fighting forces against the Viet Minh guerrilla forces headed by General Vo Nguyen Giap, broke out in 1946 and continued until 1954. This was known as the **First Indochina War**.

The French were defeated at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The French had not given up lightly. In the eight years of war, the French:

- conducted large-scale bombing campaigns
- conducted atrocities against the civilian population
- obtained assistance from the USA as part of their global opposition to Communism
- established Vietnam as a semi-independent country within the French Union, with the Nguyen king Bao Din as head of state (1949).



1954 – Captured French soldiers are escorted by Vietnamese troops to a prisoner-of-war camp in Dien Bien Phu.

### Cambodia

In 1945, during the Japanese occupation of Cambodia, Norodom Sihanouk proclaimed an independent Kingdom of Kampuchea. Shortly thereafter, the Japanese government nominally ratified the independence of Cambodia. The new government abolished the roman alphabet of the Khmer language (which the French colonial administration was beginning to enforce) and officially reinstated the Khmer script. In 1945, after the Allied victory, and once military forces had expelled the Japanese, the French reimposed the colonial administration in Phnom Penh, Cambodia's capital.

Sihanouk continued to work for the 'royal crusade for independence', which in the end, at the Geneva Conference in 1954, resulted in the French agreeing to his demands. Independence was granted.

## Key factors in the development of national unity/identity

Factor	Vietnam	Cambodia	Both countries
<b>National/traditional dress</b>	Men and women wore the <i>ao dai</i> , a tight-fitting silk tunic worn over trousers.	Traditional dress is the <i>sampot</i> , a long rectangular cloth draped and folded around the lower part of the body.	Traditional clothing is worn not only on ceremonial days but also in people's daily lives.  Western dress is becoming more popular as time progresses.
<b>French colonial rule</b>	Aggressively rejected.	Rejected.	
<b>Role of women</b>	More pronounced in Vietnam than Cambodia. Research <b>Trung Sisters</b> for example.		
<b>Education</b>	Tradition of learning inherited from the Chinese occupation where the principles of Confucianism were taught.	Traditional education in Cambodia was steeped in Buddhist lore and handled by the local <b>wat</b> (temple); the priests were the teachers.	Prized in both countries.  During the French occupation, French education principles were established in both countries.  Because both countries were peasant societies dependant on the land, education was not a priority for the poor.
<b>Monarchy</b>	Established, though short-lived.	Established.	
<b>National figurehead</b>	Ho Chi Minh	King Sihanouk	Figurehead directed the future of the new countries.
<b>Language</b>	Romanisation of language maintained.	Language not romanised.	
<b>Internal unity</b>	Geographical and political division.  Nation divided between Communists and non-Communists.  Civil war.	Remained united until the advent of the Khmer Rouge.	
<b>International relations</b>	North Vietnam identified with the Soviet Union and, to a lesser degree, China. South Vietnam supported by the US.  Ho Chi Minh travelled extensively (France, Great Britain, the USSR, China) in support of his claim for Vietnamese independence.	Neutral relationships with the outside world.  King Sihanouk stayed mostly in Cambodia, and left only to go to Saigon (Vietnam) to further his education.	



## Focus area: impact of significant individuals, groups and movements

### Key points

Impact of significant individuals, groups and movement on support for and opposition to the creation of new states. This includes the roles foreign powers and structures played in opposing self-determination.

## Vietnam

### Ho Chi Minh

Ho Chi Minh was the 'spiritual' leader of Vietnamese independence. He was a Communist as well as a nationalist. He travelled widely, using his contacts in France, the Soviet Union and China to develop his political philosophy. He returned to Vietnam in 1941 to lead the Viet Minh (see following) in fighting for independence. At the end of the Japanese occupation, as President of the Provisional Government of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh issued the Proclamation for Independence and later declared war on France in a bid to expel the French from Vietnam.

With this being successful, Ho Chi Minh led the Democratic Government of Vietnam and located the seat of government in Hanoi in the north of the country. There, he conducted various land reforms.

Relinquishing power in 1956 to Le Duan, Ho Chi Minh remained a symbol of Vietnam and exerted a powerful influence on the government, as a personality cult had developed which remains until today.

Ho Chi Minh died in 1969, and his body is entombed in Hanoi.

### Viet Minh

The Communist-dominated nationalist fighting group that led the independence movement – firstly against the Japanese and then against the French. With the achievement of independence, the Viet Minh became the administrative government based in the North.

Individual members of the Viet Minh who stayed in the South following the partition of Vietnam into North and South Vietnam later joined the Viet Cong (National Liberation Front) in their guerrilla campaigns to reunify the country.

### General Vo Nguyen Giap

General Vo Nguyen Giap was a general in the Vietnam People's Army and a politician. Giap is considered one of the greatest military strategists of the 20th century. He first grew to prominence during the Second World War, where he served as the military leader of the Viet Minh resistance against the Japanese. He was the principal commander in the wars against the French and in the Vietnamese/American War that ended in 1975.



*Ho Chi Minh in 1921, delegate to the French Communist Congress in Marseilles.*



*Viet Minh flag.*



*Vo Nguyen Giap and Ho Chi Minh together in 1942.*

## Ngo Dinh Diem

Ngo Dinh Diem became prime minister (later president) of South Vietnam after the partition of the country following the Geneva Accords in 1954. He deposed the ruling monarch (Bao Dai) and quickly established a dictatorship where he brutally repressed any opposition.

Being Roman Catholic, Ngo Dinh Diem waged campaigns against the Buddhist majority, including the imprisonment and murder of Buddhist leaders whom he saw as Communist sympathisers.

He was a controversial figure who was seen by some as corrupt (e.g. squirrelling away large sums of public money for his own personal use), and, by others, as a progressive moderniser of his country.

Ngo Dinh Diem became an immensely unpopular figure who, by his actions, drove many people to support the Viet Cong in their quest for the reunification of the country. His unpopularity led to his being assassinated in 1963 by army leaders with the complicit support of the United States.



*Ngo Dinh Diem, 8 May 1957.*

## Nguyen Van Thieu

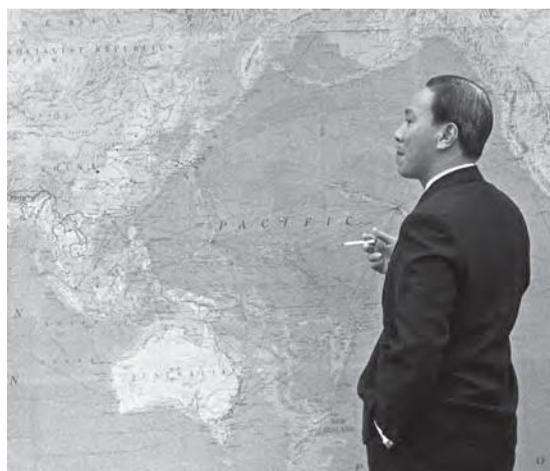
After the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem, the South Vietnamese Government was plunged into chaos as a succession of military figures took control of governments until Nguyen Van Thieu became President after a disputed 'election' in 1967.

Nguyen Van Thieu brought stability to the government and maintained power until 1975. From 1965 to 1975, the following things drove more and more people to support the Viet Cong and reunification with the North:

- the protests and their repression
- the curtailment of civil liberties
- censorship
- financial corruption
- the increasing American presence.

The ever-increasing strength of the Communist-led opposition, and the gradual but steady decline of American influence in the country, caused Thieu to realise his days were numbered.

In 1975, he resigned as leader and fled the country into exile in Taiwan. Soon after, the North Vietnamese army occupied Saigon, which was later renamed Ho Chi Minh City. The country was reunified, with North Vietnam as the dominant power over the whole country.



*19 July 1968 – President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam standing in front of world map, during meeting with Lyndon B. Johnson in Hawaii*



*The imposing mausoleum that houses Ho Chi Minh's body today. (Source: photograph by MM.)*

## American involvement

At the end of the Japanese War, the United States of America was engulfed in the Cold War with the Soviet Union and Communism in general. The USA feared that Communism was on the march in the developing countries of the world, especially in Asia. This fear was heightened by the coming to power of the Communists in China in 1949 and the invasion by North Korea of the South beginning in 1950.

Previous attempts by Ho Chi Minh to engage American support for the independence of Vietnam had been ignored by the US President, Harry Truman.

When the French regained its territorial control, America supported the French by providing supplies, armaments and later military advisers.

In their quest to stop the spread of Communism, America supported the partition of Vietnam and the establishment of a non-Communist South Vietnam in 1954. From that date onward, America supported the South Vietnamese Government by supplying it with armaments, supplies and American military advisers, whose numbers increased from 500 in 1954 to 10 000 in 1964.

1964 was a key date in the American involvement in Vietnam. President John F. Kennedy had been assassinated in 1963 and was succeeded by **President Lyndon Johnson**. He stood for re-election in 1964. To garner support from the American people, he sought to get tough with the Vietnamese Communists. In August that year, it was reported that North Vietnamese torpedo boats had attacked a US destroyer in the Gulf of Tonkin off the Vietnamese coast. This was later revealed as a hoax, but it provoked the support that Johnson needed.

America launched **Operation Rolling Thunder** (March 1965 – November 1968), which included the bombing of North Vietnam and massive troop involvement in the South. At its height, approximately 500 000 US troops were involved.

Against the rules of war, the Americans used chemical weapons in the conflict, including the use of napalm against civilians and the use of Agent Orange to poison the vegetation of the countryside. **Atrocities were committed by the US forces**, the most notorious being the massacre at My Lai where American troops killed approximately 500 unarmed men, women, children and babies. Women were raped and mutilated. The carnage drew worldwide condemnation.



*Victims of the My Lai massacre (1968), photographed by Ronald L. Haeberle.*



*14 June 1966 – Operation Rolling Thunder: US Air Force planes drop bombs over North Vietnam.*



*American soldiers burning homes in My Lai. Photograph by Ronald L. Haeberle. Haeberle was a photographer who accompanied the US army when the atrocities at My Lai were committed. His photographs, which he withheld from the US government then later published, provided evidence that US troops were committing war crimes against Vietnamese citizens.*

In 1968 there was the **Tet Offensive**, where some 70 000 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces launched a coordinated series of fierce attacks on more than 100 cities and towns in South Vietnam. Although this particular offensive was unsuccessful, it was becoming obvious that America and its allies (including Australians) were unlikely to win the war. On the strength of this, President Johnson decided not to seek re-election and he was succeeded by **Richard Nixon** in 1968.

Nixon's policies were paradoxical. He:

- gradually **withdrew American forces** from the war under the pretext of 'Vietnamising the war', i.e. getting the South Vietnamese to take more responsibility in waging the war.
- continued to supply the Vietnamese with advisers and armaments.
- **carpet-bombed North Vietnamese supply routes and sanctuaries** in Cambodia, thereby spreading the war into 'neutral' Cambodia.
- authorised Henry Kissinger, Nixon's chief adviser on foreign affairs, to engage in **secret peace talks** with North Vietnamese officials in Paris, France.

The result of all this, plus the increasing hostility towards the war by people in the Western world including America and Australia, led to the increasing determination of North Vietnam and the Viet Cong to win the war. This they did in 1975 when the Americans and its Vietnamese supporters evacuated Saigon.

### Australian involvement

Since Federation (1901), Australia had always feared the 'Yellow Peril', i.e. encroaching 'Asian hordes' taking over Australia. With the rise of Communism in Asia, Australia feared the **Domino Theory**: the gradual spread of Communism from China through South-East Asia to Australia. In addition, Australia has always felt that it must have powerful 'friends' so this led to Australia providing support to the USA. Liberal Prime Minister Robert Menzies sent a letter to the South Vietnamese leadership to request that South Vietnam invite Australia to become involved in the conflict. This was done. Menzies committed firstly advisers, then ground troops, which included conscripts, to the war.



*May 1966 – Members of 8 platoon, C Company, 6th Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment, in the battalion lines at Enoggera, Queensland, prior to deployment to Vietnam.*

### Aa Word focus

**Conscription:** In 1964, the Australian federal government introduced the National Service Scheme. The names of all 20-year-old men were entered into a ballot; those whose names were withdrawn from this 'lottery' were selected for two years' full-time service in the army.

This conscription of soldiers was and remains controversial. Until the Vietnam War, Australian soldiers fighting in overseas conflicts had voluntarily enlisted for duty. A plebiscite on conscription was held in 1916 during the First World War. Australians voted 'No', rejecting conscription..



*'The new Southern Cross': a cartoon opposing conscription by Claude Marquet, 1916.*

At first, the support given to South Vietnam was wildly popular, especially when US President Lyndon B. Johnson visited Australia and Prime Minister Harold Holt (Menzies' successor) invoked the catchphrase 'All the Way with LBJ'.

Approximately 47 000 Australian soldiers (including conscripts) were involved in the war. They were based mainly in **Phuc Thuy** province in the south of the country, where they fought valiantly, especially at **Long Tan**. Overall, 499 Australian soldiers lost their lives.

Gradually the initial popular support began to diminish. This was because of the:

- perceived injustice of the conflict, including the My Lai massacre
- increased feeling that it was not Australia's war
- opposition to **conscription**
- need for a foreign policy that was in Australia's best interest, rather than always acquiescing to the USA
- decline in support for the ruling Liberal/National Coalition due to a number of factors and the growing support for Gough Whitlam and the Labor Party with their pledge 'to bring the troops home'.

### Viet Cong and North Vietnamese army

The Viet Cong (National Liberation Front) were a group of Communist and non-Communist guerrilla forces that had the aim of overthrowing the South Vietnamese Government and reunifying the country. Eventually, the Communists dominated over the non-Communists. At first, North Vietnam provided equipment and weapons in support of the Viet Cong. In 1965, regular soldiers of the North Vietnamese army joined the war. Supplies also came from the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, China.

The Viet Cong were adept at melding into the civilian population so the Americans did not really know whom they were fighting against.

The Viet Cong were also skilled in using the environment:

- digging elaborate tunnels
- making predominantly black clothing from available materials
- making shoes abandoned materials such as tyres.

Over time, the Viet Cong were supplanted by the regular forces of the North Vietnamese army, which moved into the south by trails through Vietnam and Cambodia. One of the most famous trails was the Ho Chi Minh Trail.



*12 February 1973 – A Viet Cong soldier stands beneath the Viet Cong flag.*



*12 February 1973 – Viet Cong soldiers carry a wounded US prisoner of war (POW) to a prisoner exchange point, where captured South Vietnamese and US troops were 'swapped' for captured North Vietnamese troops.*

## ? Key issue

Given the dominant firepower of the USA and their allies, why did the Vietnamese win the war?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Turn to page 270 for thoughts on this issue.

## Cambodia

Cambodia had gained its independence in the Geneva Accords following the defeat of the French in 1954.

Officially, Cambodia was 'neutral' in the Vietnamese War, although its territory was used by the Vietnamese army for moving men and supplies towards the southern theatres of war. However, this neutrality was shattered by the carpet-bombing by the American air force to wipe out the North Vietnamese in the area. Unfortunately, the Cambodians became 'collateral damage' in the American bombing. This led to:

- internal unrest
- the overthrow of King Sihanouk in 1970
- the installation of General Lon Nol (1970) with American support and planning
- the overthrow of Lon Nol in 1975 by the Khmer Rouge (Cambodian communists), which embarked on wholesale genocide of the people
- the defeat in 1979 of the Khmer Rouge by Vietnamese-based Hun Sen, who rules to this very day.

### King Norodom Sihanouk

He became the Cambodian monarch in 1941 and was instrumental in obtaining Cambodian independence in the Geneva Accords in 1954. He abdicated in favour of his father in 1955, but went on to become prime minister. After his father's death, he created a constitutional amendment that made him head of state. As such, he controlled a one-party state where he suppressed political opposition. As leader, he was officially neutral in foreign affairs but, in reality, he was more supportive of Communist countries (especially China) than Western countries.

In 1970, he was deposed by the military-backed General Lon Nol. There was rumoured American involvement, as Lon Nol was pro-Western. Sihanouk fled to China where he organised a government in exile in alliance with the Khmer Rouge and in resistance to Lon Nol.

When Lon Nol and his government was overthrown (1975), Sihanouk returned and nominally became head of state. In reality, he was only a figurehead, as real power rested with the Khmer Rouge. This was not to last. Sihanouk was arrested and put under house arrest in 1976.

When the Vietnamese (Hun Sen) overthrew the Khmer Rouge in 1979, Sihanouk again went into exile before heading the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, which opposed the Vietnamese Government in Cambodia.

In the 1980s, informal talks began between Sihanouk and Hun Sen's parties that paved the way for his return. He was reinstated as Cambodia's head of state until he abdicated again (2004) in favour of his son. He was known as King Father until his death in 2012.

Sihanouk can rightly be called **the Great Survivor**.

### General Lon Nol

He was Sihanouk's Army Chief of Staff from 1955 to 1960. He was pro-Western and became alarmed at Sihanouk's tilt towards the Communist parties in Cambodia, Vietnam and China.

With the support of the American CIA, Lon Nol carried out a coup against Sihanouk and became the head of state. As leader, he supported American policies in Cambodia (Khmer Republic 1970–75). However, he was beset by riots and demonstrations in favour of the deposed Sihanouk. The government became increasingly authoritarian and suppressed opposition. Eventually faced with opposition from the Khmer Rouge and the military, Lon Nol fled into exile in 1975.



*King Norodom Sihanouk in his coronation regalia, 1 November 1941.*



*General Lon Nol.*

While he was in power, apart from suppressing opposition, he was a believer in traditional Khmer traditions and had the ambition of uniting all Khmers in Kampuchea with those living in the Mekong Delta of southern Vietnam and Thailand to form a nation of 30 million Khmers.

### Khmer Rouge

The Khmer Rouge was the name given to the followers of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in Cambodia. It was formed in 1968 as an offshoot of the Vietnam People's Army of North Vietnam, and was allied with North Vietnam and the Viet Cong.

In 1975, the Khmer Rouge was victorious against the anti-Communist forces of Lon Nol and formed their own state called **Democratic Kampuchea**. There was a collective leadership of **Pol Pot**, **Ieng Sary** and **Khieu Samphan**. Although it was a collective leadership, Pol Pot has been seen as the architect of the Khmer Rouge. The ideology of the Khmer Rouge was a mixture of Marxism, agrarian socialism and xenophobia.



*Pol Pot (date unknown), Ieng Sary (2011), Khieu Samphan (2011).*

From 1975 to 1979, the Khmer Rouge carried out a policy of genocide, which was modelled on the Cultural Revolution in China. 1975 was to be 'Year 1' of the 'new Kampuchea'. Citizens were ordered out of the towns to create a new peasant society. Self-sufficiency in everything including medicine was demanded. This led to famine and death. Money was abolished; books were burned; schools and hospitals were closed, as were banks, industry and service companies.

People who were real or supposed enemies of the state, including minorities, were rounded up and transported to **Tuol Sleng** (a girls' finishing school in Phnom Penh) where they were tortured and killed. Intellectuals and urban workers were especially targeted. In fact, anyone who had soft hands or wore glasses was seized. There is even a story where a person escaped and hid as a scarecrow in the fields to avoid capture, torture and death. Not only were supposed resisters to the regime tortured and killed, but so were their spouses and children. Even those in charge of the atrocities were tortured and killed.



*Scenes from Tuol Sleng. L-R: a cell, the school-turned-prison, and a torture room.*

Many of the people condemned to death were taken to **Cheung Ek** (the **Killing Fields**) where they were shot or beheaded and thrown into pits and buried in mass graves. Even today, if you walk through the Killing Fields, there are pits containing up to 5000 bodies. Because of periodic flooding, the Earth yields up pieces of clothing or parts of skeletons. It is a place of eerie horror and reflection.



*L–R: Human remains and pits in the Cheoung Ek Killing Fields.*

Nobody knows the exact numbers killed. It is commonly believed, however, that approximately 4 million people (a quarter of the population) died.

In 1979, Hun Sen (who was a Khmer Rouge follower but who had fled to Vietnam to avoid persecution) led a Vietnamese force to remove the Khmer Rouge from power.

He was successful but the Khmer Rouge fled into the jungles and carried out a series of guerrilla campaigns that finally ended in 1994. Pol Pot died in captivity in 1998, Ieng Sary died in custody awaiting trial in 2013, and Khieu Sampan is serving life in gaol.

Many Khmer Rouge followers walk the streets as free people at the present time.

### Hun Sen

Hun Sen came to power with the Khmer Rouge and served as a Battalion Commander in the Eastern Region of Democratic Kampuchea. In 1977, during internal purges of the Khmer Rouge regime, Hun Sen and his battalion officers, afraid of being purged by the Khmer Rouge leadership, fled to Vietnam. Here, Hun Sen became one of the leaders of the rebel army and government that the Vietnamese government sponsored when they prepared to invade Cambodia.

When the Khmer Rouge regime was defeated, Hun Sen was appointed as Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Vietnamese-installed People's Republic of Kampuchea/State of Cambodia. He became prime minister in 1985, and has remained in that position to this day.

In his position, with support from the Vietnamese as well as the peasantry in the country, he has ruled with dictatorial powers. He has ruled by purging political opponents. Protesting Buddhist monks and supporters of opposition groups have criticised vote-rigging at elections, denial of human rights, and corruption.

Hun Sen has been credited with bringing an end to the genocide of people during the time when the Khmer Rouge were in power (1975–79).



*Prime Minister Hun Sen with President Vladimir Putin, 19 May 2016.*

## ? Activity

- Describe the activities of a figure or group in bringing about change in Vietnam/Cambodia.
- **Empathy exercise:** You are a journalist in a period of great change (pick a date between 1945 and today). Write a report on this change and its effects on society.
- Prepare a collage of pictures and explain their significance in the history of Vietnam/Cambodia in any one period in Vietnamese/Cambodian history since 1945.
- Compare the influence of foreign powers in any period of Vietnam and Cambodia's history since 1945. This can either be a piece of written work or a speech to your class.
- Prepare a Sources Analysis of any period in Vietnam or Cambodia. The sources must include a piece by a historian, a primary document, pictures etc. Set yourself questions that include a comprehension question, a 'why' question, a 'conclusions' question, a cross-reference question, a 'usefulness' and an evaluation question.

## Focus area: new nation-state (Vietnam)

### Key points

The formal establishment of a shared concept of national identity in Vietnam.

### Economic, social and political systems in the new nation-state

#### Economically

After the Vietnam (American) War finished in 1975, the US had left Vietnam in a state of physical ruin:

- Roads, rail, bridges and canals were devastated by bombing.
- Unexploded shells and mines littered the paddy fields.
- Five million hectares of forest had been stripped of life by high explosives and Agent Orange.
- Two-thirds of the villages in the South had been destroyed.

In this period, Vietnam was a backward agricultural economy where agricultural production was not sufficient to meet the needs of the people. This resulted in persistent famine. Likewise, there was limited growth in industrial production, as Vietnam did not have sufficient financial reserves to pay for imports and construction of industrial goods. The US had placed a trade embargo on Vietnam and put pressure on the multinational institutions such as the World Bank, UNESCO and The International Monetary Fund to deny Vietnam aid.

But Vietnam entered a period of coordinated economic development, firstly as a communist planned economy (1975–1985) and secondly as a market-driven economy from 1985 onwards. In the first period, Vietnam adopted the Soviet model of a planned (command) economy with the slow development of heavy industry and the adoption of a quota system for peasants to hand over part of their produce to the state. Agriculturally, as a result, production collapsed and Vietnam became a net importer of rice. There was also rampant inflation, as goods were scarce and Vietnam lacked the capital to import necessary goods. Inflation ran at 900 per cent.

In 1986, at the Sixth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party, decisions were made to transform the economy into a market-orientated and globally integrated model with an emphasis on:

- diversification of ownership of publicly owned assets
- development of private assets
- encouragement of foreign investment
- integration of Vietnam into the world and regional economies.

The government liberalised the price of consumer goods, floated the exchange rate and sold off state enterprises. Rice production soared and Vietnam became a large exporter of rice. The export of rice enabled Vietnam to have the capital to import much-needed goods. Although living standards were still low, there were improvements in communications, transport, education and health provision. The expansion of tourism also contributed to the growing prosperity of the country.

In short, for many people out in the countryside, the standard of living is still low, but in the cities there is the growth of a managerial/entrepreneurial class, and foreign investment is radically altering the skyline.

#### Socially

In the first 10 years of Vietnam's independence, people's lives were harsh because there were critical shortages in food, consumer goods, transport, education and medical supplies. The war had left many families without a breadwinner, and many disabled people were forced to beg in order to survive. Apart from begging, many were able to survive because of the strong collective ties of family groups.

After the reforms that followed the Sixth Party Congress (1986), there grew a greater inequality in society. The peasants in the fields still toiled much as they had always done. Farm machinery became more available



1999 – A floating rice market on the Mekong Delta, Vietnam.

(Source: photograph via Doron / CC BY-SA 3.0.)

but this was often shared among groups. Many people who had moved into the city also lived lives that had hardly changed over time. Markets like the Bin Tang Market in Ho Chi Minh City seemed little different from past times.



*Two sides of the same city: a market stall and modern shopping centre in Ho Chi Minh City.*

However, the managerial/entrepreneurial class as well as numbers of government employees, which expanded as times progressed, lived lives that barely differed from people of other South-East Asian countries such as Thailand. Ho Chi Minh City boomed into a seething mass of commercial activity. But it was, nonetheless, a city in the developing world, with signs of poverty still. In contrast to that poverty was **Dong Khoi Street** – an island of wealth where the new elite could buy a T-shirt from Hermès for \$500, a watch from Versace for \$15 000, or a dining-room table with four chairs covered in gold-leaf calf skin and stuffed with goose feathers for \$65 000. On the corner, the restaurant within the Continental Hotel – Le Bourgeois – sold meals that would cost a week's pay for a worker. As a sign of progress, Ho Chi Minh City had piped music in elevators that accompanied business people up to the fourteenth floor of the new skysrise buildings.

### Politically

Vietnam was and has remained a Communist one-party state and traces its origins back to the Communist Party of North Vietnam. It espouses Marxism–Leninism and the thoughts of Ho Chi Minh.

After 1985, there were factions within the Communist Party that defended socialism against the tide of capitalism. However, with the state developing a mixed economy, the strict adherence to Marxism–Leninism has been modified. The Party has stopped representing a specific class, but now represents the 'interests of the entire people', which includes entrepreneurs. The final class barrier was removed in 2002, when Party members were allowed to engage in private enterprise. In the face of de-emphasising the role of Marxism–Leninism, the Party has acquired a broader ideology, laying more emphasis on nationalism, modernisation and the protection of tradition.

### Degree to which the struggle for self-determination has been realised

The struggle for self-determination has been realised, as Vietnam – which had struggled against Chinese rule for 1000 years, French rule for nearly 200 years, and the American influence and later invasion from 1945 to 1975 – is now fully independent and able to chart its own destiny.

It maintains diplomatic relations with over 180 countries including the Security Council of the United Nations. The only external threat that Vietnam faces is from China, with which Vietnam fought a border war in 1979. At the present time, it is in dispute with China over control of an area in the South China Sea.

There is, however, some opposition within Vietnam (internal opposition). This comes from factions within the ruling Communist Party that still question the 'road to capitalism' and are wary of the role of the United States, which is urging greater political and intellectual freedom as a condition of Vietnam's entry into the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a huge trade pact that Vietnam needs economically to prosper.

One area that has caused problems is the status of South Vietnam in contrast with the North. For some time, the South was seen as conquered territory. Many government jobs, as well as occupations with prestige such as pilots and flight attendants, were the preserve of the North. This has dissipated over time, however.

## Ethnic groups disadvantaged by the new nation-state

Theoretically, Vietnamese society is multiracial with approximately 60 groups of various sizes including the Hmong, Chinese, Montagnards, Khmers and various hill tribes. In reality, it is dominated by the ethnic Vietnamese elite (the Kinh).

Reforms introduced in the early 1980s gave local people more say in their own affairs. In addition, the government continues to address the causes of ethnic minority discontent through special programs to improve education and health facilities, expand road access and increase electrification of rural communities and villages. The government also maintains a program conducting elementary and secondary school classes in some local minority languages. The law provides for universal education for children, regardless of religion or ethnicity, and ethnic minorities are not required to pay regular school fees. There are also a few government-subsidised technical and vocational schools for ethnic minorities.

In addition, the government broadcasts radio and television programs in ethnic minority languages in some areas. It also instructs officials to learn the language of the locality in which they worked. Provincial governments continue initiatives designed to increase employment and make officials sensitive and receptive to ethnic minorities' cultures and traditions.

Further, the government grants preferential treatment to domestic and foreign companies that invest in highland areas populated predominantly by ethnic minorities.

The government officially prohibits discrimination against ethnic minorities but, nonetheless, there are some credible cases of discrimination against ethnic minorities. Longstanding societal discrimination against ethnic minorities has persisted.

Ethnic minority activists also face arrest and imprisonment for:

- crimes against public order
- undermining unity policy
- being members of overseas separatist organisations.

The Christian Montagnards have been the target of police attention, as they have sought the return of ancestral lands and an end to religious repression. The authorities are concerned that they are seeking an independent state.

### In summary

Overall, despite some problems, Vietnam is a viable state which is advancing economically, socially with an authoritarian structured government. The Government has created a shared concept of national identity, both by reform and if need be, by repression of those who flaunt the order that the government has imposed.



*Hmong women at Coc Ly market, Sapa, Vietnam. (Source: photograph by Brian Snelson.)*



*A Montagnard tribesman during military training, 1962.*

## Focus area: new nation-state (Cambodia)

### Key points

The formal establishment of a shared concept of national identity in Cambodia.

### Economic, social and political systems in the new nation-state

#### Economically

After the removal of the Khmer Rouge, Hun Sen outlined guidelines for the future economic development of Cambodia. These guidelines outlined a gradual transformation to socialism:

- a planned economy with markets
- the restoration of banks, currency and trade
- the introduction of an eight-hour working day
- the introduction of salaries based on work performed.

Peasants were organised into production units based on families. These families were given land to cultivate for communal purposes as well as their own private plots to grow vegetables and graze livestock. The state bought agricultural produce and sold them manufactured goods.

The state-run economy covered:

- large-scale agricultural production
- all industrial production
- communications and transportation networks
- finance
- domestic and foreign trade.

Private enterprise also made a modest beginning. Citizens were allowed to buy and sell agricultural produce and handicrafts. The law guaranteed workers the right to keep their wages, their other income and their property. Encouraged and protected by the state, hundreds of small shops and factories, each employing a few workers, opened for business in Phnom Penh and in other urban areas.

With the help of investment from Vietnam and China, activity was directed towards the improvement of Cambodia's infrastructure: the reconstruction of communication lines, roads, inland waterways, and railroad networks to serve the national economy and defence. This was a slow progress, as (similar to Vietnam) Cambodia had been decimated by war and did not have the capital for rapid development. This was compounded by shortages of:

- spare parts
- raw materials
- skilled workers
- experienced managers.



2004 – Farmers harvest rice in Cambodia.  
(Source: photograph by Brad Collins.)



A main road through rural Cambodia (2006) and the Kizuna Bridge (2011), which was constructed with the help of a \$56 million grant from the Japanese government in 1999.

In 1989, the Cambodian government implemented reform policies that transformed the Cambodian economic system from a command economy to an open-market one. Consequently, private property rights were introduced and state-owned enterprises were privatised. It also focused on integrating itself into regional and international economic blocs, such as the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). These policies triggered a growth in the economy, with Cambodia's national economy grew at an average of five per cent before a period of economic instability due to the 1997 Asian financial crisis.

Conditions have since improved again. Since 1999, the Cambodian economy has continued to grow, aided by increasing numbers of tourists, internal consumption and investment from overseas and domestic private sector groups.

Despite the gradual growth in the economy, Cambodia is still a poor country in contrast with its neighbours. Its poverty rate is still at approximately 20 per cent.

### Socially

The people who survived Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime were severely traumatised after the war. With up to 4 million people killed (approximately one-quarter of the total population), the survivors had to pick up the pieces of their lives and start again. They were not helped by the economic dislocation of their country and the grinding poverty that they suffered then (and continue to endure today). It remained a 'land of orphans', ruled by fear of the return of the Khmer Rouge, and later the repressive policies of Hun Sen. Although the Khmer Rouge were defeated, they set up a government in the west of the country, which existed until 1990 and was recognised by the United Nations as the sole legitimate government. In many villages, people lived and continue to live side by side with the Khmer executioners.

In the first decade of the 21st century, young Cambodian men grew up learning little more than how to kill. Young Cambodians are not taught about the genocide in high school. Some were even sceptical that the Khmer Rouge's crimes – the systematic butchery of the 'killing fields' – had really occurred.

In an impoverished country – one of Asia's poorest, albeit with 7 per cent predicted economic growth in 2017 – most young people seemed to be focused on getting ahead rather than looking back.

In 2006, a tribunal was set up to investigate the crimes of the Khmer Rouge using Cambodian and international judges. It enjoyed widespread support, but the pace of the hearings was very slow and has been regarded by some as a sham. Very few were convicted.

Today, many people of Cambodia are still very poor and many are struggling to come to terms with the past.

### Politically

The post-Khmer Rouge government of Cambodia is a constitutional monarchy with the King as head of state and the Prime Minister as head of government, in accordance with the Constitution (established in 1993).

Theoretically, it is a parliamentary democracy with two houses of parliament: the Senate and the National Assembly. Despite elections being held every five years, Cambodia is a one party-dominant state with Hun Sen as prime minister. He has been prime minister since 1998, a year after a bloody coup in Phnom Penh overthrew the elected prime minister, Prince Norodom Ranariddh.



*Skyline of Phnom Penh in 2015.  
(Source: photograph by Dmitry A. Mottl.)*



*Students line up in the yard of a primary school in Samraong, Cambodia (2008). (Source: photograph by Helt.)*



*A sign supporting the Cambodian People's Party in Siem Reap, Cambodia, 2016.  
(Source: photograph by Panzer VI-II)*

In elections, Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party (CPP) has always formed government. It has done this because most of his supporters live in the countryside where most of the electorates exist. Vote-rigging, bribery and intimidation virtually guarantees him re-election. The main opposition party – the Cambodia National Rescue Party, headed by Sam Rainsy – is based in the cities where the majority of the citizens who are more educated and prone to be more middle-class live. There are fewer electorates in the city.

From 1979 to 1989, the country was named **Democratic Kampuchea** in deference to the Khmer Rouge, based in the jungle in the west of the country. Since then, Democratic Kampuchea has reverted back to its original name – Cambodia.

The Constitution promulgated in 1993 theoretically guarantees a broad range of civil liberties and fundamental rights. Citizens are to be equal before the law and are entitled to enjoy the same rights and duties regardless of sex, religion or race. They have the right to participate in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the country and to be paid according to the amount and quality of work they perform. The Constitution also stipulates:

- the inviolability of people and of their homes
- privacy of correspondence
- freedom from illegal search and arrest
- the rights of women and children
- the right to claim reparation for damages caused by illegal actions of the state, social organisations and their personnel
- freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly
- the rule of law.

Despite the Constitution guaranteeing right and freedoms, there have been election irregularities such as:

- buying votes
- barring opposition monitors from polling stations
- miscounting opposition votes
- using people connected with a particular party to count votes.

Violence, threats, visits in the middle of the night, and harassment by armed men are also aspects of Cambodian campaigns and elections. In some places, thumb prints of voters have been collected by ruling party supporters with the understanding that their owners will be tracked down if they vote against the ruling party.

Specific problems that show the fragile state of Cambodian democracy include the murder or imprisonment of newspaper editors. Tanks and troops have been placed in Phnom Penh to protect Hun Sen from enemies he calls 'worms'. Newspapers have been shut down, and opposition parties have been outlawed and their leaders gaoled.

All this has occurred under the pretext of supporting the National Government against enemies of the state. Some of the older people, who are afraid of having another war if the CPP doesn't win, are the ruling party's greatest supporters.

Overall, democracy in Cambodia is fragile. In 2017, there was:

- the killing of rival politicians
- jailing of opposition
- a charge of treason laid against the opposition leader
- censorship of the media.



*Royal coat of arms for the Kingdom of Cambodia.*

## Degree to which the struggle for self-determination has been realised

Self-determination has been realised by the overthrow of the Khmer Rouge and the establishment (in theory) of a democratic constitutional monarchy. However, this struggle has been compromised by Prime Minister Hun Sen – a former Khmer Rouge fighter who fled Kampuchea (Cambodia) and returned as leader supported by Vietnam.

Despite the country being ‘protected’ by a democratic Constitution, Hun Sen has used the electoral system to maintain power. He has been involved in undemocratic practices to enforce his rule.

Despite being a country recognised by the United Nations, neighbours such as Thailand and Vietnam have traditionally coveted some of Cambodia’s territory, to the west and east respectively.

## Ethnic groups disadvantaged by the new nation-state

The population of Cambodia today is about 10 million. About 90–95 per cent of the people are Khmer. The remaining 5–10 per cent include Chinese, Chams, Vietnamese and ethnic hill-tribe people.

In Cambodia today, ethnic Chinese and Vietnamese are officially known as ‘residents’, even if they are citizens. The Vietnamese minority are disadvantaged. Because of Cambodia’s fear of Vietnamese invasion, the Vietnamese face a wide range of political, economic, social and legal disadvantage. They are not eligible to join the ruling Cambodian People’s Party (CCP). In addition, they cannot work, own property or borrow money from banks. They face additional difficulties, such as accessing social services, obtaining birth, marriage and death certificates and building permits. Also, their travel is restricted both within and outside the country.

On the other hand, the Cham, Thai Lao, and other ethnic groups in Cambodia, known as ‘national minorities’, are not considered a threat to Cambodian society and are accepted into the Party and government on the same basis as the majority Khmers, irrespective of religious beliefs or ethnicity. With these minorities, Cambodian policy explicitly opposes cultural or racial chauvinism, and stipulates that minority languages are equal with the Khmer language, and that ethnic groups may write, speak and teach in their own languages and use them in court.

The Fifth Party Congress in October 1985 was attended by 250 delegates, of whom 40 (including 25 women) were members of ethnic minorities. Parliament from 1985 has continued to have minority representation.

In the countryside, ethnic minorities have continued to live in small, isolated groups but there is evidence of increased intermarriage between these groups and the majority Khmer population.



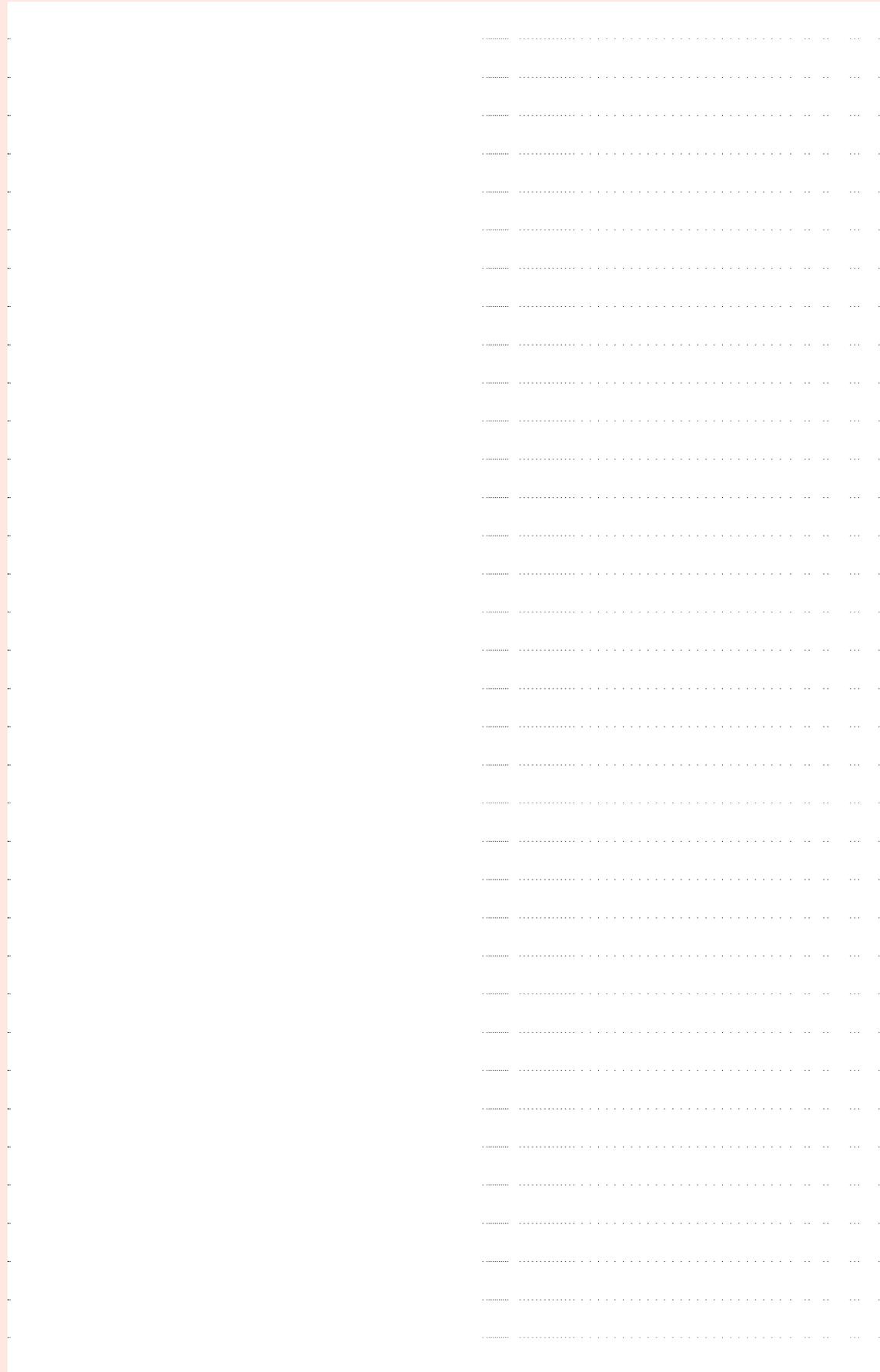
*Ethnic map of Cambodia (2012).*



*Khmer women in traditional dress for New Year celebrations in 2010. (Source: photograph by Sam Sith.)*

**? Key issue**

To what degree has conflict shaped the national identity of Vietnam/Cambodia?



*Turn to page 270 for thoughts on this issue.*

## SECTION

## 4

## Suggested answers

## Section 1: History writing and exams

## Assessment

Page 18

*Essay grading exercise*

The essay would be worth a B grade.

This essay showed a well-considered and relevant knowledge and understanding of events. There was an organised construction of reasoned historical arguments based on a critical understanding of evidence. There was a well-informed reflection on the impacts of events communicated in a structured and coherent way, with an informed and relevant argument.

In the SACE exam, markers are told to mark positively and the Performance Standards and their interpretation echo this. However, personally, I feel that some comment needs to be made as to why this essay wasn't awarded an 'A' grade.

I feel there was no attempt to relate subsidiary paragraphs (Hitler's personality) to the issue of the question, which was the issue of weakness in democratic government. Overall there seems to be no unifying thread to the essay. The paragraphs seem to be isolated from each other. Also, I believe that the expression was not very sophisticated. For example, the other contributing factors raised in the introduction are not mentioned later in the essay.

## Analysis of example essay questions

### Note

In all cases, despite the differing riders to the question (e.g. to what extent, do you agree, evaluate, etc.) the style of the response is basically the same as evidenced by the examples below.

Page 26

*The treaty of Versailles was good for Germany. To what extent do you agree with this statement?*

Address the issue of the question first, e.g. It was good for Germany in that: Germany was not occupied; it was still able to keep an army; etc.

However, it was bad for Germany: War Guilt clause; loss of colonies loss of navy; huge reparations etc.

Conclusion: The favourable aspects of the Versailles Treaty were heavily outweighed by the punitive clauses, which Hitler was able to use in his propaganda campaigns leading up to the Second World War 2.

### Note

Note how the conclusion looks to a future event.

Page 28

*'A dictator rose to power because of the weaknesses of his opponents.' To what extent do you agree? Argue your case.*

Agree: Communist Party carried the stain of Russia; frequency of elections; aged President Hindenburg etc.

Disagree: However, Hitler came to power through other means: effective propaganda campaign; personality; problems that Germany faced etc.

Conclusion: Weaknesses of opponents were certainly factors in Hitler's rise to power but this was intertwined with many other factors. All of these combined led Germany down the abyss to World War in 1939.

Page 30

*'Dictators maintained control over all of society.'* To what extent do you agree?

Superficially agree based on the numbers of people at his rallies; use of terror; adulation at the conquest of France; etc

But, on deeper analysis, the control was never absolute: sections of the army; student groups; the betrayal by members of his own group near the end of the war; etc.

Conclusion: note the above.

Page 32

*'Internal opposition forced Mao to adopt different policies.'* To what extent do you agree?  
*Argue your case.*

Agree: 100 Flowers Campaign led to aggressive removal of opposition; power of revisionists was one factor leading to the Cultural Revolution; the influence of the army led to the ending of the Cultural Revolution; etc.

Disagree: However, on the other hand, power of USA led to China's involvement in the Korean War; lack of a firm agricultural and industrial base led to Great Leap Forward; desire for China not to go the revisionist path led to the Cultural revolution; etc.

Conclusion: reiterate the above.

Page 34

*To what extent did aggression cause the Cold War?*

Give a date for the beginning of the Cold War, e.g. the war-time Conferences.

### Note

You can name any date that sets the parameters of your essay.

Aggression: Russian Civil War in 1919; Second World War and tensions arising from it; Soviet takeover of Eastern European countries; etc.

Other factors: ideology; personality of the leaders; etc.

Page 36

*Evaluate the importance of ideology in determining the nature of the Cold War.*

Ideology was a contributing factor. Describe the differing economic systems.

Other factors (describe in order of importance) include: mutual suspicions, arms race, propaganda, etc.

Conclusion: summarise factors, make sure you respond fully, i.e. you have 'evaluated the importance'.

Page 38

*'The role of the Soviet leader, Gorbachev, was essential to the collapse of Soviet-style communism.'* Do you agree? Argue your case.

### Note

Do you agree? Such questions rarely have people totally agreeing or disagreeing.

Address the word 'essential' = what he did was pivotal and brought matters to a head.

Avoid a counter-factual in this case, i.e. if it wasn't for him ...

Gorbachev's role: to make Communism more efficient by introducing *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

However, there were other factors that caused Gorbachev to act: escalating cost of the Arms Race, moribund Soviet leadership with past leaders, restive nature of Soviet allies, etc.

## How to do your Historical Study

Page 59

Use the Performance Standards to identify the areas of the study that earned Zoe an A grade

### Note

The evidence given below is only one interpretation of the Performance Standards. Other relevant examples are equally as valid.

Performance Standards (Refresh your memory on page 10.)	
U & Ex	Understanding and Exploration
A & Ev	Application and Evaluation
A	Analysis

**(U & Ex) In-depth understanding and exploration of historical concepts.**

**In-depth understanding evident in the specific examples quoted.**

- Evidence from sources is skillfully used to support a point of view.
- Such evidence in its comparison with the piece of literature shows evidence of contestability.

**(U & Ex) Comprehensive understanding and insightful exploration of the role of ideas, people, and events in history.**

- Specific examples cited in depth.
- Evidence of the difficulties and problems encountered is explored with quotes from the text.
- (U & Ev) Perceptive application of the skills of historical inquiry to critically examine and evaluate sources and interpretations.
- Evidence is seen from historical accounts and examples from literature.
- The weaknesses in the literary account are described in depth.

**(A & Ev) Insightful interpretation and synthesis of relevant evidence to support arguments and draw highly relevant conclusions.**

- Insightful, i.e. discerning, penetrating, thoughtful and deep interpretation of relevant evidence.
- Synthesis is evident in the melding and questioning of the historical and literary evidence.

**(A & Ev) Communication of well-reasoned, coherent, and insightful historical arguments, with appropriate acknowledgment of sources.**

- All aspects of this criterion is evident: well-reasoned, coherent, insightful historical argument and appropriate acknowledgement of sources used to cross-reference the history with the literature.

**(A) Critical analysis of ways in which the development of the modern world has been shaped by both internal and external forces and challenges.**

- Development of the modern world (the tragedy of war) was shaped by varying internal forces and challenges (Russian) and the effects of exterior forces (German).

**(A) Insightful and critical analysis of interactions and relationships in the modern world, and their short-term and long-term impacts on national, regional, and/or international development.**

- The last sentence in the conclusion, along with evidence in the first analysis criterion, accurately sums up this criterion.

## Section 2: Sources Analysis

Page 79

*Gin Lane*

1. What does Source 1 reveal about gin and beer consumption between 1700 and 1760? (1 mark)

**Remember:** A short-sentence answer.

**Answer:** Between 1700 and 1760, gin consumption rose before declining from 1750 whereas beer consumption remained steady before rising slightly from 1750.

2. From Source 2, identify any two problems in 18th century London? (2 marks)

**Remember:** Identify any two problems.

**Answer:** Two problems that existed in 18th century London were crime as a result of desperation and sharply rising food costs.

(You could have mentioned two other problems instead such as poverty and overcrowding and excessive gin drinking, etc.)

3. What two conclusions about the gin problem can be drawn from the evidence in Source 4? (2 marks)

**Remember:** A conclusion is your point of view. Mention two conclusions and supporting evidence to get full marks.

**Answer:** Gin was a problem because it quickly made people drunk. This is supported by the statement that it 'would instantly get them drunk'. A second conclusion that could be obtained from the source was that the government was partially to blame as the document stated that 'the government fuelled London's gin craze by removing restrictions on distilling'.

There are other conclusions that you could state so long as you supported them by evidence such as the low cost of gin and it hurt the national economy, etc.

4. To what extent does Source 3(a) differ from Source 3(b)? (4 marks)

**Remember:** To get the full four marks you needed to mention differences and similarities, either two of each or three differences and one similarity. You achieve less if you only mentioned either a similarity or italicise a difference.

**Answer:** Source 3(a) differs from Source 3(b) in that Source 3(a) shows social disorder whilst in Source 3(b) there is relative social peace. Another difference between the two sources is that people are wearing shabby clothes in Source 3(a) whilst in Source 3(b) people are well-dressed.

However, there are similarities as both sources show people drinking and that both men and women indulged in drinking.

Note there were other examples of differences and similarities. Differences, for example, between ramshackle buildings in Source 3(b) and women clearly affected to their detriment. Other similarities could have included the use of pawnbrokers and drinking occurring in public.

5. Examine Sources 3(a) and 3(b). William Hogarth's intention in drawing two contrasting scenes of everyday life in London was to bring attention to the gin problem in the hope of bringing about reform. Hogarth created these artworks as part of a campaign to support the government's Gin Act (1751).

Considering this, assess the limitations of these artworks for historians investigating 18th century London. In what ways are these artworks still useful for historians? (5 marks)

**Remember:** When discussing nature of evidence, discuss what type of source it is, who created it, when and for what purpose, what audience it was meant for and the nature of bias.

**Answer:** The limitations in these sources are that they present only a limited location, i.e. two streets in London where there was a drinking problem. The sources deal with social issues. There is no supporting evidence such as letters or diaries of people of the time.

Other limitations of the evidence are that they are only graphic representations that are clearly representing Hogarth's bias where he tries to influence changes in the government's Gin Act by emphasising the evils of gin drinking.

However, there is usefulness in these pieces of evidence. The graphic illustrations do give evidence of the drinking issues of the time. The evidence is first-hand evidence of the time that shows what some people thought of drinking at the time. Also, they are examples of the types of artworks done at the time and how art was used for political purposes in the 18th century.

6. **'The problems of 18th century London centred on the drinking of gin.'** Evaluate this proposition with reference to all the sources. (6 marks)

**Remember:** Who get full marks, you must discuss evidence in support and that which challenges the proposition from all sources as well as making a statement that provides an overall evaluation of the proposition. This must be written in essay form.

**Answer:** Evidence that supports the proposition includes:

- Source 1: Gin consumption increased from just over one million gallons in 1700 to nearly seven million gallons by 1750.
- Source 2: Reformers claimed that gin drinking was at the heart of the social problems.
- Source 3: Gin drinking created all sorts of social problems such as mothers neglecting their children.
- Source 4: Similar to Source 3, gin drinking created problems by making people drunk.

On the other hand:

- Source 1: There may have been a growing problem with beer consumption.
- Source 2: Poverty and overcrowding were also problems and gin drinking was an escape from people's woes.
- Source 3: Doesn't really say that problems centred on gin drinking.
- Source 4: There is an implication that land owners who sold their corn for gin production may have been the problem.

Remember to acknowledge each source. The most sophisticated answers do not treat each source in order.

**Other questions that may be asked:**

1. **From Source 2 identify two reasons why poor people turned to gin drinking.**

**Comprehension question:**

- High price of food
- Scarcity of food
- It was the preferred drink of the lower classes

2. **Which of Sources 2, 3 or 4 best reflects the problems in 18th century London? Justify your choice.**

Students are free to choose whatever source they wish so long as they justify their choice. That is to say why one is the best and the others have limitations.

**Suggested answer:**

- Source 3(b) which shows a multitude of specific problems (list them) in contrast to Source 3(a) which has a scene of relative orderliness (the broken pawnshop indicates a lack of use).
- Source 2 describes only the scarcity and general poverty and Source 3 mentions general comments about debauchery, destruction and drunkenness and their cause – the unscrupulous landowners.

Page 83

*Industrialisation*

1. **Examine Source 4. Name one place where orator Hunt addressed people.** (1 mark)

**Remember:** A short-sentence answer.

**Answer:** St Peter's Fields OR Spa fields.

2. **From Source 1, identify two actions Ned Ludd's supporters would undertake if his demands were not met?** (2 marks)

**Remember:** A brief answer in sentence form.

**Answer:** Two of: destruction of shearing frames, burning down buildings, possible killing of opponents.

3. **What two conclusions can be drawn from Source 2 about the troubles that existed in England as a result of industrialisation? Support your answer with examples from the text.** (2 marks)

**Remember:** A conclusion is your point of view after analysing the theme of the document.

**Answer:** Suggested two conclusions:

- People were discontented over industrial change (state of ferment and uproar over loss in wages and introduction of steam power).
- Authorities answered the protest with violence (Peterloo massacre).

4. **How far does the information in Source 2 support that portrayed in Source 4?** (4 marks)

**Remember:** The key phrase 'how far'. You are examining points of support and difference in two separate paragraphs.

**Answer:** Similarities: Both describe killings at Peterloo and civil unrest. Also the use of military to quell civil unrest.

**Differences:** Source 2 addresses causes of unrest (price of labour, introduction of steam power). Also Source 2 mentions female labour.

5. **Examine Sources 1 and 3. Assess the usefulness and limitations of each source for historians studying civil unrest in England at the time of industrialisation.** (4 marks)

**Remember:** To get full marks, you need to present a comprehensive discussion of limitations and uses of the sources which involve an analysis of content and its relevance as well as an in-depth discussion of the nature of relevance. If you discuss only content OR nature of evidence, you can only achieve a very limited mark.

When discussing nature of evidence, discuss what type of source it is, who created it, when and for what purpose, what audience it was meant for and the nature of bias. Four separate paragraphs in all.

**Answer:**

- **Source 1 usefulness:** Describes civil unrest and its causes at the time of industrialisation (1812). First-hand source written by a perpetrator. Audience is a group of disgruntled people. Evokes the mood of hostility at the time (detestable shearing frames).
- **Source 1 limitations:** Does not describe the extent of unrest that may have been in England at the time. Needs to be cross-referenced with others. Did Ned Ludd actually exist?
- **Source 3 usefulness:** Gives a visual appearance of the massacre at Peterloo. Depicts the nature of protest and the clothing worn at the time. A contemporary picture gives the sense that it was fresh in the mind of the painter so is authentic.
- **Source 3 limitations:** It may be authentic but is it accurate? The painter could not be painting in the midst of the mayhem. The soldiers do not seem to be striking at the orators who would be inflaming the crowd. The painter seems to be biased as he is painting a 'heroic' scene. Is the picture representative of other scenes of civil unrest as mentioned in Source 4.

6. **'The growth of unemployment created unrest in industrial England.' Evaluate this proposition with reference to all the sources.** (5 marks)

**Remember:** To get full marks, you must discuss evidence in support and that which challenges the proposition from all sources as well as making a statement that provides an overall evaluation of the proposition. This must be written in essay form.

**Answer:** Evidence in support: Industrialisation also brought with it the introduction of new machinery (Sources 1 and 2); lower wages (Sources 2 and 4); female labour (Source 2); political protest (Sources 3 and 4); loss of jobs (Source 4); poverty (Source 4).

**Other questions that may be asked:**

1. **Examine Source 2. According to Joseph Gutteridge, why was there social unrest among the weavers in Britain?**

**Answer:** Reduction in wages; introduction of steam power and female labour.

2. **What impact would the scene in Source 3 have on Joseph Gutteridge (Source 2)?**

**Answer:** You can suggest any impact (impressionable, sympathy, hostility, concern), so long as you provide evidence in support.

Suggest concern as Gutteridge was writing about an incident in Coventry and the massacre happened in Peterloo.

3. **Examine Sources 2 and 3. To a historian, which would have the greater impact? Give evidence from the sources to support your point of view.**

**Answer:** You can suggest any impact so long as you provide evidence in support.

Suggest Source 2 as it is a first-hand account of a person affected by the changes occurring in society. Also the writer lists causes of the troubles.

4. **From reading all the sources, what were the causes of unrest in England in the early years of the 19th century?**

**Answer:** See answer to Question 6 on the previous page.

Page 87

*Glenelg 1839–1930*

1. **According to Source 1, what was the original size of Glenelg?** (1 mark)

**Remember:** A short-sentence answer.

**Answer:** 65 acres.

2. **In reading Source 4, why did Glenelg lose its unique character in the 1930s? Give evidence from the source to support your point of view.** (2 marks)

**Remember:** A brief answer in sentence form.

**Answer:** Introduction of the motor car OR urban expansion.

3. **Analyse Source 3. What two conclusions can be drawn about the nature of Glenelg in the 1930s? Give evidence from the source to support your point of view.** (2 marks)

**Remember:** A conclusion is your point of view after analysing the theme of the document.

**Answer:** Pride in the settlement. Evidence lies in the well-kept and clean streets and footpaths. Prosperous modern infrastructure. Evidence exists in the latest innovations in the streets (gas lighting).

4. **Examine Sources 3 and 4. To what extent did change occur between c. 1880 and c. 1930?** (4 marks)

**Remember:** The key phrase 'to what extent'. You are examining aspects of change in one paragraph and aspects of continuity in the second paragraph.

**Answer:** Examples of change: Introduction of the motor car and further expansion.

**Examples of continuity:** Upper class residential development and pride in the community.

5. **Examine Sources 2 and 3. Assess the usefulness and limitations of each source in relation to Glenelg in the 1930s.** (5 marks)

**Remember:** To get full marks, you need to present a comprehensive discussion of limitations and uses of the sources which involve an analysis of content and its relevance as well as an in-depth discussion of the nature of relevance. If you discuss only content OR nature of evidence, you can only achieve a very limited mark.

When discussing nature of evidence, discuss what type of source it is, who created it, when and for what purpose, what audience it was meant for and the nature of bias. Four separate paragraphs in all.

**Answer:**

- **Source 2 usefulness:** Picture of an upper class home in the Glenelg area at the time. The audience is the reading public of the Register newspaper.
- **Source 2 limitations:** Is the house representative of all housing in the Glenelg area? Need to have more information as to the reason for the photograph?
- **Source 3 usefulness:** Describes how a certain resident of Glenelg felt about the city at the time. Being the mayor of the city responsible for the overall development of the city, his opinion would have some relevance.
- **Source 3 limitations:** It is the opinion of one man hence biased. Needs to be cross-referenced with other sources of the period. Does it describe all of Glenelg?

6. Use the information from all the sources to address the following proposition: 'Glenelg was an "island" of upper-class residential development between 1839 and 1930.' (6 marks)

**Remember:** To get full marks, you must discuss evidence in support and that which challenges the proposition from all sources as well as making a statement that provides an overall evaluation of the proposition. This must be written in essay form.

**Answer:**

Evidence in support of the proposition:

Source 2, Source 4 and Source 3 where it mentions that Glenelg is 'finest and most choice specimens of architecture to be found in the Province'.

Evidence against the proposition:

Source 1 which describes its establishment; Source 5 where fairgrounds are not the province of the wealthy and Source 2 which although it describes the paved gutters, etc., doesn't really give any indication that it is unique.

**Other questions that may be asked:**

1. How might George Soward (Source 3) have viewed the sideshows described in Source 5? Give evidence from the sources to support your point of view.

**Answer:** Probably with disgust as fairgrounds would attract 'less desirable elements of the population' that would spoil the cleanliness and orderliness of the city.

2. Examine Sources 2, 3 and 4. Identify two examples of continuity evident between 1870 and 1930.

**Answer:** Upper-class residential development; unique style.

3. How do the sources assist us in understanding the unique nature of Glenelg?

**Answer:** Evident in Sources 2, 3 and 4. Students (I believe) should not be penalised for including the fairground in Source 5, although other beachside suburbs had fairgrounds as well.

Page 91

*Roaring Twenties*

1. Examine Source 1. Identify two characteristics of the 'flappers' in the 1920s. (1 mark)

Two characteristics of flappers are: style of dress and smoking in public. (Also: used make-up, used alcohol, drove vehicles.)

2. What two conclusions can be drawn about life in Germany in the 1920s? Give evidence from the source to support your conclusions. (2 marks)

Two conclusions are: life is one big party (bands, dancing, styles of dress) and people in the picture have an extravagant lifestyle (tuxedos, expensive-looking dresses).

3. Examine Source 3. How credible is this source? Give reasons for your opinion. (3 marks)

Credible: television documentary, description of a specific society. **However**, lacks credibility as it was produced 80 years after the 'Roaring Twenties'.

4. To what extent is the information given in Source 3 supported by Source 4? Give evidence from each source to support your answer. (4 marks)

Both sources have crime as their theme. Both sources mention specific criminals. Source 4 describes a scene in Chicago, whereas Source 3 describes a scene in Shanghai. Source 4 describes a gangster killing and illicit liquor and gives no description of prostitution, drug trafficking and protection rackets.

5. Examine Sources 4 and 5. With reference to the content and nature of both sources, assess the usefulness and limitations of these sources for historians studying the 1920s. (5 marks)

**Usefulness – content:** Both give specific information about the "twenties".

**Usefulness – nature:** Source 4 is a newspaper article of the time and Source 5 is a magazine cover of the time.

**Limitation – content:** Source 4 describes only one incident that is not indicative of all the aspects of life in the 20s. Source 5 is a magazine aimed at a specific audience (middle class women).

**Limitation – nature:** Newspaper articles (Source 4) are sensationalised and use exaggeration (e.g. most cold-blooded). Magazines (Source 5) are for popular consumption – very idealised.

6. ‘The “Roaring Twenties” were a glamorous time.’ Evaluate this statement in relation to all the sources. (6 marks)

Glamorous time supported by Sources 1, 2, 3, 5. **However**, also a time of criminal activities (Sources 3 and 4), excess (Sources 1, 2 and 5), and poverty (Source 6).

**Other questions that may be asked:**

1. From Source 3, identify two reasons why Shanghai might be classed as a ‘Sin City’.

Any two of: Gangsters, drug-taking, prostitution, protection rackets, etc.



## Note

The inclusion of ‘gambling’ as an example of a ‘sin’ may be considered problematic.

2. What evidence is there of continuity within Source 6?

Men’s wages had scarcely improved since the First World War; still true about the position of women in society.

3. What evidence is there in Source 2 to support the historian’s theme described in Source 1?

The theme of Source 1 is the free and easy lifestyle, which is illustrated in Source 2.

4. What is the difference between Source 6 and the other five sources?

Source 6 describes poverty, which is not in evidence in the other sources.

5. Examine Source 5. Why would some people be critical of the cover of *The Home* magazine?

People could be critical of the cover of *Home Magazine* as it does not typify a typical home but rather the lifestyle of the privileged class.

6. Examine Source 3. What evidence is there that the author is being sarcastic about the type of society in Shanghai?

The evidence is in the last paragraph, where the description is of the profligate lifestyle of the idle rich. This is juxtaposed against the criminal activities mentioned earlier in the transcript.

Page 96

*Persecution in society*

1. From Source 1, list two points to show how poor were conditions in a school for African Americans. (2 marks)

**Remember:** A brief response in sentence form.

**Answer:** Overcrowding, poor teaching facilities, inadequate heating.

2. In Source 2, what is Nelson Mandela’s view of the court system?

**Support your answer with evidence.**

(2 marks)

**Remember:** Again a brief sentence response.

**Answer:** Biased court system, etc. Evidence in support can include whites making all the laws, unfair procedures.

3. What two conclusions can be drawn from Source 3 about the extent of discrimination against black South Africans? Support your answer with reference from the text. (2 marks)

**Remember:** A conclusion is your own opinion as to the theme of the passage.

**Answer:** Conclusions may be that whites were better off in terms of land ownership, health and education. Get evidence from the statistics. Doctor-patient ratio greatly disadvantaged the blacks. Again get evidence from the text.

4. **To what extent are the views in Source 2 supported by the views in Source 4?** (4 marks)

**Remember:** To list points in support and those that do not support each other. One paragraph to describe points in support and one paragraph to describe contrasting points.

**Answer:** Points in support may include: Both describe the legal system; both discuss the advantage of one group over another.

5. **Examine Sources 1 and 5. Assess the usefulness and limitations of these sources for historians investigating discrimination against African Americans in American society.** (4 marks)

**Remember:** To write two paragraphs for each source (four paragraphs in all). Of the four paragraphs, two need to examine usefulness and two examine limitations. Also remember to examine content or relevance and the nature of evidence.

**Answer:**

**Source 1 usefulness:** Shows evidence of conditions in a classroom for Afro-American children; the date and locality give authenticity to the photograph.

**Source 1 limitations:** This is only one classroom but it is representative of all schools in the United States. For what purpose was the photograph taken?

**Source 5 usefulness:** Gives description of moves to eliminate voting inequalities. As it is spoken by the President of the USA in an authoritative situation, it is valid as evidence. The date given was at the time when racial inequality was under question. We are aware of the audience (parliamentarians) and that it is destined to reach the ears of the American population.

**Source 5 limitations:** It is only an extract. We do not know the full speech. Can it be assessed as being pivotal or otherwise in the process of eliminating racial discrimination.

6. **Use the sources, evaluate the proposition that control of the law is central to a system of persecution.** (6 marks)

**Remember:** Look at areas where control of the law was central to the system of persecution and then look at other factors evident in the sources. Be sure to acknowledge the sources where you obtained information.

**Answer:** Control of the law: Evident in Sources 2, 4 and 5.

Other factors: Controlling education (Sources 1 and 3), health care, land ownership and wage disparity (Source 3).

Make sure you use evidence from the texts to support your point of view.

**Other questions that may be asked:**

1. **What do Sources 2 and 4 identify as the main problem facing South African society during the period of Apartheid? Justify your opinion.**

**Answer:** Law as it influences all of society.

2. **What impact might Nelson Mandela's speech (Source 2) have on public opinion?**

**Answer:** The question presupposes a knowledge of the importance of Nelson Mandela on South Africa's recent history.

3. **Examine Source 3. What evidence is there that black South Africans were disadvantaged in South African society in 1983.**

**Answer:** Read off the figures quoted in the graph.

4. **Examine Sources 2 and 3. How does Source 3 support Nelson Mandela's assertions expressed in Source 2?**

**Answer:** Source 2 speaks of injustices in society. Source 3 gives specific examples of injustices.

5. **In considering the nature of Apartheid, how might one find Nelson Mandela's speech more useful than the statistics shown in Source 3?**

**Answer:** Nelson Mandela was a participant in the anti-apartheid movement. A reader can get an impression of the emotions of a person committed to the removal of Apartheid from the language spoken.

6. **Compare Sources 2 and 3. What does the comparison suggest about the nature of South African society?**

**Answer:** South African society is very unjust. Give examples from the text to support your point of view.

7. **Examine all sources. How do the sources help the historian understand the problems faced by black South Africans in society?**

**Answer:** All sources give examples of prejudice. (Give examples from all the sources.)

8. **What is the main idea expressed in Source 4? Does any other source provide any evidence to support this idea? Explain your answer.**

**Answer:** Injustice in the legal system. Other sources that provide evidence in support are Sources 2 and 5. Give examples from the text to support this opinion.

Page 101

### *The hippie movement*

1. **Examine Source 1. Identify two aims of the hippie movement. (1 mark)**

Two aims of the of hippie movement: support of black rights and peace. (Also: student rights and social justice.)

2. **What two conclusions can be drawn from Sources 2(a) and 2(b) about hippie culture? Give evidence from both sources to support your conclusions. (2 marks)**

Two conclusions are – their culture embraced:

- music and psychedelic symbols. Evidence of musicians and the colourful background of the cover.
- intense feelings towards one another, seen by the two youths in touch with one another.

3. **In what ways can Source 3 be considered biased? Give evidence from the source to support your answer. (2 marks)**

Bias is evident in the anti-hippie language. Evidence is in words such as ‘poisonous influence’. Also in its attempts to demonise the hippies by saying that their idleness will be paid for by people’s taxes and equating them with Communism.

4. **To what extent do the images in Sources 5(a) and 5(b) support the views expressed in Source 4? Give evidence from each source to support your answer. (4 marks)**

**Support:** Both pieces of evidence show joy and exotic clothing.

**Differences:** Woodstock is seen in 5b, but is not mentioned in Source 4. There is also a greater emphasis on the peace movement in Source 5.

5. **Examine Sources 5(a), 5(b) and 6. With reference to content and reliability, assess the usefulness and limitations of these sources for historians studying the hippie movement. (4 marks)**

**Usefulness – content:** Both Sources 5 and 6 show hippie themes mentioned in other sources.

**Usefulness – reliability:** Sources 5 (a) and 5(b) were taken at the time of the hippie movement. Source 6 describes the generation gap between young and middle-aged people.

**Limitations – content:** Both sources present a limited view of the hippie movement. There is no real description of opposition to the hippie movement evident at the time.

**Limitations – reliability:** Photographs echo the bias of the photographer. Source 6, being a cartoon, relies on humour to get its point across. Also, the cartoon was published in 1977 well after the hippie movement of the 60s. We do not know the provenance of the newspaper except that it is a student paper.

6. **‘The goal of the hippie movement can be summed up in one word – peace.’ Evaluate this statement with references to all the sources. (6 marks)**

Peace is an aim of the hippie movement, evidenced in Sources 1, 3, 4 and 5(b). Other aims include music (Sources 2, 4, 5(a) and 5 (b)), anti-middle age culture (Sources 1, 3, 4 and 6).

**Other questions that may be asked:**

1. **Which of Sources 2(a), 2(b), 5(a), 5(b) and 6 best reflects the journalist's view of the hippie movement expressed in Source 4? Give a reason for your answer.**

You can choose any source. The important point is to supply a reason that is relevant and shows evidence of consideration. For example, Source 5(a) gives the impression of music and clothing described in Source 4.

2. **Examine Source 3. Give two reasons why the Edge of Culture group was so opposed to the hippie movement.**

One reason was that they seemed to bludge off society. The second was that they were a Communist plot against society.

3. **Examine Source 1. According to the historian, what were two causes of the hippie movement?**

Protest against racism and also to support social justice.

4. **What problem exists for the historian using Source 3 as evidence?**

Source 3 is biased. It does not give a fuller view of the hippie movement.

5. **What problem exists for the historian in using magazine covers (Sources 2(a) and 2(b)) as evidence?**

Magazine covers present images that do not explore the fuller nature of the hippie movement.

6. **Explain, in your own words, the main idea expressed in Source 6.**

The main idea expressed in Source 6 is the generation gap. This is described by two seemingly conservative older people commenting on the 'way out' appearance of the hippie.

## Section 3: Topics

### Germany 1918–1949

#### Focus area: the liberal experiment

Page 111

*Given the times, was the issue of reparations fair on Germany?*

The terms were certainly harsh on Germany given that it was considered wholly responsible for the war. Also, the specific terms – such as the reparations and the loss of means to pay these – were severe. However, the ‘victorious’ countries had suffered severely in terms of the ‘flower of youth’ being killed, and countries such as Belgium and France being devastated.

These terms were made directly after the First World War, when revenge and perceived injustices created by Germany prior and during the war were still in people’s minds.

Page 112

*What types of promises would extremist political parties make to gain support?*

Types of promises would be:

revenge upon the opposing countries

- providing punishment for scapegoats
- promises of future greatness and prosperity
- looking back to a ‘glorious past’.

Page 113

*1. What evidence is there that the right was stronger than the left in German politics in Weimar Germany?*

Evidence includes:

- The Freikorps, a paramilitary group of ex-soldiers employed by the Social Democrats after the First World War to quell left-wing protests, were successful.
- The army was a traditional supporter of the autocratic state.
- The officer class came from Junker families (traditional land-owning class).
- Hitler had right-wing policies (nationalist).

*2. Why was the right more likely to succeed in Germany rather than the left?*

See previous answer.

Also, there was fear that Germany would become Communist just like the Soviet Union. The right appealed to traditional values, including the dislike of modern trends in society (e.g. promiscuity – see Source Analysis re: Roaring Twenties).

Page 114

*How did the clash of cultures reflect the political system in Weimar Germany?*

The political system can be described as a clash of the left and right. The right advocated traditional values and the left stood for Modernist values. Also, the right stood for stability and the left represented a myriad of differences.

## Focus area: the road to dictatorship

Page 115

*Given the strength of the Right, why did they never get an absolute majority in the Reichstag prior to Hitler's rise to power?*

Despite the presence of right-wing groups, the right did not gain power because:

- War weariness.
- The ability of the Government to put down the Hitler's Munich putsch.
- Popular support for the Social Democrats and their left-wing allies.
- The right didn't have a leader that could galvanise the masses.
- It was an age of prosperity where the majority of the people did not have outstanding grievances.

Page 119

*Was Hitler's rise to power inevitable?*

### Note

Nothing in History is inevitable. It may seem to be so with the benefit of hindsight but not at the time.

Hitler and the Nazi Party were just one of a number of right-wing groups in the 1920s. It took the Great Depression for Hitler to make his mark. With Hitler's personality, speaking skills, party organisation, the Great Depression brought to light all the problems existing in Germany over 15 years. This, Hitler capitalised on. Also, until the Enabling Act, Hitler never achieved an overall majority in parliamentary elections.

## Focus area: the Nazi state in peace and war

Page 123

*Was the German state successful prior to the Second World War?*

To all intents and purposes it was:

- there was a resurgence in national pride
- industry and agriculture were booming
- propaganda was effective
- the Age of Appeasement in Britain and France allowed Hitler to advance his aims
- the Berlin Olympics symbolised German 'Strength through Joy'
- popular support amongst mainstream Germans was high
- foreign governments were rapturous in their support of German economic successes.

However, it was achieved at great cost:

the abandonment of democratic rights

- the growth of concentration camps
- the repression of minority groups
- the path to war
- suppression of opposition to the Nazi state.

Page 125

1. *Did Hitler have total control in his totalitarian state?*

### Note

Many of the points in the previous issue are relevant here.

Outward appearances give the impression that Hitler had total control, but there was opposition such as:

- elements of the army
- religious groups
- student groups
- individuals who disliked the treatment of minority groups
- the need for concentration camps
- the use of terror and propaganda to keep people in check.

2. *Why was the Holocaust such a monstrous act?*

These are some reasons among others:

- the act of Genocide against people
- the Final Solution
- scientific experiments on people
- harrowing stories of survivors.

Page 126

*Why could the Second World War be classed as total war for the German people?*

All the resources of the country were used against the enemy.

The supply of men for the army was conscripted into the ranks. There began to be a shortage so much so that boys and old men were called up. Non-existent armies were ordered by Hitler to the Russian Front.

Women were regarded as auxiliary military personnel, responsible for logistical and administrative duties in the areas understaffed due to the number of men sent into combat. Other women also worked in factories or in military education. Towards the end of the war, educated women working in the army participated as telephone, telegraph and transmission operators, administrative officers, listening operatives for anti-aircraft defence teams and as volunteer nurses for the German Red Cross.

Every citizen suffered in the Allied attacks upon German cities.

Page 127

*Which was the main reason why Hitler lost the Second World War?*

### Note

In such a question as this, you are at liberty to suggest any reason but you must show that 'your' reason is more important than other reasons.

Page 129

*How legitimate were the Nuremberg trials?*

In the sense that some key figures in the Nazi Party were made accountable for their crimes, they were legitimate.

On the other hand, the trials had no legal precedent. Also, they were victors' trials. Atrocities were committed on both sides – e.g. the fire-bombing of Dresden, the wartime activities of Winston Churchill and "Bomber" Harris – but only actors from the 'losing' side were prosecuted.

Page 130

1. *How close was the world to a nuclear war in the Berlin Crisis?*

The Americans did have A-Bomb capacity on standby, but the Soviets backed down from their actions. It is problematical, though. The Americans had previously detonated two atomic bombs on Japan and were aware of the catastrophic damage that a bomb would cause, so maybe they would not have detonated another. However, later events in Korea (Korean War 1950–53) showed that American ‘hawks’ wanted to drop a bomb on China, which was a North Korean ally.

2. *Why was the Berlin Crisis a Cold War crisis?*

It was a Cold War crisis in that the Soviet Union (a communist country) and the USA (a capitalist country) were both in a state of tension. This tension had arisen at the end of the Second World War when the Soviet Union army overran Eastern European countries and installed communist governments in those countries. It was a crisis because of the hostile conferences held between the wartime allies at the conclusion of the Second World War.

## The Soviet Union and Russia (1945–c.2004)

### Background

Page 133

*To what extent was the Soviet Union after the Second World War similar to that before the Second World War?*

The Soviet Union remained much the same after the Second World War as it was before with its command economy, its dictatorship and the purges. What was different is that, in Western eyes, it was an empire controlling Eastern Europe. Also, there is a belief that Stalin was becoming more paranoiac as the purges were becoming more severe. There is speculation that Stalin was poisoned to avoid the purges affecting the highest echelons of the party.

### Focus area: the search for a Communist ‘solution’ (1945–85)

Page 134

1. *To what extent was the search for a Communist ‘solution’ an illusion?*

#### Note

‘To what extent’ implies that in some ways it was an illusion but in other ways it was not.

It was an illusion in that, by 1989, Soviet Communism was defeated because it could not match the West. Her industrial and agricultural systems were inefficient and the USA was far ahead in the arms race. Gorbachev realised this and tried to change the system by introducing *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Russia’s control of the Soviet satellite countries was tottering. The Soviet way of life made the younger generation restless.

On the other hand, the Communist solution was not an illusion. The Soviet Union made some impressive gains in the space race; the USSR was known as a superpower despite its weaknesses.

2. *What do you consider was the greatest success of the Communist solution?*

In such a question as this, you are free to nominate **any success** but, in doing so, you must show how it was greater than any other.

3. *What was the greatest weakness of the Communist solution?*

As for the issue above, you are free to nominate **any weakness**, but you must show how it was greater than any other.

Page 136

*Argue a case that a Command Economy for the Soviet Union was necessary after the Second World War.*

It probably was necessary, as the country lay in ruins and it needed centralised control to ensure national targets could be achieved.

Page 137

*'It was necessary for Stalin to take control of Eastern European countries after the Second World War.' Do you agree?*

The Soviet Union had been invaded twice before in the 20th century (during the Civil War of 1919–21 and Hitler's invasion, 1941) so it was necessary to provide a buffer from future attacks, particularly with the growing threat of the United States. On the other hand, taking control of the European states added fuel to the growing mistrust between East and West.

Page 139

*To what extent did Khrushchev reshape the Soviet Union?*

He liberalised society, denounced the crimes of Stalin and initiated détente with the West. In addition, during Khrushchev's term in power, the Soviet Union enjoyed increasing prosperity and great technological advances. On the other hand, the Soviet Union was still a command society under dictatorship.

Page 141

*1. Evaluate the idea that the Soviet Government consisted of factions.*

It seemed a monolithic government structure under the control of the Communist Party. However, there were factions within the Party consisting of 'moderates' and hardliners. Khrushchev was deposed by the hardliner Leonid Brezhnev.

*2. It was inevitable the Soviet Union would collapse eventually.*

**Nothing in History is inevitable.** It may seem so in hindsight, but no one could predict the future. It seemed that the Soviet Union was in decay due to:

- its inability to match the armaments production of the USA
- its weakening economy
- the influence of the media and television, which showed The Soviet Union the benefits of Western society
- the continuing and increasing presence of dissidents who, although punished, were not murdered, as the world was watching.

Page 146

*Propaganda was an essential feature of the Soviet system.*

In the Cold War period, propaganda was a necessary tool of the Soviet system. It was seen in technology, the space race, music, sport and the arts. All achievements were measured alongside comparable achievements of the USA. However, the 'essentialness' of propaganda as a feature of the Soviet system is questionable, as other features such as the power of the military and the authoritarian system of government may be as essential or more so.

Page 147

*'Dissidence highlighted what was wrong with the Soviet system.' Discuss.*

All governments have their opponents. However, in the Soviet system, dissidents highlighted the lack of essential freedoms necessary for a civilised society.

Page 149

*'Afghanistan was the Soviet Union's Vietnam.'* Evaluate this statement.

The Soviet Union underestimated the nature of the Afghanistan War and the opposition that it created throughout the world. It dragged on and cost so many Soviet lives, just as the Vietnam War affected the United States. Afghanistan had a history of resistance to foreign invasions (Great Britain in the 19th century) just as Vietnam had with the resistance to the Imperial Chinese and the French in the 19th and 20th centuries. Both the Soviets in Afghanistan and the Americans in Vietnam thought it would be a short war against underdeveloped societies.

### Focus area: collapse of the Soviet Union (1985–91)

Page 150

*What was the most significant change that occurred in the 1980s? Give a reason for your answer.*

There could be many answers to this question. **All are valid, as long as the reasoning is justifiable.** One suggested answer could be the introduction of glasnost, which led to fundamental change in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Page 151

1. *What was the significance of the election of John Paul II as Pope in 1978?*

John Paul II was the first non-Italian Pope elected since the 1500s. He was Polish. Despite religion being suppressed in Communist countries, his election was wildly popular with the Polish people. His first visit out of Italy was to Poland. It was a remarkable coincidence that he was elected as Communism was collapsing as a political system in Europe. His election and the strength of the Solidarity movement did much to bring an end to the Communist Government in Poland. This was helped by the Soviet Union's decision not to invade Poland as it had done in Afghanistan in 1978 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

2. *Justify the opinion that separatism was like a 'cancer' that spread through the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.*

Eastern European peoples and the former states of the Soviet Union would not see it as a 'cancer' that is malignant, but the 'spread' was likewise rapid and profoundly affecting. Once the border of Hungary was opened to Austria and people started pouring through it, the Communist governments fell like a pack of cards. Only Romania's Communist government was removed by force.

Page 154

*The collapse of the Soviet Union was inevitable.*

**Nothing in History is inevitable.** In hindsight, it is very easy to say that a situation is inevitable, as a person can look back over the years and note threads that led to the regime's collapse. A person might say there were many factors that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union – these are listed in the text. Such factors include:

- the inefficiencies in the Soviet economy
- the turmoil in the Soviet leadership
- the superiority of the Western economy and way of life.

### Focus area: the search for a new identity (1991–] (2004)

Page 155

1. *Russia was a better society in 2005 than it was in 1945.*

#### Note

Better is a **value judgment**. It depends on **for whom**.

For peasants and workers, there were more freedoms (religion, travel, elections, abolition of the death penalty). Some were comparatively richer. On the other hand, life had changed very little. In fact, the replacement of a Communist economic system by a Capitalist one disadvantaged many due to the lack of a government-supplied social service system. An authoritarian government system with a powerful president and a security networks still exists, though some say without the brutalities of a Stalinist regime. The threat of terrorism is a new phenomenon, however.

2. *Russia was far different in 2005 from what it was in 1945.*

This is a similar question to the last one without the value judgement. See points above.

3. *'Change vs Continuity.' Is this an apt description of the Soviet Union and Russia since 1945?*

**Change:** A capitalist economic system, more individual freedoms, loss of satellite republics, terrorism, advances in technology including space technology, etc

**Continuity:** emphasis on heavy industry until *perestroika*, authoritarian governments, secret police, repression of dissidents etc.

Page 159

1. *Was Boris Yeltsin good for Russia?*

He was good in that he initiated Capitalist democratic reforms. However, cronyism and gangsterism flourished. The new Capitalism was unchecked, which allowed a few people to get immensely rich and corruption to flourish.

2. *Was the election of Vladimir Putin a return to the authoritarianism of Communist Soviet Union?*

Yes, in that the political system was manipulated to enable him to maintain power. The government was a 'rubber stamp'. Opponents were imprisoned and murdered just as they were in Stalin's time.

However, no: Putin maintained Russia's open-border system to Westerners, maintained capitalism and the democratic process.

Page 163

*Were territorial wars in the Caucasus countries inevitable in the new Russia?*

**Nothing in History is inevitable;** however, the freedom of minority groups from the monolithic Communist state created new identities that were to create clashes. An example of this is the border clash between Catholic Armenia and Muslim Azerbaijan. Chechnya is also an interesting case. As other 'countries' gained their independence, the Chechens, a proud and nationalist people, were denied theirs possibly because of their region's oil and gas wealth.

## China (1949–c.2012)

### Focus area: Mao and the consolidation of the Revolution (1949–76)

Page 166

1. *'Mao's reforms were only partially successful.' Discuss.*

The Communist leadership faced daunting problems. They inherited a society ravaged by war and civil unrest. Also it was a largely a poor peasant society that needed industrialisation and modernisation under a strong government in the face of Western pressure in the Cold War.

What they accomplished was quite remarkable given the state that the country was in during 1949–53.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that Chinese agricultural and industrial reforms were patchy at best. The Great Leap Forward, for example, was a failure.

## 2. Was the Communist government stable in Mao's lifetime?

The government was stable in that it survived. However, it was beset by divisions within government between Revisionists and doctrinaire Communists. Also, the Cultural Revolution brought great unrest, which was largely controlled by the military. During the 1980s, there was much student unrest that clamoured for reform. It was met with repression that kept the unrest down and hence gave a veneer of stability.

Page 169

### *Why was there so much unrest between ethnic groups and the central government?*

The ethnic groups – namely the Tibetans and the Uyghurs – had a proud tradition of resistance to outside control. They were culturally different from the Han Chinese. The Tibetans were Buddhist and the Uyghurs were Muslim in an atheistic Communist society. Also these two areas were far removed from the centralised government in Beijing. The Chinese government tried conquest and repression, which bred further discontent.

Page 174

### *Was the Cultural Revolution a 'revolution'?*

A revolution can be defined as a political, social and cultural upheaval, which is accompanied by violence.

The Cultural Revolution certainly was violent, but there were no lasting political, social and cultural changes. Some may argue that it was a 'counter-revolution', where there was an attempt by Mao to 'turn the clock back'. He wanted the young to experience a revolution in the same way that Mao had achieved his. People who wanted change, i.e. modernisation (Revisionists), were purged and many were sent back to remote areas to experience a peasant lifestyle.

Page 175

### *To what extent was Mao's Revolution a success until 1976?*

It was a success in that the corrupt and inefficient dictatorship was removed in 1949; reforms in industry, technology and agriculture took place, China was recognised by many countries in the world including the USA and Australia and took a seat on the Security Council of the United Nations.

However, the Great Leap Forward was detrimental to the state's development and the Cultural Revolution was a disaster to the country. Mao's determination to maintain a permanent revolution was a look to the past rather than to the future.

## **Focus area: the search for harmony (1976–89)**

Page 179

### *1. To what extent was China modernised up to and including 1989?*

There was development of:

- industry
- agriculture
- a capitalist economy
- a more modern education system.

However:

- the Cultural Revolution arrested China's development
- moves to have a more democratic society were squashed
- the 'traditional' autocratic system – though modified – still remained.

2. *'China was a harmonious society.'* Discuss.

It was harmonious for the majority of people who lived their daily lives.

However, it was *not* for:

- Tibetans
- Uyghurs
- members of the Falun Gong religious group
- those who opposed the one child policy
- pro-democracy activists
- students, including those massacred in Tiananmen Square protests.

3. *Could Deng be classed as 'the great survivor'?*

Deng was a great survivor. He had been purged in the Cultural Revolution. He was a Revisionist, as he could see that China had to modernise if it were to survive. However, when protests became too threatening, he was as brutal in his repression as any traditional tyrant.

4. *Should Deng be remembered as the 'hero' of modern China?*

The West certainly applauded his achievements. He was a survivor and a moderniser. His market-based reforms lay the framework for China as a superpower in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### Focus area: China resurgent (post-1990)

Page 183

*What advantages and disadvantages existed for Hong Kong and Macao in being returned to China?*

#### Advantages

- Hong Kong and Macao were able to keep some vestiges of autonomy.
- Macao keeps its gambling venues open even though gambling is prohibited in mainland China.
- Hong Kong and Macao lost British and Portuguese imperial controls.

#### Disadvantages

- Many Hong Kong citizens saw that they had swapped one imperial control for another.
- Protests have arisen demanding more civil and political rights.

Page 185

*'Taiwan is in a state of uneasy peace with China.'* Discuss.

There have been no direct or indirect threats to Taiwan since the 1960s, and economic ties are developing between the two Chinas. However, Taiwan exists under the shade of the American nuclear umbrella and China still holds to the principle that there is only one China.

Page 187

*'The Olympic Games were a "mixed blessing" for China.'* Discuss.

The Beijing Olympics were a propaganda success for China. Great modernisation occurred to show the economic miracles of the Communist Government. Also, temporarily, the heavy pollution that Beijing has experienced was removed.

However, little was done to alleviate the growing gap between rich and poor. Demands for human rights by dissidents and ethnic minorities were not addressed. Many citizens had their homes demolished to accommodate the building of Olympic venues.

Page 188

*'China is an economic powerhouse but at a cost to her people.'* Discuss.

China one of the most prosperous countries in the world, evidenced by:

- industrial development
- Free Trade Agreements
- infrastructure and transport improvements
- a burgeoning GDP.
- However, there are costs:
- a strict authoritarian government that allows no opposition
- horrendous pollution
- a growing disparity between rich and poor
- These costs have tempered China's place in the world.

Page 191

1. *To what extent was China a united country after 1989?*

See the response to the question about whether China was harmonious (page 264). Include the pro-democracy movements in Hong Kong.

2. *How accurate is the term 'China Resurgent'?*

It is accurate in the sense that China is a dominant power in the Asia-Pacific region and is spreading its influence into Africa and South America. It has strong ties with Australia in trade and investment. It is challenging the USA in economic and military issues (South China Sea). This is very much like the hegemony China had in world affairs back in the 15th century.

However, *resurgence* implies a re-awakening after a period of inactivity. China's development in armaments, technology, modernisation is unparalleled in its history. Also, the maintenance of an autocratic system of government is traditional. The emperors were autocrats before 1911.

3. *'The current President of China, Xi Jinping has been classed as the most powerful man in the world.'* – ABC, 7.30 Report, 18/10/2017.

*What evidence is there to indicate that this is the case?*

As President of China and General Secretary of the Communist Party, Xi Jinping leads a powerful economic, military/naval/nuclear-industrial complex. China dominates its neighbours. It has a powerful voice in the world through the United Nations and other regional bodies. It is creating artificial islands in the South China Sea, seemingly impervious to protests by its neighbours. Even the United States appeals to China – e.g. recently in its dispute with North Korea.

## Changing world order (1945– )

### Focus area: origins of the superpower rivalry

Page 197

*To what extent did competing ideologies contribute to the Cold War?*

Competing ideologies were certainly a contributory factor, as they were the basis of the rivalry that sprung up in the First World War and continued through to the end of the Cold War.

However, there were other factors as well. You are free to choose other factors to describe, as per reasons 2–11 in the text.

## Focus area: nature of the Cold War

Page 200

*How close was [your chosen crisis] to becoming a 'hot' war between the superpowers?*

### Cuban Missile Crisis example

#### Causes

*Long-term causes:*

competing ideologies

- the Cuban Revolution
- the need for Cuba to seek out a "friend" against the hostile American response to the Revolution.

*Short-term causes:*

- placement of armaments on Cuba
- the ships carrying more weapons to Cuba.

#### Why were the super powers involved?

*USA:*

fomenting opposition in Cuba

- setting up embargoes
- threatening retaliation against ships steaming to Cuba

*USSR:*

supporting Cuba against the US

- building missile sites on Cuban soil

#### Outcomes

*USA:*

successful in getting missiles dismantled from Cuba

- the establishment of a "hotline" = special communication to avert a future crisis
- Cuba retained a hostile presence to USA
- President Kennedy was seen as a strong leader in contrast to previous incidents (Bay of Pigs disaster).

*USSR:*

ships turned back and war was averted

- in the treaty there was agreement that American bases be dismantled in Turkey
- it retained its presence in the USA's sphere of influence.

#### Why was there no war?

USSR pulled back its ships and promised to dismantle bases already installed.

#### How close was it to becoming a 'hot' war?

The world held its breath until the ships turned back. Kennedy was determined to create war, which could have meant a nuclear conflagration.

Page 201

*Which superpower held the advantage in the Arms Race?*

The USA – but does it matter in a crisis situation?



### Note

Hint: Watch the film Dr Strangelove

Page 203

*How successful was détente in defusing the tensions between the superpowers?*

It averted a future war between the superpowers. Also, important Arms Control treaties were signed. Détente 2 led to the defeat of Communism and the setting up of democratic governments with capitalist economies in Eastern European countries and the Baltic countries – e.g. Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

Success of Détente 1 was limited, as President Ronald Reagan of the USA created renewed tensions. Similarly, Détente 2 was limited in the long term, as there is still tension between Russia and USA.

Page 204

*Was the use of veto by the superpowers a great contributor to the tensions between them?*

### Note

**Great** is a **value-added word**. You can make your own assessment based on the presentation of facts.

It certainly was a contributor, as the superpowers used it in their own interests. This ran contrary to a desired outcome.

Page 205

*How far was the rivalry between USA and the Soviet Union dominated by economic interests of each country?*

Marxism and Capitalism are two competing ideologies.

The Marshall Plan, which set up as an economic plan to resurrect Europe after the Second World War, was viewed as a US plan to dominate the Soviet Union's sphere of interest in Eastern Europe. It led to a rival plan called Comecon.

Also many of the Cold War crises had an economic cause (e.g. rubber in Vietnam). Finally, superior economic resources of the USA led to the USSR under Gorbachev adopting the policy of *perestroika*.

However, there were other reasons for the rivalry, such as the Arms Race etc.

Page 207

*1. To what extent was the Space Race useful for military purposes?*

Used for military purposes: spy satellites, development of Reagan's Star Wars concept.

However, scientists saw practical uses such as for communications, weather forecasts etc.

Also there was enormous propaganda potential behind achievements.

*2. Who won the Space Race?*

To determine this, examine the numbers of milestones the superpowers achieved, as well as the longer term significance of those achievements.

For example, the landing on the Moon was highly significant.

Note: the Soviets were the first to open their programs to other nations, including the Americans.

Page 208

*Why was sport such an effective Cold War tool?*

Propaganda – especially in relation to the Olympic Games and World Championships.

Page 209

*Why was culture such an effective Cold War tool?*

Propaganda purposes. Also, it showed how the superpowers were a civilising force.

Page 210

*Activity: propaganda poster*

**Elements of note:**

- It was a 'children's crusade', which shows that propaganda touched everybody and that it was used as an **emotive weapon**.
- The **language** used in the description. Phrases such as 'a knock on the door' convey a sense of fear and bolstered the feeling that Communism projected fear.
- The **eye-catching headline**: 'The Red Menace'.
- The use of **colour**. Red is the predominant colour – the colour of Communism.
- The **expressions** on the family's faces. Father is very stoic while the mother and child show fear on their faces.
- The **lurking shadow** behind the family. It resembles Stalin and implies the atrocities that he instigated during his rule.

Page 211

*How important was propaganda for conveying messages?*

Propaganda was very important because it touched every activity involving the superpowers such as sport, the media, culture, spot wars, movies and television etc.

The most effective propaganda was that which was not so evident. Popular TV shows like *Leave it to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best* portrayed the wholesome American way of life. *Superman* also fought for the American Way.

*How important was espionage in Cold War politics?*

Espionage was extremely important, as the Superpowers wanted to get crucial advantages over each other.

For example, Stalin at the Conference at Potsdam at the end of the Second World War knew beforehand that the USA had the atomic bomb (A-Bomb). The superpowers used very covert ways of eavesdropping on the activities of their rivals.

Penalties for people caught spying were very severe unless the spy was a member of the diplomatic services. The **Atomic Spies**, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were executed in the electric chair for spying on the US.

## Focus area: end of the Cold War

Page 214

*1. Was the defeat of Communism inevitable?*

With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to say that an event is inevitable. But, at the time, is anything inevitable? It looked like Communism was heading for defeat based on a number of factors, such as:

- the Solidarity Movement in Poland
- the election of a Polish conservative pope
- the policies of Gorbachev etc.

*2. Both Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev won Nobel Peace Prizes for ending the Cold War. Who was the more deserving of the two?*

### Note

This is a value judgment.

Gorbachev for his policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* and seeking armaments reduction with President Reagan of the USA.

Reagan for forcing the hand of the Soviet leaders by his increased armaments spending, which the Soviets couldn't match.

Maybe it was neither of them, as there were many contributing factors.

## Focus area: consequences of the Cold War

Page 221

*How and why has the dissolution of Communism in Europe and Asia created new problems and led to the growth of new uncertainty?*

Problems: how/what	Problems: why
Dissolution of Soviet Union into regional states.	Led to rivalries in nationality and religion
Dissolution of Yugoslavia into the states of Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia	Wars between Serbia and Slovenia, Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
Creation of Kosovo	Both Serbia and Albania see Kosovo as their 'ancestral home'
Terrorism	Chechnya, having been denied their national state has resorted to terrorism to force Russia to give them independence.  Some Chechens have enlisted in the Islamic State (ISIS).
Expansion of NATO into Eastern Europe	Russia sees this as encroaching into its sphere of influence and reviving fears of Western invasion (as happened twice in the 20th century).

New uncertainty: how/what	New uncertainty: why
See problems 1–5 above	Fear of war spreading beyond boundaries.
Election of Donald Trump as President of USA	His readiness to take military action with little regard for the implication of his actions (North Korea, China and Russia).
Growth of authoritarianism of President Putin in Russia	He is implicated in the assassination of rivals and the need to resurrect the world-power status of Russia (note his influence in Syria in opposition to US policies there).
Fragile state of new democracies in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa	Growth of extremism in governments (e.g. militant Islam in the Philippines and Indonesia).  Rise of dictatorships in Eastern Europe and former Soviet Republics.
Growth of inequality due to capitalist growth	Leads to discontent and hence rioting and terrorism in many parts of the world.
Refugees	Spreads xenophobic fears, poverty, religious strife and terrorism.
Korean Peninsula.	State of undeclared war still exists between the North and South Korea.  Testing of nuclear weapons by North Korea and provocation by the US has created a dangerous situation.
Growth, power and influence of the World Bank.	Seen by some in former Communist countries as the spread of American hegemony in the world.  Policies also have entrenched inequality in the world.
Authoritarianism and the squashing of dissidence in China.	Aspect of the growing strength of the Communist leadership in a capitalist economy thus creating uncertainty in the world.

## National self-determination in South-East Asia (1945– ) Vietnam/Cambodia

### Focus area: building national identity

Page 227

#### 1. Which of Vietnam or Cambodia was more successful in building a national identity?

Vietnam is the more viable state, as it has a history of identity and fighting for independence whereas Cambodia was more of a vassal state of foreign powers, except for the period of the Angkor kingdom.

#### 2. To what degree was foreign influence instrumental in building national identity?

In Vietnam, resistance to the French followed a long sequence of resistance to foreign influence. Also, Ho Chi Minh, the architect of independence, spent years abroad and was imbued with Western philosophy, which he used in achieving national self-determination.

Cambodia on the other hand seemed to achieve self-determination as part of a process of independence for the whole of French Indochina following the defeat of the French by Vietnam.

### Focus area: impact of significant individuals, groups and movements

Page 232

#### *Given the dominant firepower of the United States and their allies, why did the Vietnamese win the war?*

The Vietnamese won the war because:

- The Americans and their allies were seen as invaders
- The atrocities committed by the Americans hardened Vietnamese resolve. This led to growing revulsion in the West.
- The Vietnamese were supported by China and the USSR. The supply lines were not as stretched as those of the Americans and their allies.
- The Vietnamese method of war was lightning guerrilla campaigns. The Americans had trouble differentiating between guerrillas and the civilian population.
- The Vietnamese were seen as heroes fighting behemoths.
- The American policy of Vietnamising the war was seen as weakness, which emboldened the Vietnamese to pursue victory until the end.

### Focus area: new nation-state (Cambodia)

Page 243

#### *To what degree has conflict shaped the national identity of Vietnam/Cambodia?*

In Vietnam, conflict (war against the United States) has been integral, as it unified a previously divided country and united the people against a foreign invader. However, the strength of tradition and the need to modernise and take its place in the world order have also played pivotal roles.

In Cambodia, conflict has been important, but it is the *effects* of the conflict that have shaped the national identity. For example, it can be argued that the Khmer Rouge were so ruthless in their genocidal policies that it cowed the people into submission. Its defeat was engineered by the Vietnamese army – not by the Cambodian people themselves. In addition, the Khmer Rouge presented a real threat that lingered long after its defeat on the battlefield. In addition, Cambodia's treatment of the Vietnamese minority group prevents a full national identity from emerging. So, more so than conflict, the Cambodian identity is based on Cambodian traditions, the monarchy (Norodom Sihanouk was the 'king father'), religion and the opening up of Cambodia to the world.



