# MODERN HISTORY TRANSFORMED

## YEAR 11




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DARYL LE CORNU
CHRISTOPHER BRADBURY
KAY CARROLL

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# About the authors

## Dr Daryl Le Cornu

BA (Hons) DipEd PhD has many years of experience teaching Modern History in NSW high schools, gaining expertise in a varied range of topics. Daryl completed his PhD thesis on World War I in 2005. He has a passion for contemporary history, United Nations history, geopolitics, global governance and nuclear disarmament. Daryl has also been involved in curriculum development in NSW for many years. Currently, he is a History Curriculum Lecturer at the ACU (Australian Catholic University), a former Vice President of the UNAA NSW (United Nations Association of Australia) and current UNAA Executive Member, President of the WCAA (World Citizens Association Australia), and a member of the Board of ICAN Australia (International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons).

In memory of Wesley John Le Cornu, a trailblazer in his work and a loving father at home.

## Christopher Bradbury

is currently the Director of Teaching and Learning at The King's School Parramatta and was previously the Head of History and Legal Studies. Christopher regularly lectures for The School for Excellence, and is the AIS Professional Learning Coordinator, a role for which he has organised a number of History Conferences for the professional development of History teachers in Independent Schools in NSW. Christopher was a recipient of the Gandel Holocaust Studies Scholarship Program for Australian Educators in 2016, the NSW Premier's Westfield Teacher's Scholarship in 2006 and was awarded a NSW Quality Teaching Award for Excellence in 2005.

Thank you to my wife for her amazing love and support; and to my son, for his energy, enthusiasm and love of learning.

## Dr Kay Carroll

is a Lecturer in History Education and the Coordinator of the Secondary Teaching Program, Western Sydney University. Current research and teaching interests are History Curriculum and Pedagogy. She has been a former Vice President of the History Teachers' Association of NSW (HTANSW) and History Educator for Macquarie University, Australian Catholic University and University of New South Wales. Previously she has been a HSIE Head of Department and teacher across Catholic, independent and state schools. More recently she has supported the implementation of the NSW History Syllabus K-10 across Catholic schools. She has published texts and journals in Global Education, Historical Inquiry and Pedagogy.

I would like to dedicate this book to new Modern History students who I hope will be challenged and inspired by the sources and issues presented.

The publisher would also like to thank the following teachers for their valuable feedback on the manuscript: Hamish Bragg, Yvonne Tarazi, Emma Shortis and Frank Federico.



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# How to use this resource

1

**Part openers** are designed to give you an overview of the chapters to come and a preview of the key idea behind each chapter.

**Chapter openers** feature:

**Where are we headed?** Syllabus information box broken into:

- **Focus** content focus statement from the Year 11 Modern History syllabus
- **Key issues** content from the Year 11 Modern History syllabus

**Timeline** introduces key events and dates covered in the chapter.

**Map** gives geographic context for the chapter.

**Chapter openers** feature:

**Critically see, think, wonder** an engaging image designed to provoke curiosity and help kick off class discussion

**Key idea** summary of the main idea of the chapter

**Why it matters today** summary of why the topic relates to our modern lives

**Key terms and names** a list of the main concepts and personalities introduced in the chapter

**Inquiry question** presents a guiding question for students as they work through the chapter.

**Painting the picture** offers some background historical context ahead of the main chapter content.

2

3

Subject content is unpacked with the aid of a variety of historical sources, activities and focus questions:

- **Analysing sources** offer source-based activities, using primary and secondary sources, both visual and text-based.
- **Key questions** are focus questions that also state what sort of skill is being developed – to help you also think about *how* you are learning.
- **Note this down** are graphic organisers to help you take effective notes and process information.
- **Examining key issues** offer class discussion questions.
- **Research and creative tasks** pretty well do what they say they do!

All activities are available as downloadable documents.



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Feature boxes help develop your historical knowledge and skills:

- **Significant individual** boxes profile key players in history.
- **Flashpoint!** are boxes that usually cover a key event.
- **Analysing key concepts** are boxes that help unpack major ideas.

**Glossary terms** are bolded in the text, defined in the margins and collated at the end of the textbook for easy reference.





**Chapter assessment** materials are designed to help you revise and prepare for assessment tasks.

**Chapter summaries** review the main ideas of the topic to consolidate what you have learned.

**Key terms and names** encourage you to keep your own glossary to help your understanding through defining key concepts, events and personalities in your own writing.

The **Historical concepts** section features a range of activities to test your knowledge, based around the historical concepts required by the Stage 6 Modern History syllabus.

The **Historical skills** section includes a range of activities to apply your skills, based around the requirements of the Stage 6 Modern History syllabus.

**Further essay questions** are also available to help you put your knowledge into practice.

In the Interactive Textbook and PDF edition, **additional elective chapters** are available.

**Video and audio** enrich the learning experience.

**Interactive activities** (e.g. drag-and-drop or multiple-choice questions) assist recall of facts and understanding of concepts.

Additional support materials may become available from time to time on **Cambridge GO.**





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# Introduction: modern history for the twenty-first century

It has never been more important to know history than in the time we currently live. One of the pillars of a healthy democratic society is a strong educational system that upholds the dignity and worth of all human beings. History plays a vital role in our democratic society. It enables students to understand the forces that have shaped the societies in the past, and to make sense of those that are transforming the world now. A study of history not only fosters curiosity and imagination and enriches our students' appreciation of humanity, but also equips them to be active and informed citizens.

In *Modern History Transformed: Year 11*, we have selected a number of topics that we think will be of interest to students and also provide the historical background necessary to understand key features of the world today. From the iconic Quarantine Station in Sydney, students will learn to construct history from a wide variety of sources and perspectives from invasion to the present. This topic considers how the site constructs and situates our migration, geographical, cultural and political historical narrative.

In *The rise of Donald Trump*, we examine one of the most controversial presidents of American history from multiple perspectives and construct a history of Donald Trump with the aim of learning about his business career and his impact on the United States and the world as president.

In The Day After: *a film that changed history*, we examine a social and cultural event that had a great impact in 1983. For the first time since the beginning of the nuclear arms race in the 1950s, Americans looked on in horror at the reality of nuclear war.

Russia has become a very active player on the world scene and its leader, Vladimir Putin, a very controversial figure. It is important to understand Russia's history over the last century and there is no better way to engage students in this period than by starting with a study of the *Decline and fall of the Romanov Dynasty*.

With a strong emphasis on Asia, we turn our attention to the *Meiji Restoration*, which propelled Japan into becoming the first industrial and modern state in Asia. This study prepares students for aspects of the Core in Year 12 around militarism and authoritarian societies.

Understanding the ideological and political struggles in Latin America is presented as a contemporary and intriguing study in the *Cuban Revolution and its impact on Latin America*. This topic explores one of the most controversial of world leaders, Fidel Castro, and engages with the historical concept of contestability.

In *The digital revolution*, we examine the massive changes that have occurred in the postwar period in Australia as analogue technologies, such as TV, radio and the telephone, were eventually transformed into digital products, then finally converged and then merged with the internet, giving us the smartphones that are revolutionising our lives. This is an example of how schools can develop their own depth studies.

With *Historical investigation,* students have the opportunity to follow an area of interest, making use of the skills and understanding that they have been developing throughout the other topics.

Finally, in *The shaping of the modern world*, we give a brief overview of some of the key periods in history that have had an impact on the modern world then focus our attention on World War I. Over three chapters we do an in-depth study of the war, that covers its origins,



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nature and legacy, using the WWI centenary as an opportunity to take a fresh approach and to consider both its legacy and modernity.

The authors believe that history provides a strategic vantage point from which to view the past, to understand the present, and to consider the best pathways into the future. We hope that this book goes some way in assisting students in this task.




## ABOUT THE COVER

Pictured is the Women's March on Washington DC, which took place on Saturday 21 January 2017. The Washington march drew around 500 000 people and was held in the spirit of democracy. The march symbolically took place the day after Trump's inauguration as the 45th US President – on the first day in office for his administration. Similar marches took place in major cities all around the world on the day, with estimated global attendances of around 5 million people.



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# PART 1

# Investigating modern history: the nature of modern history

CHAPTER




**Chapter 1** The investigation of historic sites and sources: death, disease, division and the Quarantine Station



**Chapter 2** The construction of modern histories: the rise of Donald Trump



**Chapter 3** The representation and commemoration of the past: *The Day After*: a film that changed history – *Digital version only*




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*More and more, I tend to read history. I often find it more up to date than the daily newspapers.*

Joe Murray, 'History updates current events',
*Spartanburg Herald-Journal*, 10 May 1992

## PREVIEWING KEY IDEAS

**Examining a local historical site**

The Q Station provides archaeological and historical evidence about immigration, xenophobia, mortality, disease and survival.

**The return of authoritarianism**

From his inauguration, President Trump's actions and policies had an impact around the globe.

**How art can influence politics**

The world and its leaders were never the same after the release of a powerful film that depicted the effects of a nuclear holocaust.

**PICTURED:** Inscriptions on sandstone rocks at the Quarantine Station, North Head, New South Wales reveal the names of ships and the year of each ship's voyage to Australia.



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# CHAPTER 1

# The investigation of historic sites and sources: death, disease, division and the Quarantine Station

*Fearful of contagion …*
*Hand-tied doctors powerless to find a magic remedy*
*A burst of grief so unbearable that it is inexpressible …*
*My friends, this is not a place of pleasure.*

A translation of an inscription painted on a rock by Xie Ping De while detained at the Quarantine Station, North Head in 1917

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

By using a range of historical sources, you will investigate the significance of historic sites and sources. You will focus on the contribution of science and archaeology in developing an understanding of the nature of modern history.

**KEY ISSUES**

You will explore:

- the importance and different types of archives available to historians of modern history, including the use of digital archives
- the construction of a historical site's chronology using evidence
- the contribution of archaeology and science to our understanding of the past, such as site excavations, DNA analysis and exhumation
- how historic sites can help our understanding of events, developments and life in the past



**1840** Convict transportation to New South Wales ends.

**1873** New steam ships reduce travel time and offer greater luxury and class-based accommodation.

**1900** Bubonic plague reaches Sydney; 103 victims die at the Quarantine Station and a further 1832 contacts are detained there.

**1908** Federal *Quarantine Act 1908*

**1914–1918** World War I

**QUARANTINE STATION**

1820 — 1900

**1828–1838** Quarantine Station commencement at Spring Cove

**1852** The gold rush brings new migrants to the colonies.

**1880** Smallpox outbreaks are quarantined at North Head.



**1901** Federation of Australia; the control of the Quarantine Station is assumed by the new Commonwealth Government.

**1913–1914** A smallpox outbreak reaches Sydney.

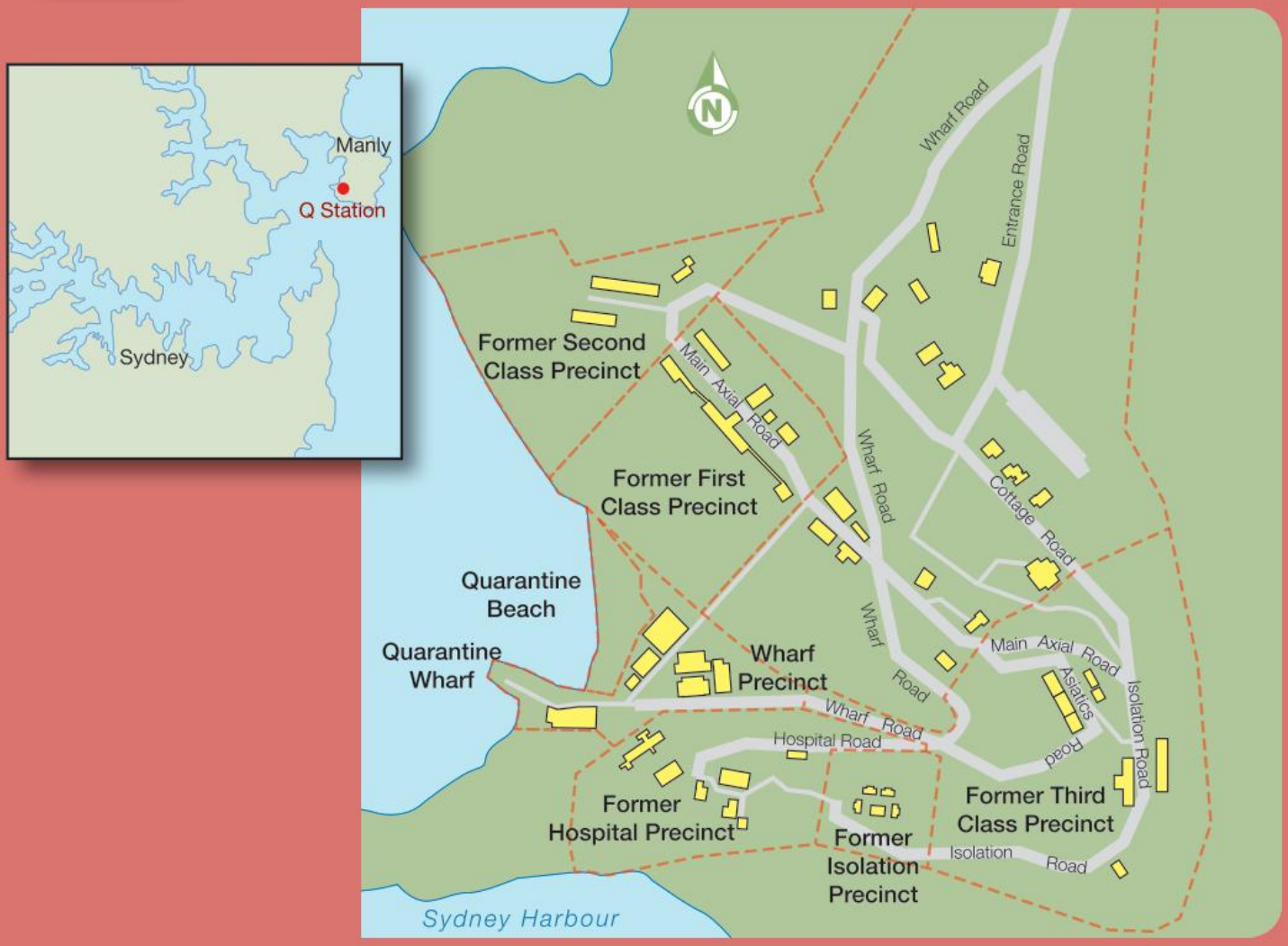
**SOURCE 1.1** View of Sydney Harbour taken from the Quarantine Station, Manly. An old rock pillar, or cairn, suggests the historic significance of the site.



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# The Quarantine Station, North Head




**1939–1945**
World War II and use of the site as a military base

**1974**
Cyclone Tracy destroys Darwin on Christmas Day and evacuees are housed at the Quarantine Station in temporary accommodation.

**1984**
The site ceases to be under Commonwealth control and is restored to the State Government of New South Wales.

**2001**
The former Third Class Accommodation is burnt.

**2003**
Mawland Project and Conservation is approved by the State Heritage Office.

**2008**
The Q Station is opened to the public.

## 1950

## 2000

**1918–1919**
Troops return home and the Spanish influenza pandemic reaches Australia and the Pacific Islands. Over 2000 are quarantined at North Head.

**1950s–1970s**
European migrants are accommodated here for long periods to control the spread of foot-and-mouth disease.



**1975**
The Fall of Saigon and Operation Babylift bring Vietnamese refugees including over 100 children and babies to the site for accommodation.

**1984–present**
Conservation and adaptation of the site



**2002**
The 1883 Hospital is destroyed by fire; a Commission of Inquiry considers the heritage value of the site and future purposes.

**2006**
The 45-year lease over the site commences.



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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



**SOURCE 1.2** The face of a young smallpox patient

Based on the image above, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

| What do you see? | What do you think could have happened to this child? | How do you imagine this child feels? |
|---|---|---|
| How do you think the child would have been treated? | When do you think this photograph could have been taken? | What do you imagine life would have been like when such diseases were easily spread and could lead to death? |



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# CHAPTER 1 Overview

| KEY IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS TODAY | KEY TERMS AND NAMES |
|---|---|---|
| The Q Station provides archaeological and historical evidence about immigration, xenophobia, mortality, disease and survival. | The site helps in understanding the social fabric and migration stories that have contributed to modern Australia. | • quarantine<br>• heritage<br>• commemoration<br>• inscription<br>• social class<br>• migration<br>• memorial<br>• fumigate<br>• smallpox<br>• bubonic plague<br>• Spanish influenza<br>• precinct<br>• epidemic<br>• funicular |

## *Painting the picture*

### What is the Q Station?

The Quarantine Station at North Head in the suburb of Manly in New South Wales is a site of contestation. It is our oldest place of **quarantine** from disease, a temporary refuge for a rich mix of migrants and displaced people in the twentieth century fleeing war and disasters, and a point of early contact for European and Aboriginal peoples. Since 2006, the site has been reconstructed and stories re-examined through many different lenses. The interpretation of the site's stories has been told through restoration of the buildings, presentation of physical archaeological evidence such as the inscriptions, visitor immersion in ghost tours and macabre visits to the site's morgue and hospital.

This chapter will focus on how archaeological and historical evidence about the Quarantine Station has been used to commemorate, reconstruct and position the past. It will also explore problems of evidence in understanding our migration, social and political history in Australia.

**INQUIRY QUESTION**

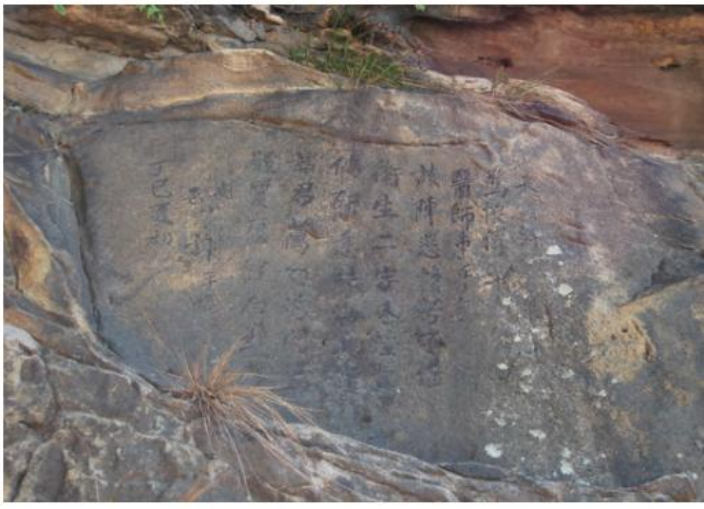
Why was the Quarantine Station vital to Australia's development as a nation?

**quarantine** derives from the Italian term *quarantena*, a period comprising 40 days of isolation to protect people from future contamination and disease. *Quarantena* commenced as a result of an outbreak of the Black Death in fifteenth-century Venice.

## 1.1 Why is the Q Station a significant historic site?

The Q Station at North Head is Australia's oldest and best-preserved quarantine site. From 1837 to 1984 many detainees were isolated here and there were 570 recorded deaths and burials on the site. Deaths and diseases were difficult to contain in the new colony. At this site outbreaks and epidemics such as scarlet fever, smallpox, Spanish influenza, typhus and bubonic plague were controlled. It tells us a rich story of changing social attitudes towards disease, different cultures and death.

The isolated precinct documents the lives of the many immigrants, detainees and refugees who were quarantined. Convicts, migrants, returning soldiers, lovers, families and



**SOURCE 1.3** The rock painted on by inmate Xie Ping De in 1917 at the Quarantine Station, North Head



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refugees fleeing from conflicts and natural disasters have lived here in isolation, hope and despair awaiting their fate. Over 13 000 inmates have passed through from the wharf, stored their valuables in the luggage sheds, fumigated their belongings, showered in the mass blocks and recuperated in the Seamen's Isolation Hospital – or possibly been taken to the slab in the morgue and interred in the cemetery according to class.



**SOURCE 1.4** A bird's-eye view of some of the buildings of the Q Station

From the earliest times, the Quarantine Station helped to contain and control outbreaks of smallpox, scarlet fever, typhus and Spanish influenza. It has housed returning soldiers from both World War I and World War II, evacuees fleeing from Cyclone Tracy in 1974 and refugees following the Fall of Saigon in 1975 after the Vietnam War. In the 1880s the construction of separate accommodation for 'Asiatics', who were perceived to be spreading the 'yellow peril' and the contamination of smallpox, demonstrates the anti-Asian, **xenophobic** reactions that led to the White Australia Policy (the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* and the *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901*).

There are a range of historical and archaeological **sources** located at the Quarantine Station, North Head. These include historical records such as ships' logs, passenger manifests, hospital records, death notices, letters and station records. They offer evidence about the diseases, arrivals and departures of the people who were accommodated at the site. Archaeological rock inscriptions, cemeteries and memorials reveal in paint, etching and motifs the personal stories. The archaeological sources provide family names, ancestry, dates of quarantine and emigration, hopes and often fears for the future. The buildings, structures and fittings are evidence of nineteenth- and twentieth-century daily life, public policy, class attitudes and morbidity.

**xenophobia** extreme dislike or fear of foreigners, their customs, their religions, etc.

**source** any written or non-written material (such as a political cartoon) that can be used to investigate the past. Historians use sources to draw out 'evidence' to answer specific historical questions, to support a historical inquiry, or to back up or disprove an interpretation.



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## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

| | |
|---|---|
| • What are the reasons for emigration? | • What are the reasons for quarantine? |

As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider who would have emigrated to Australia over the years, and how quarantine would have affected people's daily lives.

## EXTENDED TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE QUARANTINE STATION

| | |
|---|---|
| **1828–1838** | 1837: The Quarantine Station is established. Before this, passengers are quarantined at Spring Cove on ships such as the *Bussorah Merchant*, which arrived in 1928 with smallpox on board.<br>February 1833: The land around North Head is claimed as a suitable place to protect the new colony from the surge of incoming diseases.<br>February 1837: The *Lady M'Naghten* arrives with some 90 passengers infected with typhus fever. The sick remain on the ship and the healthy are taken to the new site.<br>The early station is temporary, grossly uncomfortable and crowded. Passengers are housed in 36 tents, without proper bedding or facilities.<br>Work on better facilities commences in 1838 due to the long detainment of the passengers of the *Lady M'Naghten*. A wharf is built and several buildings for both the sick and the healthy.<br>The First Cemetery is established to inter those who have died from disease. Several tombstones and engravings mark this site. |
| **1839–1872** | Growth in migration:<br>1840: Convict transportation to New South Wales ends.<br>1841–1847: The lack of convict labour slows the burgeoning colonial economy and fewer ships arrive in this period. The rough Quarantine Station structures deteriorate with less funding and low numbers of patients.<br>1853: The *Beejapore* carrying new migrants in cramped conditions brings death, measles and scarlet fever into Sydney. 62 die at the Quarantine Station, with a further 1000 passengers crowded into the small buildings and tents. The Colonial Secretary TR Miles blames the government for the death of his 18-year-old daughter Gabriella in quarantine. This causes an urgent resumption of the building program on the site to increase the capacity to 450 detainees.<br>Infected passengers are now placed on the hulk ship *Harmony* in Spring Cove while the healthy are sent ashore.<br>A new burial ground (the Second Cemetery) is established on higher ground away from the incoming passengers' view. The tombstones are removed from the First Cemetery but the human remains are left undisturbed.<br>1852: The gold rush brings increased numbers of migrants and miners to the colony.<br>A smallpox epidemic attacks Sydney and more people are quarantined at North Head.<br>The facilities are considered so poor that a Royal Commission into the processes at the Quarantine Station is undertaken. |
| **1873–1910** | Class division and disease:<br>New steam technology, faster voyages and increased wealth result in different class passenger fares and accommodation.<br>The complaints from the new, wealthier First Class passengers arriving into quarantine on the *Hero* in 1872 and on the *Baroda* in 1873 cause the government to hastily erect suitable First Class accommodation on the site. |



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| | |
|---|---|
| | January 1900: The arrival of bubonic plague at Sydney causes public alarm.<br>Responses to the plague such as cleansing and disinfecting ships are initially ineffective, as an International Convention into the spread of the disease has excluded rats as carriers of the disease.<br>The colony's Principal Assistant Medical Officer ascertains that the plague is spread from the fleas carried by the rats. This leads to more effective public health measures and quarantine practices.<br>264 cases of bubonic plague are treated at the Station and an additional 1832 patients have been in close contact with those infected.<br>103 victims die at the Quarantine Station and a further 48 patients who died in Sydney are transported on the 'death ferry' to be buried in the Second Cemetery.<br>1901: Buildings named after the New South Wales Premier of the day – Lyne – have been commenced to cope with the numbers from the plague. However, these are not used as intended, as the plague is contained in Sydney by the end of 1901. These buildings are later converted to accommodate the Second Class passengers arriving in Sydney. The older buildings on the site are used for the Third Class passengers.<br>Resulting from Federation in 1901, new national measures for the protection from disease are undertaken.<br>1909: The new *Quarantine Act 1908* is introduced and North Head comes under the control of the Commonwealth.<br>1902: The new 'Asiatic Accommodation' is built to segregate those suspected of carrying the 'yellow peril' to the new nation's shores. These buildings reflect the racism prevalent at the time and coincide with the introduction of the White Australia Policy.<br>1909: The facilities directed by the Commonwealth are improved to cater for up to 1200 people. Brick buildings and updated fumigation, laundries and showers are added to the site. |
| **1910–1950** | From Spanish flu to sun, sand and leisure:<br>1912: Large upgrades are carried out in 1912 following the overseas inspection by Dr WP Norris, the Federal Director for Quarantine.<br>By 1913 a new outbreak of smallpox comes via the *New Zeelandia*. By the start of 1914, 1042 people are quarantined here.<br>The wharf area is rebuilt on reclaimed beach land; a new luggage shed, disinfectant shower, laundry and boilerhouse are added.<br>Further up on the site at Collins Flat the Seamen's Isolation Hospital is built for infected ship crews.<br>1918: Following the cessation of World War I, the Spanish or pneumonic influenza reaches Sydney.<br>The RMS *Niagara* followed by the *Medic* brings returning and re-routed troops into quarantine.<br>1918–1919: Over 100 ships with 12000 people are quarantined.<br>Returning troops are quarantined at North Head, clear areas for temporary accommodation and guard the Station to prevent over 2500 detainees from leaving.<br>Police are also used to control the growing numbers held here. Detainees are increasingly restless and skirmishes are not infrequent.<br>Post 1921: Once the Spanish flu pandemic has been contained, only 55 ships are quarantined at North Head. |



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| | |
|---|---|
| **1950–1984** | Migrants, refugees and evacuees:<br>By the 1950s quarantine has become a more leisurely and welcoming experience.<br>The site provides for picnics, leisure time and beach swims.<br>Meals and medical inspections regiment the day for detainees.<br>1939–1945: During World War II the site is used as a military base.<br>Following the war years, with the advent of air travel the Station hosts fewer than 12 ships.<br>Some aviation passengers who do not have smallpox vaccination certificates and inoculation against cholera and yellow fever are sent to the Station.<br>By this stage the accommodation has fallen into disrepair and there are numerous complaints.<br>Most of the inmates are displaced European migrants who are detained there for a considerable time to prevent the spread of foot-and-mouth disease.<br>Further modernisation programs include the demolition of 11 buildings and improved luggage fumigation processes through the autoclaves.<br>1974: Cyclone Tracy comes to Darwin and 213 evacuees are accommodated on the site.<br>1975: The Fall of Saigon and the end of the Vietnam War lead to 'Operation Babylift'. 215 Vietnamese refugees including 115 children and babies are housed at the Station before many are adopted into new families or settled in the community.<br>By the 1980s, with the advent of medical practices and the construction of new hospitals, the Quarantine Station is not used.<br>16 March 1984: The Commonwealth returns the land to the NSW State Government and it becomes part of the Sydney Harbour National Park. |
| **1984–present** | Conservation and adaptation of the site:<br>1985: Under the management of the National Parks and Wildlife Service, conservation of the site commences. Historical assets are recorded, rock engravings documented and artefacts curated.<br>1987: The former First and Second Class Accommodation is used to host tours and for meeting spaces.<br>2000: The Mawland Group win a successful tender to conserve the heritage site despite local opposition from the Friends of the Quarantine Station group.<br>2001: The former Third Class Precinct is burnt.<br>7 February 2002: The 1883 Seamen's Isolation Hospital is destroyed by a fire caused by faulty electrical wires that were fitted some time in the early twentieth century.<br>2006: The Mawland Group commence a 45-year lease over the site and begin conservation and adaptation construction.<br>25 April 2008: The site is opened to the public and is renamed the Q Station. |

## ANALYSING SOURCES 1.1

Refer to the timeline above to complete the following activities.

1. Identify four key changes that occurred to the site over time.
2. Identify and justify which of these events was the most significant to Australia's history from the 1800s to the present.
3. What does the Q Station show us about changing social and race-related attitudes over time? Explain your answer.



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## 1.2 What led to *quarantena* in the new colony?

Diseases, infection and possibly death dominated the public imagination and national policy from the 1800s into the twentieth century. The containment of cholera, typhus, smallpox, bubonic plague and the pandemic of Spanish influenza was critical to the survival of the new colony and emergent nation.

The site known as Spring Cove contained the influx of typhus, typhoid fever, cholera, influenza and bubonic plague to the colony of New South Wales. In 1832, convicts and crew exposed to the smallpox outbreak on the *Bussorah Merchant* were quarantined at Spring Cove, North Head. Stationed in tents along the cove, the European crew and convicts were geographically and socially isolated.

**precinct** a defined area where certain activities or groups were arranged

**Sick Ground** an area for those contaminated with disease located closest to the landing wharf and with access to the hospital

**Healthy Ground** a space for ship passengers who had been in contact with those infected but who had yet to develop symptoms. This space was geographically isolated from the Sick Ground and elevated above the wharf area.

**Steerage Class** equivalent to Economy Class; also applied to passengers travelling Steerage Class

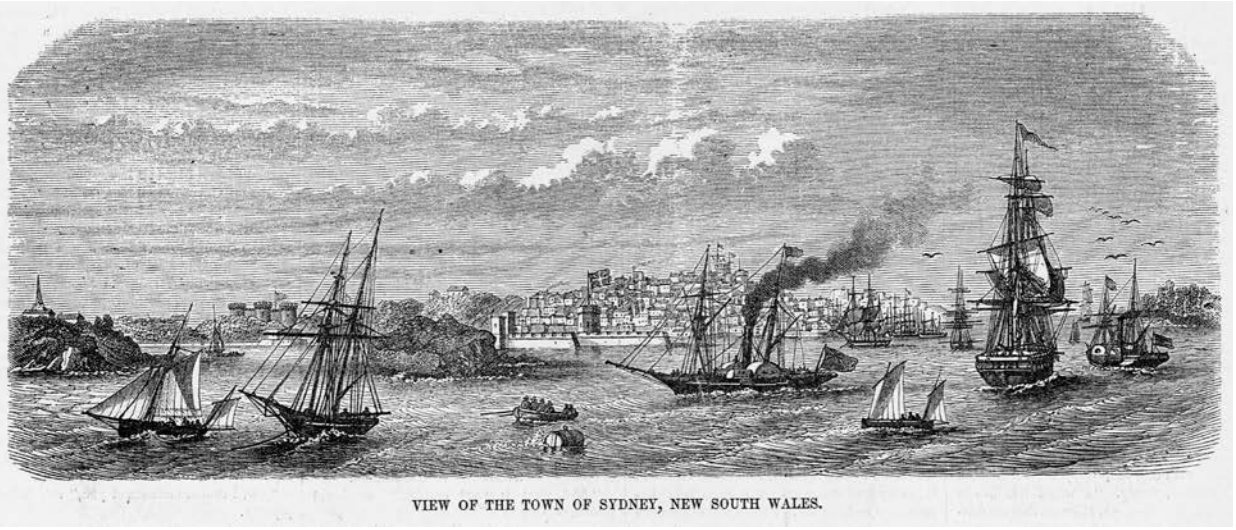
**cairn** a Gaelic term for a mound of stones arranged or stacked to signify a memorial or as a sign

Following this incident, in 1837 the crew and passengers from the *Lady M'Naghten* contracted scarlet fever and typhus on the voyage from England. Historical records indicate that 10 adults and 44 children died on the ship during the passage. Subsequently, 14 adults died in quarantine on the ship. Such outbreaks of deadly disease combined with the financial penalty of delaying a ship for too long at a port (demurrage) catapulted the emergent Legislative Council of the Colony of New South Wales into commencing construction of more permanent quarantine accommodation on the shores of North Head.

The construction of the Quarantine Station at North Head commenced in May 1837 and it was ready for detainees by October 1838. These new dwellings included a wharf built on the landing area from Spring Cove and two segregated **precincts** to separate the sick from the healthy inmates. The '**Sick Ground**' was located closer on the southern side of the site closer to the wharf; the '**Healthy Ground**' was an area one had to reach by climbing the steep path away from the beach. A hospital containing 32 beds was established on the Sick Ground. Basic accommodation was built on the Healthy Ground, which consisted of rough amenities suitable for '**Steerage Class**' passengers.

The different precincts were divided by a dozen stone **cairns** that were clearly visible from the shore. These cairn boundaries were patrolled at night to prevent detainees from the Sick or Healthy Grounds escaping or intermingling.

From 1852, when the discovery of gold in western New South Wales attracted increasing numbers of immigrants, the Quarantine Station's capacity was soon exhausted. The facilities were hopelessly inadequate for the immense migration wave arriving by sea. To deal with the emergent




**SOURCE 1.5** An engraving of Sydney Harbour as it looked to arrivals in the mid-1850s



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**SOURCE 1.6** An artist's depiction of the quarantine hulk *Harmony* moored in Spring Cove, drawn in 1870 by George Slade

problems, more buildings were hastily constructed and the former convict hulk *Harmony* became a floating hospital for the infected male passengers, moored in Spring Cove with its ubiquitous yellow flag hoisted. The yellow flag signalled that disease and sickness were present on board. Single female passengers were accommodated in newly built barracks in the Sick Ground.

In 1853 two more buildings were erected to accommodate a further 60 inmates. These new buildings had wide verandas for dining and recreation and provided space for the Superintendent of Quarantine to live on site. The unsightly cemetery, visible from the Healthy Ground and incoming ships, was moved further away. The interred remains of those buried in what became known as the 'First Cemetery' were undisturbed and only the ghastly headstones were removed from view.

Following the wealth that flowed with the gold rush and the new wave of free settlers and migrants that came to the colony, ship voyages became more comfortable and carried different classes of passengers.

In the 1880s, with the development of steam-powered ships, journeys became much shorter and more frequent. The new technology enabled more comfortable sea journeys and different levels of accommodation were provided for different social or class groups. In the 1880s two outbreaks of **smallpox** became a major concern for the colony, at a time when there was no effective vaccine for the disease.

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Hypothesising

What do you think might have happened if the cemetery had not been moved from its original site?

**smallpox** an extremely infectious disease that causes a fever, spots on the skin and often death

**social class** position in society based on wealth, hereditary title, influence and education

## A MATTER OF FACT

Smallpox is a disease that has been found in Egyptian mummies from around the third century BCE (Before the Common Era). It presents with a series of 'pocks' or blisters on the skin, associated with fever and a progressive rash. It is a virus – variola virus – that is spread through contact with others. Historically, of every ten people infected three or more died and others would be left with permanent scars from the pox rash. Some of these victims would be left blind. The disease has been eradicated in the world through successful vaccination. The last recorded case occurred in 1977.



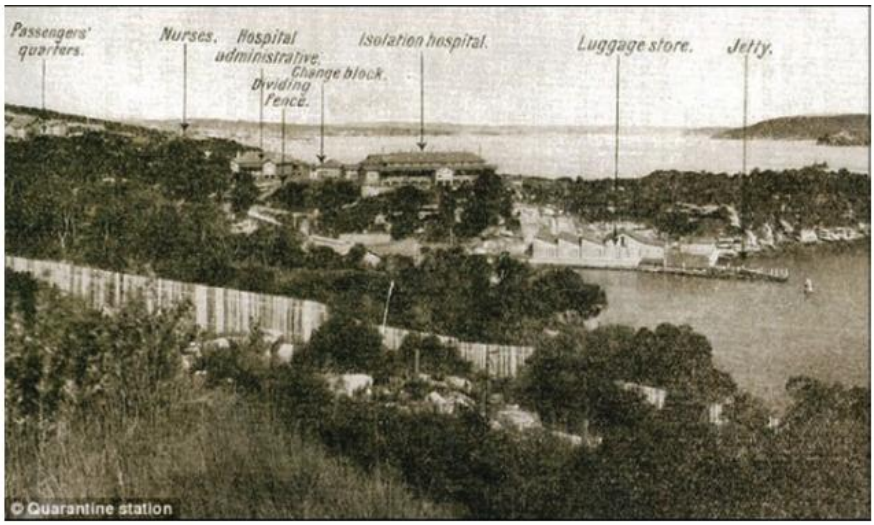
**SOURCE 1.7** Symptoms of smallpox include fever and progressive skin rashes.

The housing of the different groups in temporary accommodation was considered grossly indecent and negligent. A Royal Commission into the quarantine processes led to the establishment of the Board of Health to regulate quarantine procedures and to commence a large-scale building program to accommodate different **social classes** and more inmates.

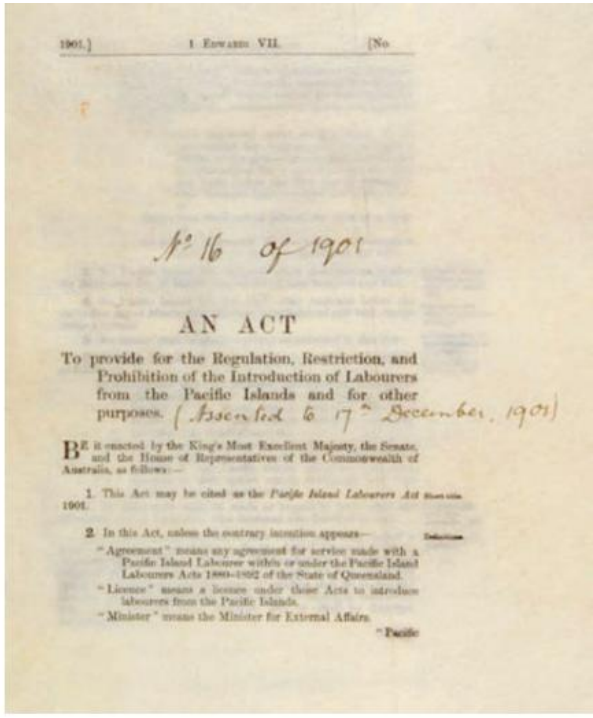
Buildings were raised to house 300 inmates and platforms were created to lodge any additional guests in tents and temporary accommodation. The quarantining of passengers was a state responsibility, but increasingly fears of worldwide epidemics and issues about control were beginning to



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**SOURCE 1.8** An early photograph of the North Head Quarantine Station showing the different areas of the site and its location


1901.] 1 EDWARD VII. [No.

№ 16 of 1901

AN ACT

To provide for the Regulation, Restriction, and Prohibition of the Introduction of Labourers from the Pacific Islands and for other purposes. [Assented to 17th December, 1901]

BE it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Australia, as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as the *Pacific Island Labourers Act* 1901.

2. In this Act, unless the contrary intention appears—

"Agreement" means any agreement for service made with a Pacific Island Labourer within or under the Pacific Island Labourers Acts 1880-1892 of the State of Queensland.

"Licence" means a licence under these Acts to introduce labourers from the Pacific Islands.

"Minister" means the Minister for External Affairs.

"Pacific

**SOURCE 1.9** The front cover of the *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901* (Cth)

**migration** movement to another country for wealth, education, opportunity, freedom from oppression, family reunion or safety

**White Australia Policy** two Acts of the new Australian Parliament in 1901 that restricted immigration: the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* and the *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901*. Finally abolished in 1973.

concern public bodies. In the lead-up to Federation such policies coincided with popular stereotypical perceptions of other races. **Migration** from China and other non-British places was restricted or controlled. These social and political restrictions contributed to the introduction of the **White Australia Policy**, which was enacted in 1902 shortly after Federation. The fear of contagion, and of smallpox and other incurable and deadly diseases, manifested in the popular imagination and was associated with the Chinese and other Asiatic races.

In the joining of the states and colonies in 1901, quarantining passed from state control to that of the new Commonwealth. The arguments for Federation included the notion of a 'working man's paradise' that was protected from the outside with strong quarantine and regulations such as the White Australia Policy. In 1908, the Commonwealth initiated the Quarantine Act, which gave powers to control, detain and exclude people, goods, animals or plants in order to protect the new nation.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 1.2

> Quarantine has relation to measures for the exclusion, detention, observation, segregation, isolation, protection and disinfection of vessels, persons, goods, animals, or plants and having as their object the prevention of the introduction or spread of diseases or pests affecting man, animals, or plants.

**SOURCE 1.10** *Quarantine Act No. 3 of 1908*, Section 4 (Cth)

1. Identify if this is a primary or a secondary source.
2. What is the intent of quarantine? Explain with reference to the source.
3. Identify some of the methods used in quarantine.
4. Explain why you think the site of the Quarantine Station was chosen.



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The experience of quarantine became increasingly regimented as daily rituals of mealtimes, accommodation and rest were strictly controlled. Spaces around the station were designated for different social and cultural groups, and for sick and healthy inmates. This meant that daily life, conversation, pastimes and treatments were restricted and rationed accordingly.

## 1.3 The reconstruction of the Q Station using historical evidence

So far in this chapter we have considered the purpose of the Q Station as a key site in Australian history for the containment of infectious diseases. To **reconstruct** exactly how the Quarantine Station operated during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we will now employ a range of historical evidence including photographs taken from recent site visits and other key primary and secondary sources.

### The process of quarantine

Upon arriving, passengers would be sorted into 'sick' and 'healthy' and sent to different sections. The Sick area and the graveyard were at first visible to passengers arriving on shore and were subsequently moved to prevent panic in those disembarking.

The healthy passengers would have been disinfected and their luggage **fumigated** in the flat area adjacent to the wharf and then sent to the accommodation and administration area for observation and ongoing detainment. In this space, the level of accommodation and individual liberty depended entirely on class, status and cultural background.

Quarantine inmates in the twentieth century would have disembarked at the wharf and had their luggage fumigated to prevent further contamination.

Before making their way to their accommodation, inmates would take a disinfection shower that bathed them with an antimicrobial carbolic acid solution of phenol and water. The inmates would be inspected by the ship or Quarantine Station doctor and classified according to their health and class. Their luggage and their families would make their long way up the steep incline to the various accommodations.




**SOURCE 1.11** Fumigation **autoclave** for the luggage, constructed in 1912

**reconstruction** an attempt to get a complete description of a past event using the evidence available

**fumigate** disinfect or purify an article using steam or chemicals

### NOTE THIS DOWN

**Outlining**

Create a flowchart demonstrating the process of quarantine at the site in the early twentieth century.

Process of quarantine
Step 1
Step 2
Step 3
Step 4
Step 5

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Clarifying**

How did the system of quarantine work?

**autoclave** a piece of equipment that uses steam at high pressure to sterilise (clean) objects



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**SOURCE 1.12** In this photograph from 1932 we see some of the temporarary tents that were used to house quarantined inmates.

The housing reflected the social and cultural boundaries of the period. The First Class Accommodation was elevated above the wharf and far removed from the isolation road, the hospital and the morgue. The First Class area, with buildings elevated and aligned with the beach, was considered the most comfortable. The two Second Class buildings were similar in style but separated by an imposing two-metre fence. Importantly, the Third Class passengers had inferior levels of comfort and were strictly controlled with fencing and the placement of the administration and staff buildings, which were positioned to provide a supervisory overview or watchtower over the area.

The Asiatic accommodation built in the 1880s was the most basic. The segregation reflects the xenophobic and racist attitudes of Australia from the 1880s until the demise of the White Australia Policy under Whitlam. Often this space was allotted to the incoming ship's crew, which reflected their lower social class and occupation.



**SOURCE 1.13** Photograph of the disinfection shower

The accommodation for every class improved throughout as the century progressed. Improvements included wide verandas for shelter against the extreme winds and heat of the summer; brick and sandstone piers to raise the buildings from the damp and the run-off from the sanitation drains; and separate spaces for necessary diversions of dining and sewing for the ladies of the higher social classes.

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Making inferences

Why do you think different levels of accommodation were needed?



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**SOURCE 1.14** (Left) the elevated First Class Accommodation and (right) a typical First Class room

Kitchens and meals were segregated according to class. Artefacts related to meal times, serving platters and chinaware have been identified on the site. These artefacts reveal that quarantine throughout the years became less associated with incarceration and restriction and more with leisure and indulgence.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 1.3






**SOURCE 1.15** The sign directing the higher social class to the sewing room and sewing artefacts for First Class passengers





**SOURCE 1.16** Silver serving ware and other tableware in the First Class dining areas displayed on site

1 Examine what the archaeological sources reveal about daily life in the First Class Precinct.
2 Propose how you imagine days in quarantine were spent in the First Class Quarantine Precinct.



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## KEY QUESTIONS

**Analysing issues**

What do these different precincts reveal about class and race attitudes over time?

Accompanying these areas were modern and high-tech conveniences of the time such as luggage sheds, innovative fumigation and disinfectant blocks, cable cars and later electric lights.

Within the context of the White Australia Policy, the Asiatic quarters were added to segregate such people from the Europeans. Class sensibilities were reinforced with different levels and areas of accommodation for passengers from the First, Second and Third Classes.

Further changes to the Station happened after the Commonwealth Government placed all quarantine sites under their control. The wharf area was refurbished to house a large luggage shed, innovative disinfection showers, an industrial laundry, a boilerhouse and a waiting shelter for the different classes. A more remote isolation space was added and other facilities such as new dining, kitchen and accommodation areas were built together with a cable tramway and later electric lights.





**SOURCE 1.17** The Asiatic Quarters with bunks and shared accommodation

After World War II policies on migration changed sharply. The Labor Prime Minister John Curtin and his newly appointed Minister for Immigration Arthur Calwell emphatically told Australians we needed to 'populate or perish' and called for a dramatic rise in immigration. The Quarantine Station now housed new migrants from the 1950s, both those who came legally via assisted passage schemes and those who came as 'illegal immigrants'. The first illegal detained immigrants arrived in 1959. Others who were not vaccinated were also quarantined for a specific period.

Buildings created in the late nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century had to be refurbished and so eleven buildings were removed and others refitted over a two-year period. New furniture and facilities breathed new life into the site, but historic housing dating from earlier times was demolished or relocated.

The Quarantine Station site remained in use until 1984 with an array of different buildings and structures added to the area to improve the health, sanitation and facilities of the Station. These buildings catered to the needs of the inmates and included a hospital, an isolation ward, a morgue and fumigation showers. Later a **funicular** device was added to transport heavy luggage chests and cases up to the Healthy Ground away from the wharf and fumigation autoclaves.

**funicular** a word deriving from the French term for a cord that is tensioned. In this early twentieth-century context, 'funicular' refers to a cable railway in which a cable attached to a pair of tram-like vehicles on rails moves them up and down a steep slope.



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## Diseases, death and contagion

**bubonic plague** a disease spread from the fleas on rodents that has often been carried from country to country by shipping; a bacterial infection that attacks the lymph nodes and spreads through the lymphatic system causing death

Over the lifetime of the Quarantine Station, smallpox epidemics were a constant source of concern. The last reported epidemic took place during the first years of Australia's involvement in World War I in 1917. The extensive building project, started in the 1880s, was later used to contain the spread of the plague that would prove much more deadly to the new nation.

The site was used as a first-line defence against **bubonic plague** that had spread from Bombay and beyond in the late 1800s. The site cared for those affected on shore and on incoming ships. There were several outbreaks from 24 January 1900 until 1922, causing widespread panic and media sensationalism. The death boats were often a cause for alarm as these ferries carried the deceased from Woolloomooloo to the Quarantine Station. A contaminated person and their associates (contacts) had to be quarantined for a period of 40 days. Records indicate that there were 1746 persons subject to quarantine at North Head with 103 deaths in total from the plague during these outbreaks. One of the earliest victims was a two-year-old boy from the Dovey family.

### A MATTER OF FACT

In Sydney, the plague was first contracted by Arthur Paine on 19 January 1900. He was working on the wharf as a delivery man. Government sources show at least 1371 cases and 535 deaths in Australia. Sydney was most affected by the outbreaks.




**SOURCE 1.18** An image of dead rats taken during cleansing operations, Quarantine Station, Sydney, 1900



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 1.4

All in all 1795 persons were quarantined 1746 at North Head 1496 as contacts and 263 as actual cases ... Patients were normally discharged as soon as they had a normal temperature for ten days with no unhealed sore and were generally considered fit for discharge. Of the 200 people who caught plague but survived the epidemic, the average length of time spent in quarantine at North Head was forty-five days. Many however spent much longer.

**SOURCE 1.19** Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken, *Plague in Sydney: the Anatomy of an Epidemic*, 1989, pp. 150–1

1 Identify how many people were quarantined at North Head for bubonic plague.
2 Identify how many people had actual cases of bubonic plague.
3 Identify the average length of time spent in quarantine.
4 Interpret what is meant by the term 'contacts' in this source.
5 Describe what signs were used to discharge patients.
6 Explain how useful this source is in describing the effects of bubonic plague on Sydney.

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Hypothesising**

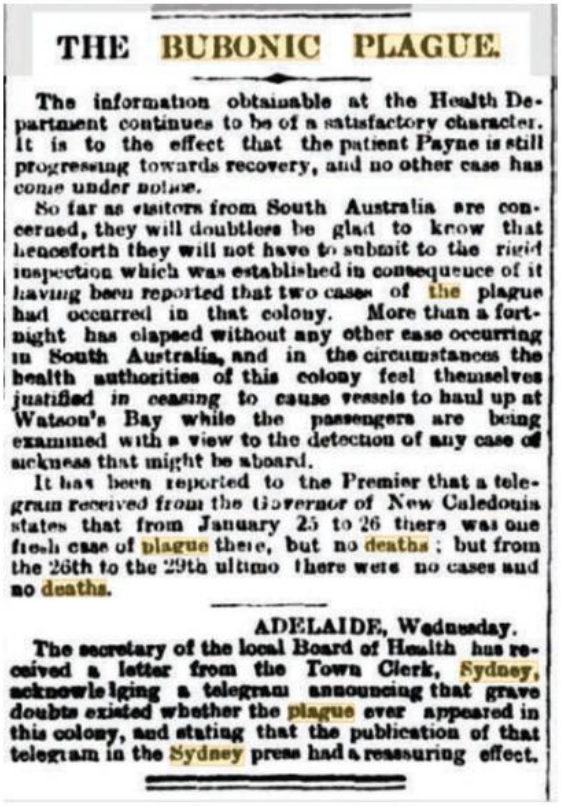
What do you think would have been the attitude towards those who were in contact with the infected?

Plague victims' remains were dealt with by staff such as nurses, administrators and doctors who arranged for graves to be dug, numbered records and organised funerals. The death lists were gazetted in newspapers in New South Wales and numerous reports on the advent of the plague were published from 1900 to 1901.

The site was used during and after World War I to isolate and allow soldiers with **venereal disease (VD)**, influenza and tuberculosis to recuperate. The issues of venereal disease for the First AIF were dealt with at the Quarantine Station with a reduction of pay for loss of active service time and criminal-like punishment. These soldiers were shamed and excluded. Records indicate that over 50 per cent of 17 000 returning soldiers in 1916 were sick and of those, approximately 2000 were suffering from venereal disease. The Quarantine Station cared for these soldiers who had been detained under the Quarantine Act.

**venereal disease (VD)**
a disease that is spread through sexual activity with an infected person

Tuberculosis (TB) was a major concern during the war years. TB was incurable and transmittable. Over 3000 returning soldiers had contracted it and of those, in the last year of the war some 90 or more were provided for at the Quarantine Station hospital, which in effect was a military hospital. The standard of care reported for these patients is very different. While returning soldiers with VD were treated poorly and some historians describe this as a form of incarceration, those with TB



THE BUBONIC PLAGUE.

The information obtainable at the Health Department continues to be of a satisfactory character. It is to the effect that the patient Payne is still progressing towards recovery, and no other case has come under notice.

So far as visitors from South Australia are concerned, they will doubtless be glad to know that henceforth they will not have to submit to the rigid inspection which was established in consequence of it having been reported that two cases of the plague had occurred in that colony. More than a fortnight has elapsed without any other case occurring in South Australia, and in the circumstances the health authorities of this colony feel themselves justified in ceasing to cause vessels to haul up at Watson's Bay while the passengers are being examined with a view to the detection of any case of sickness that might be aboard.

It has been reported to the Premier that a telegram received from the Governor of New Caledonia states that from January 25 to 26 there was one fresh case of plague there, but no deaths; but from the 26th to the 29th ultimo there were no cases and no deaths.

ADELAIDE, Wednesday.

The secretary of the local Board of Health has received a letter from the Town Clerk, Sydney, acknowledging a telegram announcing that grave doubts existed whether the plague ever appeared in this colony, and stating that the publication of that telegram in the Sydney press had a reassuring effect.

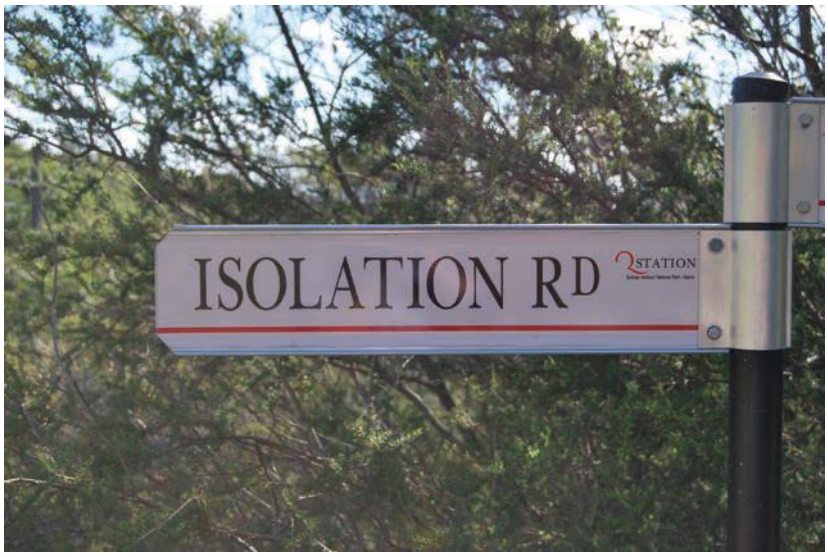
**SOURCE 1.20** An article in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 February 1900



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were given care packages from the Red Cross, high medical care and fresh food. Records from prescription lists detail the treatment received. Yet death rates for such a virulent disease were high.

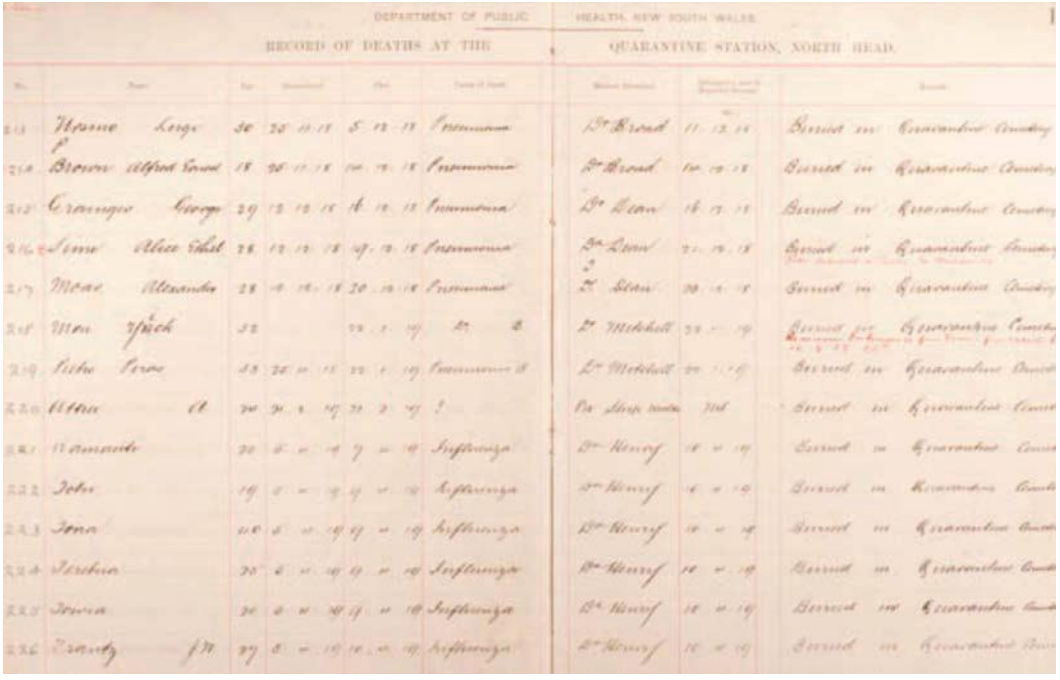
In 1918, the main threat to the nation was pneumonic influenza or '**Spanish flu**'. Medical records today cite this as a pandemic, as there was such a large number of deaths. During 1918 over 50 million people died throughout Europe and other nations. The threat was originally deemed unlikely to reach Australian shores. Yet the pandemic affected returning soldiers and those coming to greet them at the ports. During this critical time the quarantine regulations were rigid. All ships had to be quarantined for a period of seven days with everyone on them observed for signs of illness. There was banning of social gatherings, closure of schools, travel restrictions and the wearing of masks to avoid contamination.




**SOURCE 1.21** The street sign for Isolation Road

**Spanish flu** an influenza virus that was considered a pandemic, as it killed over 500 million people worldwide at the end of World War I. The strain was particularly contagious and virulent, causing patients to develop pneumonia. The virus attacked the respiratory system and it seems that those with healthy immune systems were equally affected.

By the end of 1920 there were 692 patients who had been quarantined in the North Head hospital with Spanish flu. Death was a real likelihood and 21 people died while there. In Sydney, there were 30 000 cases and by July 1919 it is reported that there were over 600 deaths due to the Spanish flu. The quarantine of patients once infected did not seem as effective as the prevention of the plague or smallpox. Questions were raised publicly about the potential spread of diseases and relocating the site further south away from Sydney.


DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH, NEW SOUTH WALES.
RECORD OF DEATHS AT THE QUARANTINE STATION, NORTH HEAD.

**SOURCE 1.22** Entries in the Quarantine Station's register of deaths during the 1918–1919 influenza epidemic



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 1.5

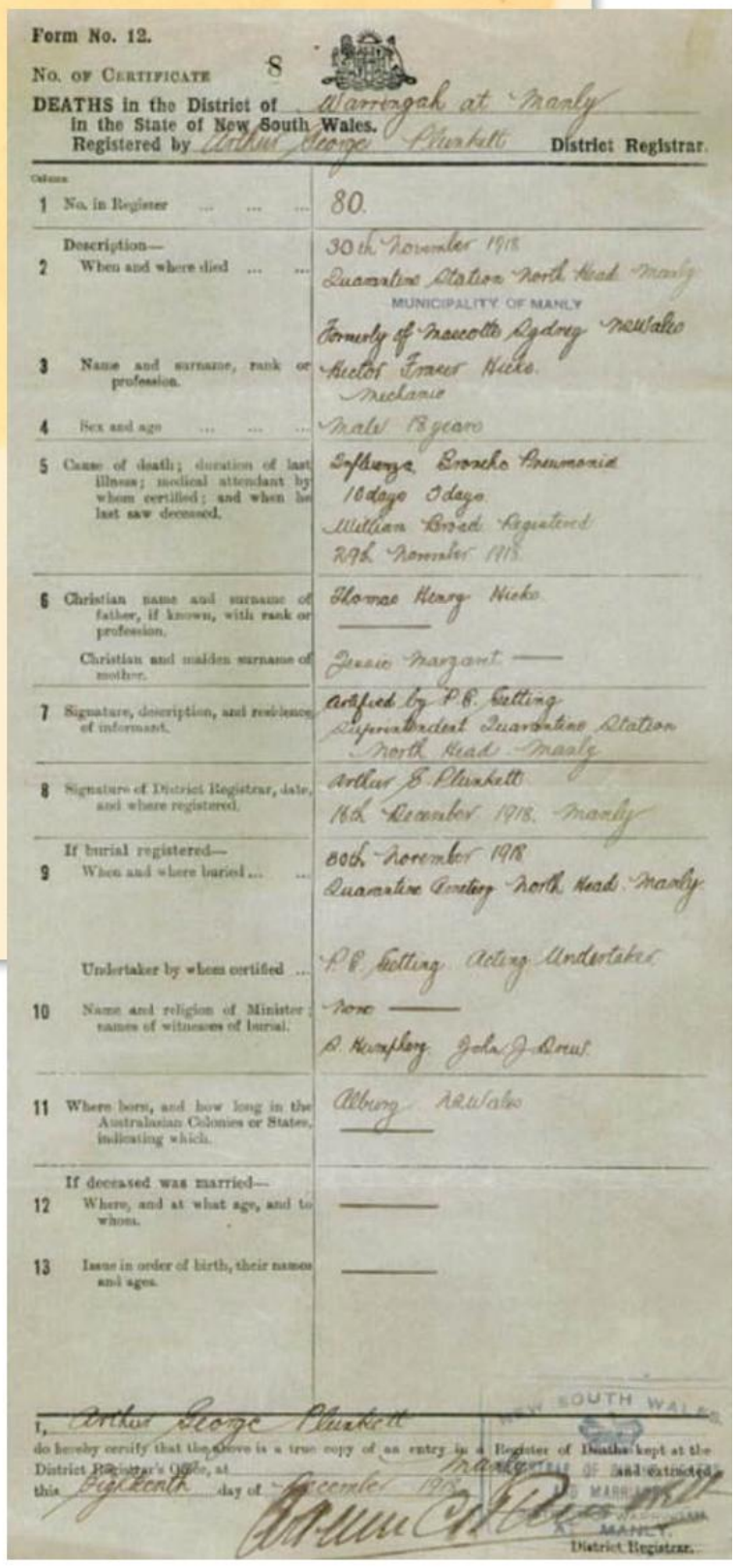
One of them was Private Hector Fraser Hicks, a mechanic who was born on 22 February 1900 in Albury, New South Wales. He enlisted on 9 September 1918, aged 18 years, with the consent of his father. Hector embarked from Sydney on 2 November 1918 on board the Medic, but the ship was recalled due to the signing of the Armistice. Hector contracted influenza, was quarantined on 25 November, and died at the station on 30 November 1918. He was laid to rest at the Third Cemetery.

**SOURCE 1.23** Carmel Kelleher, 'Death register sheds light on those laid to rest', National Archives of Australia website, 4 October 2011

1. Clarify what information this death certificate provides about the person.
2. Assess why this source would be useful to a historian studying the effects of Spanish influenza.
3. Identify which other sources historians could use to understand the impact of the epidemic.
4. Propose what you imagine could have been the impact of Hector Hicks's death on his family just after the war had ended.



**SOURCE 1.25** Private Hector Hicks's gravestone in the Third Cemetery



Form No. 12.

No. of Certificate 8

DEATHS in the District of Warringah at Manly
in the State of New South Wales.
Registered by Arthur George Plunkett District Registrar.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | No. in Register | 80. |
| 2 | When and where died | 30th November 1918. Quarantine Station North Head Manly MUNICIPALITY OF MANLY |
| 3 | Name and surname, rank or profession. | Formerly of Moscotte Sydney New Wales Hector Fraser Hicks Mechanic |
| 4 | Sex and age | Male 18 years |
| 5 | Cause of death; duration of last illness; medical attendant by whom certified; and when he last saw deceased. | Influenza Broncho Pneumonia 10 days 9 days Millian Broad Registered 29th November 1918. |
| 6 | Christian name and surname of father, if known, with rank or profession. | Thomas Henry Hicks |
| | Christian and maiden surname of mother. | Jessie Margaret —— |
| 7 | Signature, description, and residence of informant. | Certified by P.E. Kelting Superintendent Quarantine Station North Head Manly |
| 8 | Signature of District Registrar, date, and where registered. | Arthur G. Plunkett 1st December 1918. Manly |
| 9 | If burial registered— When and where buried | 30th November 1918 Quarantine Cemetery North Head Manly |
| | Undertaker by whom certified | P.E. Kelting Acting Undertaker |
| 10 | Name and religion of Minister; names of witnesses of burial. | None —— P. Humphery John J. Drew |
| 11 | Where born, and how long in the Australasian Colonies or States, indicating which. | Albury N.S.Wales |
| | If deceased was married— | |
| 12 | Where, and at what age, and to whom. | —— |
| 13 | Issue in order of birth, their names and ages. | —— |

I, Arthur George Plunkett do hereby certify that the above is a true copy of an entry in a Register of Deaths kept at the District Registrar's Office, at Manly this Eighteenth day of December 1918.

District Registrar.

**SOURCE 1.24** Private Hector Hicks's death certificate, 1918



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The death record from the Quarantine Station reveals the numbers that died from these diseases from 1881 to 1925. This record provides the grave number for each death.

From the 1880s the grave sites had become overcrowded and according to news reports gave off an offensive odour. The Third Cemetery on the site was created in 1881. Recent archaeological work on the Third Cemetery built after 1880 reveals a number of graves. This work identifies the number of deaths from each of these diseases.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 1.6

| Disease | Number of burials | Percentage of total deaths |
|---|---|---|
| Smallpox (1881–82) | 6 burials | 2.5% |
| Scarlet fever (1883–84) | 5 burials | 2.1% |
| Smallpox (1884–85) | 4 burials | 1.7% |
| Smallpox (1887–88) | 15 burials | 6.2% |
| Bubonic plague (1900–01) | 105 burials | 43.6% |
| Pneumonic influenza (1918–19) | 63 burials | 26.1% |
| There were another 44 isolated deaths (17.8%) from infectious diseases or other causes recorded as resulting in burials. | | |

**SOURCE 1.26** Causes of death of bodies in the Third Cemetery at the Quarantine Station, from 'New Discoveries at the Third Quarantine Cemetery, North Head Sanctuary, Manly', 8 March 2016, Sydney Harbour Federation Trust website

1. Examine which disease accounted for more burials at North Head from the 1880s to 1919.
2. Identify which disease resulted in the fewest deaths.
3. Using this evidence, justify which disease you think was the most difficult to contain at North Head. Provide reasons for your response.
4. Based on this evidence, evaluate what time period was needed to contain the diseases.




**SOURCE 1.27** Inscription about the voyage of the *Forest Monarch* on sandstone rock at the Quarantine Station

## 1.4 Etchings and evidence from the site

Scattered throughout the Q Station site are 1600 sandstone **inscriptions**, carvings and paintings that tell archaeologists the stories of those quarantined from the 1800s until the early 1980s. These inscriptions have been made by chiselling, carving, inking, scratching and painting the rock face. Unlike the accommodation boundaries, the inscriptions are not segregated but are temporally and socially interconnected. A Chinese inscription sits alongside an earlier engraving at the wharf. Each inscription uses a different language and cultural symbols.

These engravings can be seen on the sandstone cliffs as you disembark at the wharf,

**inscription** a marking, scratching, etching or painting that has been chiselled, inked or engraved



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**SOURCE 1.28** Inscription on sandstone rock referring to Mary Ann Yeates, traveller on the *Forest Monarch*

and continue on drains, slate covers, tree trunks, concrete blocks and the walls of the buildings. The inscriptions reveal a range of historical evidence about the names of the inmates, the ships they arrived on, family members who were lost, diseases they suffered, scandals that occurred during their stays and their states of mind – despair, joy and relief.

The inscription in Source 1.27 was undertaken by stonemason Daniel Yeates and documents the *Forest Monarch*'s journey from Southampton, England. The engraving shows how many migrants had departed from Britain. It lists the names of the ship's Superintendant, Commander and First Mate, who were accountable for all passengers. Curiously, the inscription does not tell us how many survived and made it to Sydney. It does not reveal the death of Daniel Yeates's second wife Mary Ann Yeates and how she suffered 'debilitas scorbulus', a condition known better as weakness and scurvy. Her death is commemorated, in Source 1.28, on a headstone with the simple inscription *M.A.Y.* and an elaborate outline of a cross. She died from scurvy, resulting from malnutrition and a lack of Vitamin C from fresh fruit and vegetables. She would have suffered bleeding gums, oozing sores and skin infections and been completely exhausted.

Mary Ann was a young mother with a two-year-old child, William, and a new baby, Maria, born just before they boarded the ship. William died on the journey and poor Mary Ann had to contend with this loss and the demands of a new baby. Her death in these circumstances was not unexpected and shows how difficult these sea journeys were for the vulnerable, sick and very young. Daniel Yeates, a 32-year-old stonemason, upon arriving in Sydney was left to care for the young children from his first and second marriages and find his place in the gold rush that was sweeping the colony.

Such inscriptions, carved into Sydney's sandstone, show the skills and technology of the period. Stonemasonry at this time was a desirable skill that would be useful in the construction of the buildings, wells and roads of the new colony. The Sydney sandstone was plentiful and relatively easy for this stonemason to work with. The inscription was a testament to his skills and serves as a historical document of a ship's passenger. Perhaps his decision to carve the number who left Southampton and not to record those lost due to sickness along the journey is a mark of remembrance and of the significance of the voyage.

The historical records of Daniel Yeates and his family show the reasons, hopes and despairs of migrants who were looking for new wealth and opportunity at the start of the gold rush era and were willing to take a young and struggling family on a long four-month voyage to a new country. This story and the archaeological source tell us about the growth of the colony during this period and signify the difficulties of daily life, death and disease on sea voyages.

The *Forest Monarch* was one of many ships that brought a wave of immigrants to Australia to join the gold rush. From 1851, the populations of colonies in New South Wales and Victoria more than doubled from 437 000 to 1 152 000. Every year from 1851 to 1861 over 50 000 new migrants arrived by ship who were mostly young, male and eager to create a new life. Immigrants came from China, Ireland, Britain and Scotland, many fleeing the **potato famine** in Ireland or avoiding arrest for involvement with the **Chartist movement** in Britain. These people believed that hard work rather than class should provide opportunities for advancement. Many of them were skilled and some were literate. Masons, carpenters, wheelwrights and **coopers** were needed, along with miners and shopkeepers.

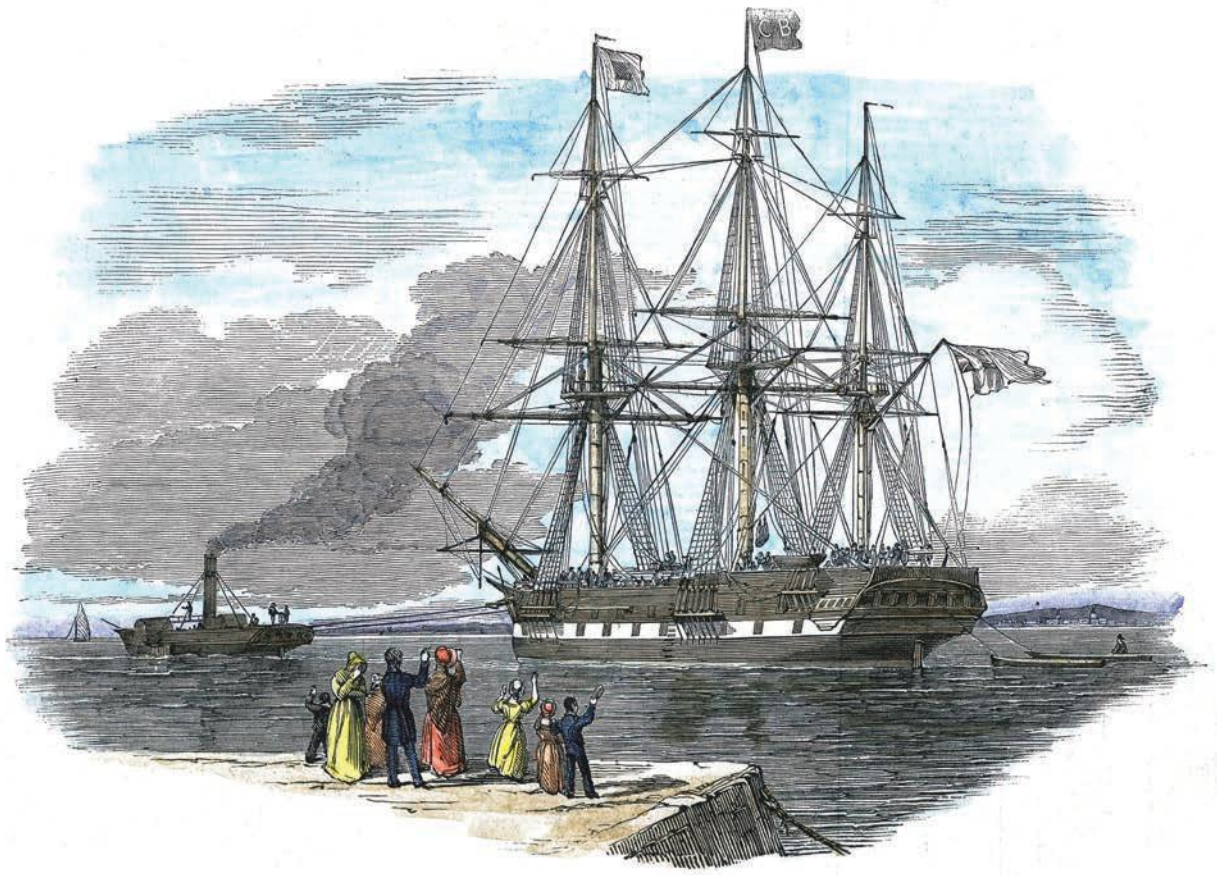
**potato famine** a period of mass starvation, disease and emigration in Ireland between 1845 and 1852, which caused the nation's population to fall by between 20 per cent and 25 per cent

**Chartist movement** a working-class movement for political reform in Britain that existed from 1838 to 1857; some of the leaders of the movement were transported to Australia

**coopers** people who made and repaired wooden barrels used for holding beer, wine and other liquids



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**SOURCE 1.29** An engraving of a British emigrant ship being towed out of the harbour before setting sail for Sydney, Australia in the 1850s. The *Forest Monarch* would have looked much like this.

The surge of migration, however, while it brought economic growth and prosperity, also brought new undesirable effects, such as a more rapid spread of diseases, infections and contagions to the new colonies.

These engravings name other ships that arrived at the Quarantine Station during this period and reveal the diverse and distant places people had travelled from. The inscriptions show the skills of the mason; the depth of the incisions reveals something about the tools and technologies used; and the position of the stones is also important. These acted as signposts and documents for the travellers, recording their journey and their origins. They had both historical and personal significance for the migrants.

Other inscriptions reveal class and race tensions. One inscription, written in Chinese characters and translated in Source 1.31, reveals contempt and disdain for the growing




**SOURCE 1.30** The stones at North Head Quarantine Station showing inscriptions by nineteenth-century immigrants who were housed at this site



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hostility shown towards Chinese and Asian migrants from the 1880s. During this time, a number of restriction clauses and acts had been introduced by different colonies to limit the number of Chinese migrants. This inscription reads:

> We set out from Hong King on [?] of April of the sixth year of the Kuang Hsu Era.
> On the eighth of May, one person detained, and we were all left struck on account
> Of this person having a [disease]. The Westerners' regulations are really useless.
> We should not rest until [we] have killed off all foreigners.
> Chu [?] of Nein Yip, July 10th.

**SOURCE 1.31** Translation from Chinese of a rock inscription dating from the 1880s

This inscription is the first evidence we have of Chinese detainees at North Head. It comes from those detained because of an outbreak of smallpox on the ship SS *Java.* On this ship in 1880, 299 Chinese passengers were quarantined for a period of 64 days despite the fact that no deaths were recorded. This period of quarantine was much longer and harsher than normal. The reason given for such a long stay was smallpox. However, though smallpox is a severe disease, there were no occurrences during this time. Historians consider that anti-Chinese feeling and fear were the real reasons for such long and oppressive stays in quarantine.

The inscriptions are evidence of the poor treatment and restrictions that were imposed on the Chinese because of their race. The tone of this inscription is violent and murderous, inciting all the Chinese passengers to kill foreigners. This anti-Western sentiment shows the state of race relations in the lead-up to the White Australia Policy and, importantly, shows how Asian migrants were frequently associated with the onslaught of diseases such as smallpox.

Some historians claim that the nature of the quarantining of the SS *Java* was entirely due to race, not sickness. The Chinese who were quarantined on the SS *Java* spent over a month on the ship before coming ashore, while European passengers were given more comfortable accommodation on shore at the Station. Furthermore, the quarters for the Chinese passengers were segregated from the white precinct. Reports from the Colonial Treasurer show the extent of anti-Chinese sentiment and racial tensions of the time.

> It would be totally impossible to keep these Chinese within the limits of the Quarantine Ground. If they escaped into nearby Manly or the city of Sydney itself ... the consequences might have been very serious . . .

**SOURCE 1.32** P Hobbins, UK Frederick and A Clarke, *Stories from the Sandstone: quarantine inscriptions from Australia's immigrant past*, 2016

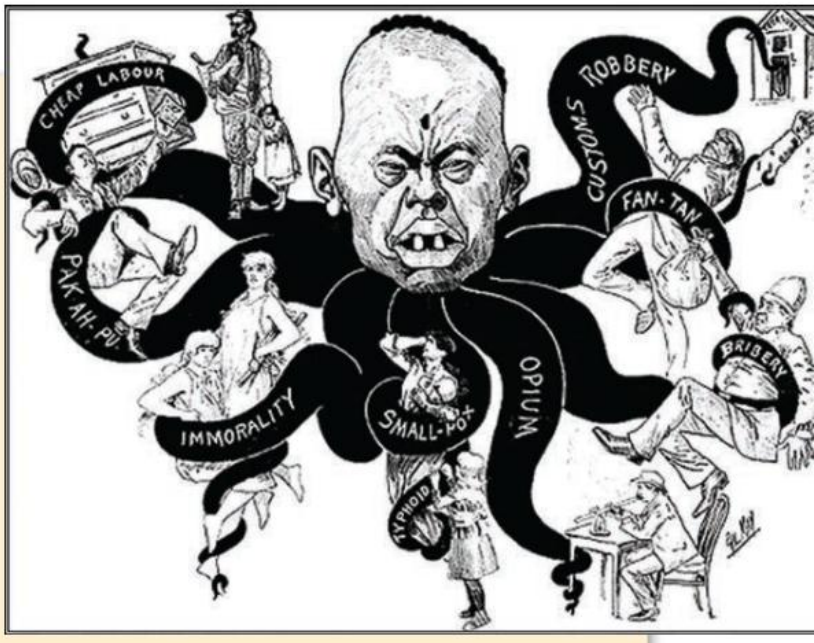
It is noted that the Chinese were blamed for the smallpox epidemic of 1881, yet there were only 168 incidents in which victims came from a Chinese background. The issue was contentious with Sir Henry Parkes, the then Premier of New South Wales, who declared that China was a major risk to Australia and therefore all ships with such passengers should be detained. Once detained, Chinese passengers would be submitted to strict quarantine and would have clothes and personal items burnt to supposedly stop the contamination. By 1881 the New South Wales Parliament had passed the Immigration Restriction law, which restricted the travel of Chinese and Asiatic peoples. These laws and prevailing attitudes paved the way to the White Australia Policy in 1901.



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 1.7

1 Identify what this source associates with the Chinese figure.
2 Explain how the cartoon conveys a sense of fear.
3 Discuss what the purpose of the cartoon is.
4 Evaluate what perspective of the Australian society this source reveals.
5 How useful is this source in showing attitudes towards disease and race in the 1880s? Explain, referring to the source.




**SOURCE 1.33** 'The Mongolian Octopus – His Grip on Australia', a cartoon by Philip May, published in *The Bulletin* magazine, 1886. National Museum of Australia

By 1917, World War I was still raging in Europe and trade and migration were still occurring between Australia and Canton (now Guangzhou) and other parts of Asia. The ship the *St Alban's*, originating from the port of Kobe in Japan, stopped at Canton to collect more passengers. The ship's doctor immediately noted a case of smallpox. When the ship arrived in Sydney the ship was quarantined for three weeks. The Chinese characters inscribed on the sandstone in Source 1.34 below are attributed to Leong Wo, who was responsible for the day-to-day running of the ship. Wo would ensure the anchors would hold, light the signal lamps and oversee the crew, and would take advice from the ship's officers.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 1.8

The date is significant, as the inscription is referring to the end of the Qing (Manchu) Dynasty in China in 1911 some six years earlier and perhaps suggests a new life commencing with the sea journey. The cross-cultural message, using both English and Chinese characters, is unusual.

1 Interpret what you think this inscription tells us about the time or the lives of the quarantine inmates.
2 Account for why you think this inscription came to be written in both Chinese and English.




**SOURCE 1.34** The translation of the Chinese characters reads: 'Erected in the sixth year of the Republic, first month, twenty-fifth day; to commemorate *St Alban's*.'



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Smallpox was not the only disease to sweep through Sydney. In 1900 the bubonic plague claimed its first victim to be sent to the Quarantine Station. Eleanor Matilda McCain, known to her family and friends as Nellie, was fourteen years old and attending the Lower Fort Street School when she fell ill on 16 March. Vomiting and nauseous, Nellie left school and the doctor was summoned the following day. Within an hour of the doctor's visit on 17 March Nellie had died. It was a tragic and virulent case of the Black Death.

Symptoms of the disease included headaches, fatigue, nausea, chills and high temperatures and noticeably swollen lymph glands in the neck, groin and armpits that became mottled and purple, eventually bursting with oozy pus. These swollen glands were called buboes; hence the term 'bubonic plague'. Most deaths occurred within one to nine days after infection. In 1900, 103 official deaths from the plague were recorded in Sydney, but undoubtedly there were more cases than were reported to officials.

Nellie's death was both the first and the most unexpected. There was an inquest into her case. The classic buboes were not evident on her body but the autopsy showed that she had suffered from a virulent infection of 'plague bacilli'. Immediately, the morgue located near Circular Quay was isolated and all of Nellie's family were sent into quarantine at North Head. Her parents were barred from attending her burial in the Third Cemetery. Her body had been interred in a coffin filled with disinfectant and then wrapped or mummified in several sheet layers and sail cloth fabric. The **sarcophagus** had then been lowered three metres into the earth to prevent further contamination and a temporary rather than permanent headstone used. Her death had been well noted and recorded and yet her remains are not marked. Such was the fate of many who ended up in quarantine and this perhaps demonstrates the need for commemoration and documentation.

Panic erupted in Sydney. The public surged into the Health Board office, attempting to access a serum or vaccine that had been imported from India. However, the serum proved inadequate to stem the plague. In total, 263 people were said to have been infected and quarantined at North Head along with another 1496 who had been in contact with those infected. The Quarantine Station buried those who died along with Nellie in the Third Burial Ground, with wooden temporary grave markers.

**sarcophagus** a box-like funeral receptacle for a corpse



**SOURCE 1.35** The hidden grave of Nellie, the first person to die of bubonic plague in Australia, was unearthed by archaeologists Jenny Wilson, Libby Bennett and Lynette Jones.



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## CREATIVE TASK 1.9

1 Write an epitaph for Nellie.
2 Discuss if we should create a headstone for Nellie.



**SOURCE 1.36** Unearthed tombstones from the North Head Quarantine Station cemetery

## 1.5 The contribution of archaeology and science in the investigation of the past

### Constructing and interpreting the evidence

In 2014–2015 a major conservation project led by Dr Louise Steding of Swinburne University for the Sydney Harbour Federation Trust was conducted on the Third Cemetery. The purpose of the project was to undertake archaeological research, investigations and conservation works on the historical graves within the Third Quarantine Cemetery and to interpret the evidence at the site. Geophysical survey and fieldwork conducted on the site included using Ground Penetrating Radar **(GPR) mapping** and thermal imaging.

**GPR mapping** a method used to conduct a geophysical survey of a site; a non-intrusive way to develop an understanding of what lies beneath the surface or a topographic profile. It is commonly used to locate graves and headstones and even to determine if a burial space is available for use.

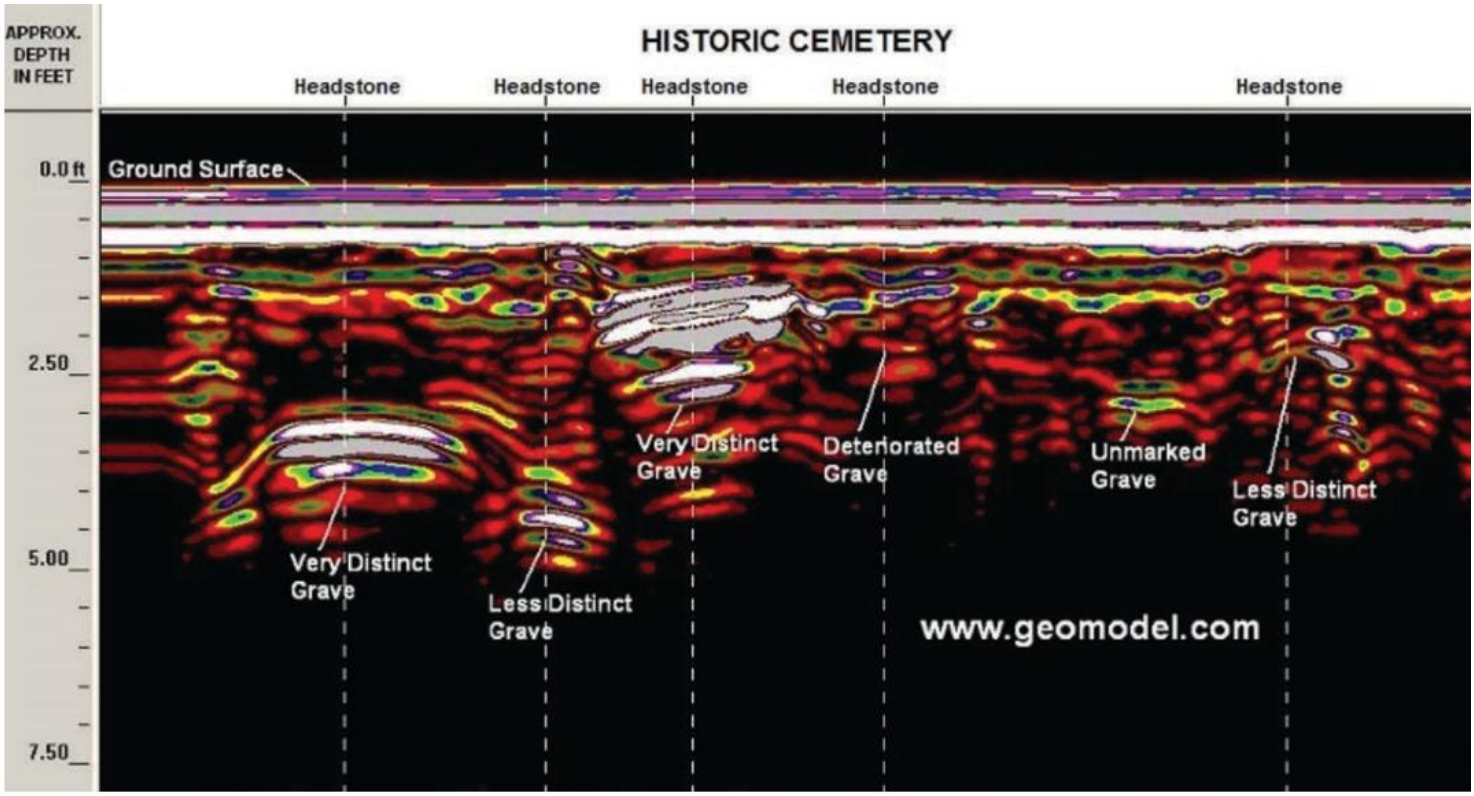
This radar system uses sound waves to reveal changes in ground density and locate underlying features and objects and is more reliable in sandy soils found in coastal regions. GPR is useful in detecting human remains for a number of reasons. It can show graduation or changes in the soil stratigraphy from the digging of the grave, which is known as the graveshaft. Aspects of material culture such as coffins, bones, sheets, clothing and jewellery are shown by using GPR. The decomposition of calcium from the deceased's bones can leach into the surrounding soil and change the soil composition, making it conduct radar sound waves more effectively.



**SOURCE 1.37** An example of GPR technology being used on location



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**SOURCE 1.38** A GPR image of the cemetery

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Clarifying

How has the Q Station site been investigated?

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Summarising

What are the issues for archaeologists trying to preserve the remains and the significance of the Third Cemetery today?

On this site the forensic archaeologists used grid references to determine different locations within the cemetery. The ground is carefully scanned, using the radar to reveal the sites of marked and unmarked graves.

Historic records and headstones show 241 graves in this area dating from 1881 to 1925. During this time the earlier Second Cemetery had become poorly maintained and was described as giving off an offensive odour and being linked to water contamination. The Third Cemetery was established around the 1880s as part of the continual improvements and expansions to the site. The excavation has revealed that 105 of the burials were attributed to bubonic plague, with Nellie's unmarked grave being the first. Spanish flu, smallpox and scarlet fever account largely for the remaining graves. However, the investigation into the site suggests, according to Dr Steding, that there could be more than 100 unmarked graves located here. Her suggestion is that the remains from the other cemeteries on the site were exhumed and interred here without grave markings.

Of interest is the fact that the temporal and cultural divisions experienced during the Quarantine Station's existence did not matter at the point of death. Evidence shows us that an Aboriginal man who had died of smallpox was buried here in the 1880s alongside European victims. Similarly, at the same site victims of plague and Spanish flu are buried close together despite the space of 17 years between these two epidemics.

## Conservation and adaptation of the site

In 1984, the Quarantine Station was handed back by the Commonwealth Government to the State Government of New South Wales as part of the arrangements made in the 1908 Quarantine Act. It then came under the administration of the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service with the Premier



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and Prime Minister pledging funding for conservation. Such funding was not provided and the heritage value and future purpose of the site became publicly contested.

One of the debates centred around the need to conserve the site's unique heritage value based on its location, material culture and connection with social and medical history while at the same time adapting to the public's current needs. 'Adaptive reuse' is one way in which such heritage assets can be preserved and still provide for public access and ongoing maintenance.

**adaptive reuse** the creation of a new viable purpose for a heritage site by preserving the site's features and adding modern elements that have a limited impact on the site's cultural or historic significance

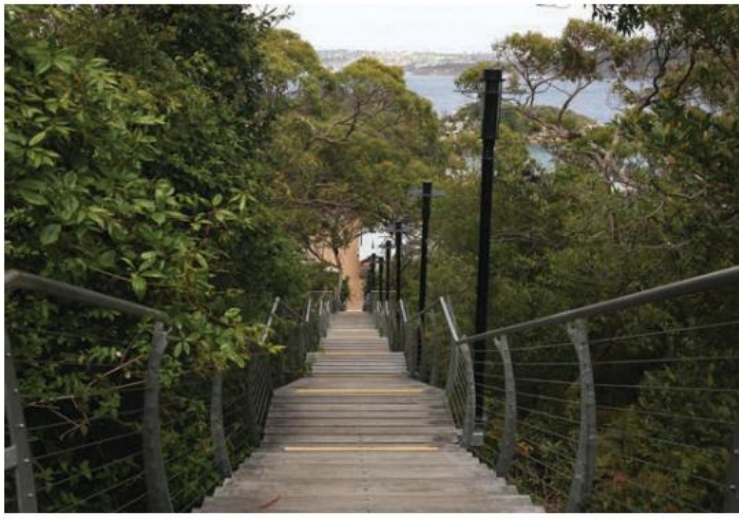
**Adaptive reuse** can provide ongoing enjoyment and opportunities for the public to visit, undertake research and experience life from the past. However, the site's ongoing preservation is critical. Refurbishment can change the historical character and interpretation of the site, and building and construction processes can disrupt the physical site and the strata. Alternatively, such use can actively preserve the history and the story of the site, enable more viable opportunities for public engagement and provide a valuable funding source for costly preservation and documentation work.

## A MATTER OF FACT

At the Quarantine Station, luggage was moved up the steep hill from the wharf to the First Class Precinct via the funicular trackway, which was one of many modern improvements made to the site over time. The original funicular cable was 90 metres long.

The Quarantine Station site became subject to debates and finally a tendering process that would allow for innovative and culturally appropriate adaptive reuse. In the 1990s the Mawland Group successfully tendered on the project with adaptive reuse as a central part of their bid and vision for the Quarantine Station. Such reuse involved opening the site to the public for conferences and accommodation. This would entail adapting amenities to include modern plumbing and bathrooms, laying new ceramic tiles over original floors and building structures such as the funicular stairway over the original funicular trackway, which used to bring the luggage to the top of the site from the Wharf Precinct below.

New walkways were erected over the site to protect the natural and built features of the site from modern-day visitors. Other conservation measures to the built components of the site have included removing rotted wooden flooring and broken drainage pipes, and using traditional methods of repair and complementary materials. Internal and external painting was carried out using heritage colours and modern paints that contain no lead. The painting of the roofs in their



**SOURCE 1.39** Walkways and bridges were constructed over the site to preserve the natural flora and fauna of the site.



**SOURCE 1.40** Modern and historic footings of the Second Class Precinct accommodation. The sandstone is original while the bricks are modern.



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original colours also acted to protect the roof substrate from heat, removing the need for contemporary conveniences such as air conditioning for guests in the summer months. The sewers and stormwater drains that were either clogged with tree roots and vegetation litter or in disrepair were cleared and fixed.

The machinery of the site has also been preserved in a range of ways. The brass, copper and iron fittings have been replaced, repainted or had oxidation removed. Spaces such as the autoclaves have been cleaned and repainted so guests can see how this heavy machinery sterilised clothing and luggage through the use of heat and steam.





**SOURCE 1.41** Autoclaves and other machinery were part of the facilities at the Quarantine Station.

The conservation and documentation of the artefacts located on the site has involved a number of processes. Artefacts such as glass, china, cutlery, luggage, violin cases, leather suitcases and even Chinese wicker baskets have been identified on the site, catalogued, restored and displayed either in the museum or in the various spaces around the different precincts.





**SOURCE 1.42** Glass artefacts and china found at the quarantine site

The former Luggage Store has been converted into a Visitor Museum with the luggage mounted on to rails to recreate how these were stored on the ships arriving at Spring Cove. Source 1.43 shows how luggage was arranged to give the visitor a sense of how it was stored at the site in the mid-twentieth century.

The rock inscriptions of the Q Station have been carefully conserved and documented. Surveys of the inscriptions were carried out by archaeologist Wendy Thorp in 1983. This archaeological project



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involved documenting 800 historical inscriptions. Each inscription was recorded using a variety of techniques. These techniques of documentation and conservation are important, as the inscriptions are subject to weathering, lichen growth and erosion.



**SOURCE 1.43** Luggage and cases on display at the museum




**SOURCE 1.44** Weathering and lichen growth had faded the rock inscriptions at the site.

## Archaeological techniques and processes for the sandstone inscriptions

Each inscription was recorded and its contents interpreted as part of the fieldwork. The stylistic conventions, flourishes, formation of letters and use of symbols were captured and interpreted. Patterns and similarities in stylistic conventions such as motifs and flags were linked to show these inscriptions as an assemblage that could be interpreted. The inscriptions were individually sketched by hand at different times of the day to capture the way the light reflected or obscured the inscription. The sketches allowed archaeologists the opportunity to consider how each letter was formed and the construction process of the inscription. Inscriptions were photographed using a high-resolution camera *in situ*. Conservation of faded inscriptions has involved careful repainting of some of the lettering and stylistic conventions.

Current costs for the conservation are at $7 million dollars with ongoing funding being sourced through hotel and guest functions and events. There are 70 rooms available in different precincts open for overnight stays, ICT conference and entertainment facilities and large conference or wedding spaces in the rebuilt



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*"An incredible piece of history, amazing location and an interesting tour"*

●●●●○ Reviewed 18 November 2016

The Quarantine Station would have to be one of the most amazing historical pieces of our history of immigration, in a stunning location but with a somewhat sad but very interesting story. The buildings are so beautifully preserved and the landscape a unique outcrop in Manly. The night time Ghost Tour was not that sensational but certainly a unique tour and well worth doing. Overall the stunning location, backdrop of night time Sydney skyline, the incredible buildings, and quarantine history, made this a well worthy Saturday night outing.

Visited November 2016

**SOURCE 1.45** A review on the North Head Quarantine Station from the travel website *Trip Advisor*.

Hospital and a bar and restaurant in the historic Boilerhouse in the Wharf Area. Historical and ghost tours highlighting the spiritual and cultural aspects of the site are regularly undertaken. In particular, the morgue and shower block are ideal places for historical immersion and empathy. On these tours visitors are immersed in the stories of those who stayed and worked there. However, how much is historically based and how much is fanciful recreation is a question for further debate.

### CREATIVE TASK 1.10

Create a historical virtual tour of the five critical parts of the site and highlight key stories, buildings or artefacts that you would include. Include for each aspect a historic or cultural justification of its significance. Prepare your tour with notes and relevant sources or photographs.



**SOURCE 1.46** Inside the Q Station Sydney Harbour National Park Hotel

## 1.6 Conclusion: the contribution of the Q Station to an understanding of Australia's past

The Q Station provides us with many stories and opportunities to understand and appreciate the past. It shows us how migrants travelled and arrived in Australia and reveals how the new nation coped with disease, death and contagion. It is a place of despair, isolation and survival. Class and racism, nationalism and protectionism are woven into the fabric of the site through engravings, buildings, class precincts and historical records. Modern historical and archaeological methods are constructing a tableau from the past that we can touch, interpret and experience. According to Hobbins, Frederick and Clarke in *Stories from the Sandstone* (2016), the Q Station intrigues and excites the historical imagination; take for instance this question, taken from one of the graffiti left behind by an Indonesian detainee from the 1970s: 'Indahm iDUP Di CARANTiN', which translates to 'How beautiful is a life in quarantine?'

### EXAMINING THE ISSUES

| | |
|---|---|
| • Has the Q Station lost its historical significance? | • What are some of the archaeological contributions to this site and its story? |
| As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider how the site is being preserved and the effectiveness of these methods. | |



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# CHAPTER 1 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### WHAT IS THE Q STATION?

- The Q Station at North Head, New South Wales, is Australia's oldest and best-preserved quarantine site.
- From 1837 to 1984 many detainees were isolated there with 570 recorded deaths and burials on the site.

### WHAT LED TO *QUARANTENA* IN THE NEW COLONY?

- In the 1830s outbreaks of deadly diseases on incoming ships to New South Wales saw the need for quarantine rise; hence construction of the Quarantine Station.
- In 1908, the Commonwealth initiated the Quarantine Act, which gave powers to control, detain and exclude people, goods, animals or plants to protect Australia.

### THE PROCESS OF QUARANTINE

- Upon arriving, passengers would be sorted into 'sick' and 'healthy' categories and sent to different sections for treatment.
- Class sensibilities of the time were reinforced with different levels and areas of accommodation for passengers from First, Second and Third Class.

### DEATH, DISEASE AND DIVISION: THE QUARANTINE STATION

- Over the lifetime of the Station smallpox epidemics were a constant concern; at one time it was a first-line defence against the bubonic plague; and during and after World War I it housed soldiers with VD, influenza and TB.
- In 1918, the site helped protect the nation from a mass outbreak of Spanish flu.

### ETCHINGS AND EVIDENCE FROM THE SITE

- Scattered throughout the Station site are 1600 sandstone inscriptions, carvings and paintings that tell the stories of those quarantined.
- The rock inscriptions have been carefully conserved and documented, as have other artefacts from the site now on display to the public.

### CONSTRUCTING AND INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE

- In recent years, archaeological research has been undertaken with a focus on the historic graves within the Third Quarantine Cemetery.
- Conservation and adaptation of the site have been priorities and the Q Station is now open to the public for tours, conferences and accommodation.



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## Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term below.

1) quarantine
2) social class
3) migration
4) Spanish influenza
5) epidemic

## Historical concepts

### 1 Causation

- Explain what has happened over time at the Quarantine Station site.

### 2 Continuity and change

- Describe the different diseases that were isolated at the station.
- Which disease was the most difficult to contain? Give evidence for your response.
- Describe how changing technologies and discoveries helped to deal with the disease.

### 3 Perspectives

Create a presentation about the Quarantine Station that includes responses to the following questions:

- How do you think people felt about being quarantined?
- What evidence tells us this?

Be sure to include a range of primary and secondary sources.

### 4 Significance

- Briefly explain why you think quarantine was so important in the early colony.
- Why do you think different social classes reacted differently to experiences of quarantine? Use evidence to support your response.

### 5 Contestability

- How does archaeological evidence about material culture change or add to the historical records?
- To what extent has the adaptive reuse of the site been effective in the treatment of the past?

## Historical skills

### 1 Explanation and communication

In a short paragraph for each point, briefly explain your response to the following questions:

- How would you describe the site?
- What sorts of groups ended up in quarantine?
- What type of evidence does the site contain?
- What was the difference between the Sick and the Healthy Grounds?
- What issues are involved in archaeology and conservation?

### 2 Historical interpretation

A plaque at the site to commemorate the Quarantine Station states:

*NORTH HEAD*
*QUARANTINE STATION*
*14th AUGUST 1832*
*TO*
*29th FEBRUARY 1984*
*COMMEMORATING THE QUARANTINE SERVICE OFFICERS*
*THEIR DEDICATION AND VIGILANCE HAS SIGNIFICANTLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE HEALTH AND PROSPERITY OF OUR NATION*

- With reference to the dedication on the plaque, explain why the Quarantine Station site is historically significant for Australia.

### 3 Analysis and use of sources

Answer the following questions, referring to the images of the sandstone inscriptions at the Q Station throughout this chapter.

- What do some of the engravings reveal about the experience of quarantine?
- Why do you think people etched or engraved the sandstone?
- What do these engravings show about the education and hopes of the people who made these?
- What technologies were used to make the engravings?
- What could be some of the issues of conservation and preservation with these engravings?



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## 4 Historical investigation and research

- Discuss the importance of the Quarantine Station as a place of social and cultural history for Australia. Give evidence for your response.

  In order to help you answer this question, conduct historical research in your school or local library or online (from educational websites). In your investigation, be sure to include:
  - a list of mini-questions you want to answer in your response (to break down the question into smaller parts)
  - a research plan (where will you conduct research; how many different sources of evidence do you want to consider?)
  - evidence from a range of sources (try to include some quotes from each source; be sure to use quotation marks)
  - acknowledge your sources appropriately (after a quote, list the source's author, title, date published, page number).

  Present your research in the form of a page-long essay, including an introduction, at least three body paragraphs and a conclusion.

## 5 Further essay questions

- To what extent has the heritage and cultural value of the site been preserved? Discuss.
- Assess the problems of modern archaeologists in preserving and maintaining the site.
- Evaluate the evidence from the site. To what extent can this evidence tell us the stories and experiences of those who stayed at the quarantine station?
- Identify and discuss the problems of constructing Sydney's migration history on evidence from the Quarantine Station.



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# CHAPTER 2
# The construction of modern histories: the rise of Donald Trump

*History … suggests that historians will disagree about these first 100 days. Historians' own political sensibilities will drive many of these disagreements as will the felt needs of their own historical moments. In other words, what historians say in 20 years will likely differ from what historians say in 50 or 100 years. The history of Trump — like virtually all others — will no doubt be rewritten many times.*

Kyle Volk, Professor of History at the University of Montana, quoted in 'What will future historians say about President Trump's first 100 days? Here are 11 guesses' in *Time.com*, 27 April 2017

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

Students develop an understanding of the nature of modern history through the study of a contemporary figure of historical significance, Donald Trump.

**KEY ISSUES**

You will explore:

- the different types of historical writing used to study recent historical people and events
- the variety and nature of sources available in the contemporary world and the problems and issues associated with the use of each type of source
- the use of selectivity, emphasis and omission in the creation of the image of a public figure

**1964–1974** Military academy and university

**1983** Trump Tower in Manhattan opened

**1989–1992** Debt and bankruptcy problems



**2004** Hosts *The Apprentice*

**2015** 16 June: announces bid for US presidency



**2017** 20 January: inauguration. Becomes the 45th President of the United States

**DONALD TRUMP**

**1946** Born in the suburb of Queens, New York

**1974** Creates the Trump Organization




**1987** *The Art of the Deal* is published

**1996** Buys Miss Universe Organization

**2004** Launches Brand Trump

**2016** 8 November: wins the US presidential election

**2017** 29 April: President Trump's first 100 days in office concludes

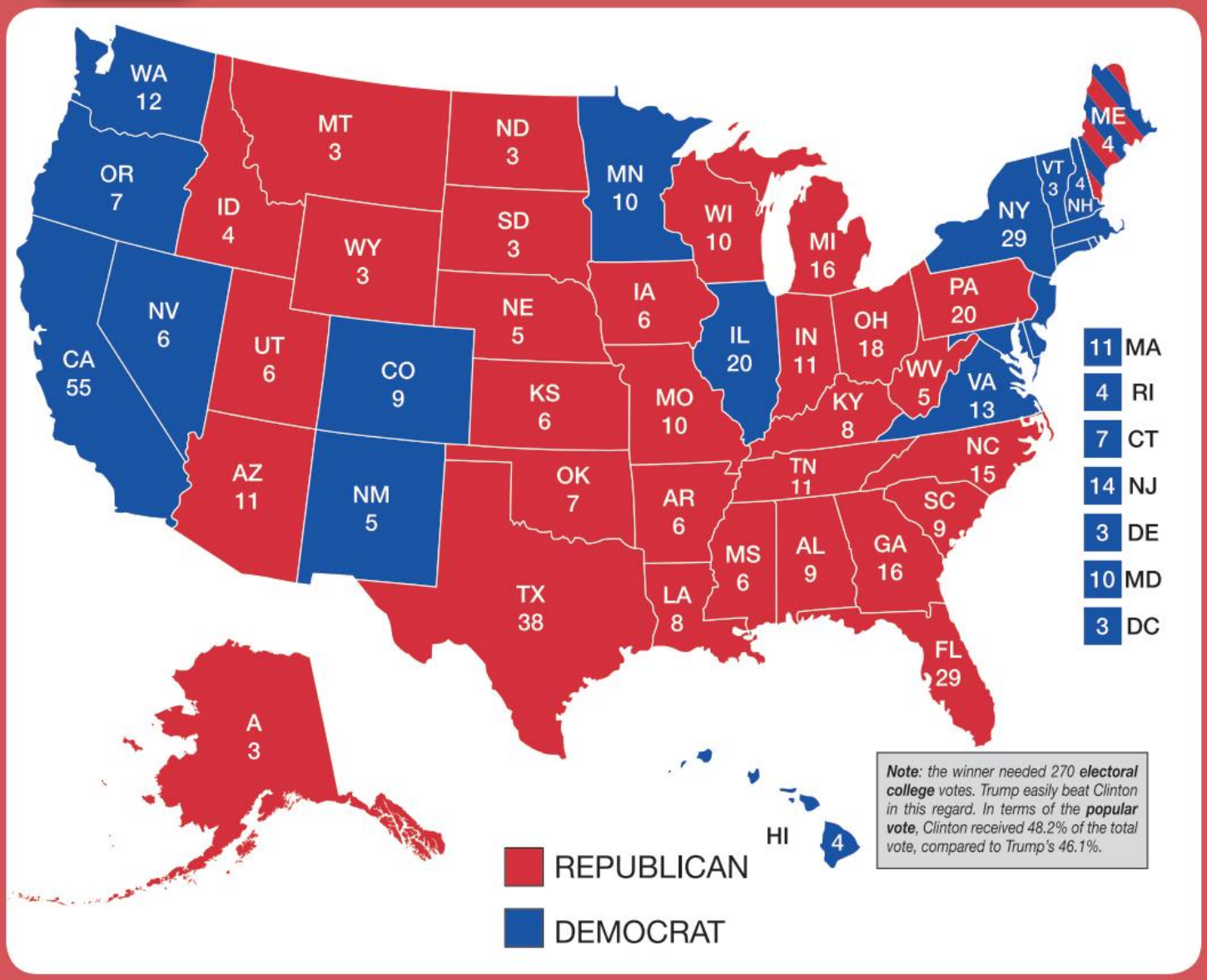


**SOURCE 2.1 Donald Trump at an election rally on 15 September 2016, wearing a red baseball cap with his campaign slogan 'Make America Great Again'**

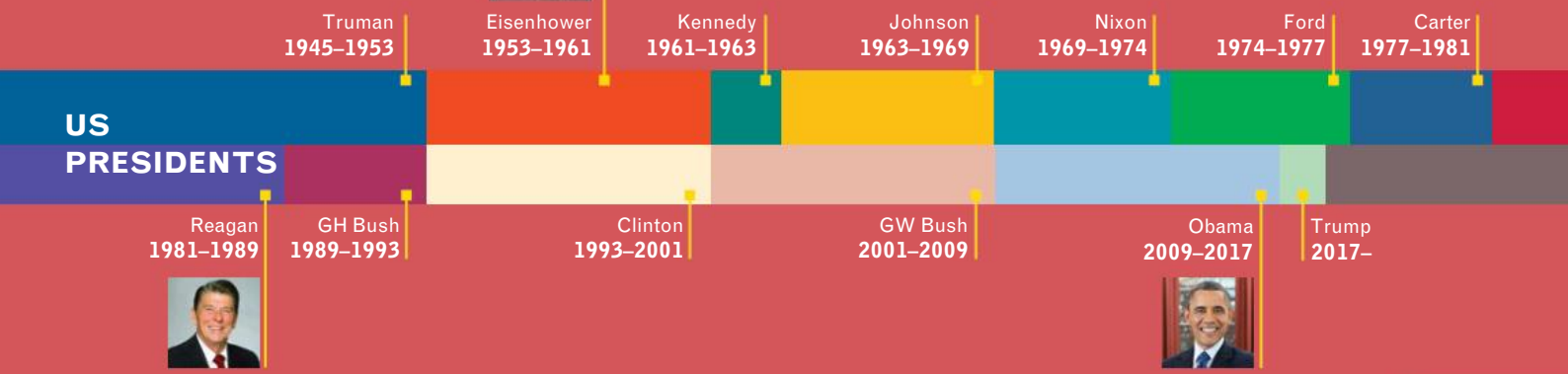
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# United States 2016 presidential election result





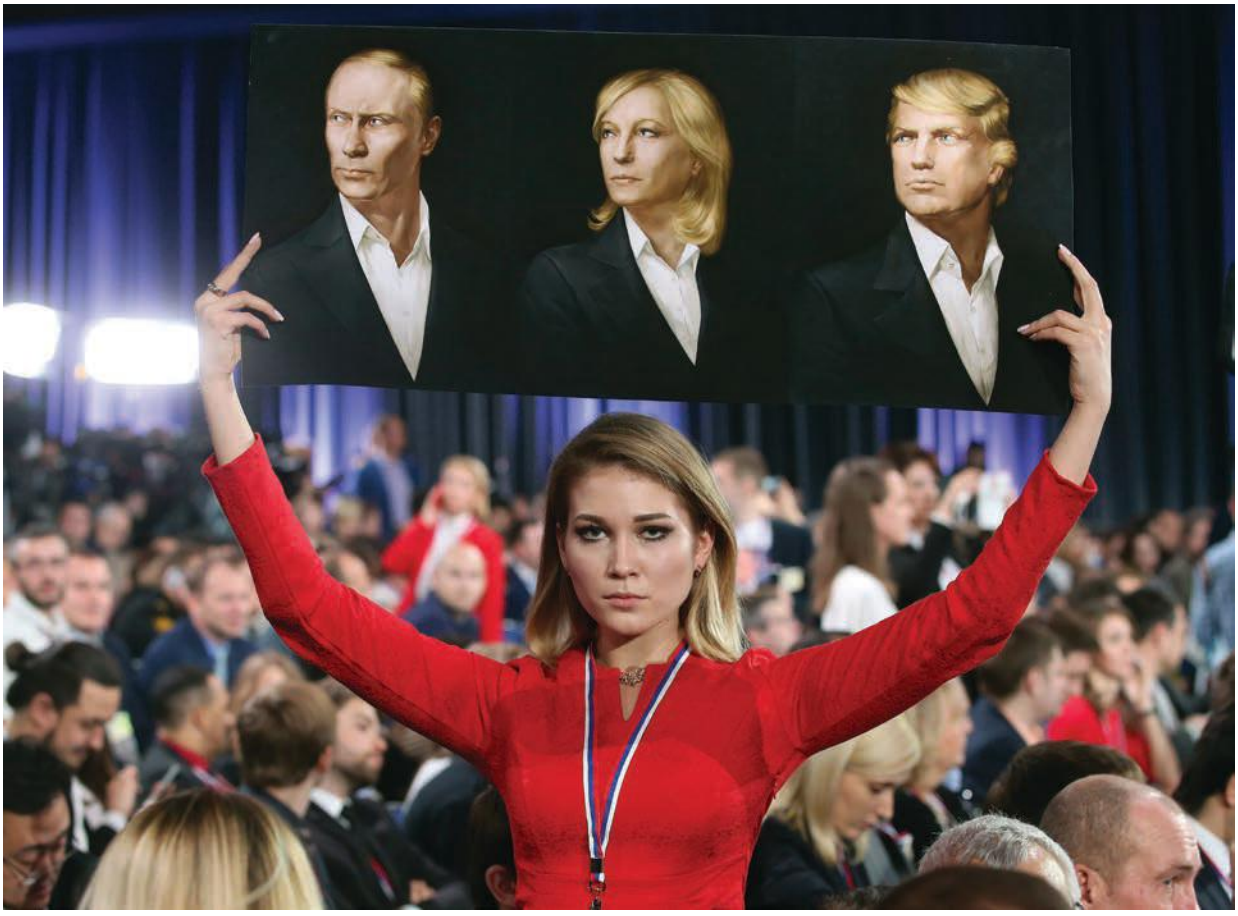







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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



**SOURCE 2.2** Moscow, Russia: a journalist holds a placard with portraits of Russian President Vladimir Putin, French National Front leader Marine Le Pen, and US President-elect Donald Trump (left to right) ahead of an annual news conference by Russia's President Vladimir Putin at Moscow's World Trade Centre on 23 December 2016. According to a Times UK report, during the press conference Vladimir Putin 'praised US President-elect Donald Trump and called for a new era of cooperation between Russia and its former Cold War foe.'

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

| What do you see? | What do you think? | What do you wonder? |
|---|---|---|



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# CHAPTER 2 Overview

| KEY IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS TODAY | KEY TERMS AND NAMES |
|---|---|---|
| From the start of his political career, Donald Trump's actions and policies have been controversial and had an impact around the globe. | The Trump administration has inspired greatly differing perspectives – ranging from Trump being a defender of traditional American values to Trump presenting a challenge to democracy. | • democracy<br>• rule of law<br>• reality TV<br>• perspectives<br>• America First<br>• Republican<br>• Democrat<br>• Primaries<br>• Donald Trump<br>• Hillary Clinton |

## *Painting the picture*

### The rise of Donald Trump

**INQUIRY QUESTION**

How did Donald Trump rise to the US presidency?

Donald Trump is a controversial figure, whose presidency will be written about for generations to come. This chapter charts the rise of Donald Trump from being a famous New York businessman and reality TV star to becoming the 45th President of the United States of America. It focuses on Trump's remarkable election campaign and concludes with an analysis of Trump's first 100 days in office. This is a famous benchmark for assessing the performance of new US presidents and an appropriate point to look back on Trump's rise and achievements up to that time. It is worth noting as an important period in American and world history regardless of how Trump's presidency plays out in the future. Though we focus on a specific period of time, please note that many activity questions in this chapter are open ended, inviting you to apply what you learn to the events that are still unfolding.

Why study Donald Trump? The Syllabus itself states clearly that the study of Modern History should 'provide insight into the possible motivations and role of individuals', and allow students to 'explore their interest and curiosity about people and events that have had a significant impact on the modern world.' This chapter aims to help students to 'make sense of the world around them', to be 'active and informed citizens' and to 'foster a critical approach to understanding, issues and interpretations.'

In this chapter you will investigate methods and issues associated with constructing accounts of the past. There will be a focus on how historians, political commentators and everyday people viewed Trump in the election campaign and during his first 100 days as commander-in-chief of the United States. Contrasting views on Trump will be examined, especially those held by historians from across the political spectrum. As these views were made public at the time, especially during the election campaign, it is important to note that the historians and political commentators quoted in this chapter were voicing their own opinions, unable to explain with any certainty what was yet to happen under a future Trump presidency. The historians in particular drew on the lessons of the past to hazard a guess as to which of Trump's actions up to that point would make it into the history books — and how they would be interpreted with the added perspective of hindsight. These contrasting views, both supporting and criticising Trump's words and actions, are presented for you to consider what the historical significance of Trump will be, and to weigh up your own opinions on the man and what he stands for.

By examining the different types of historical writing that exist on Trump, such as narrative, biography, and political commentary, you will gain an understanding of the ways in which historical accounts of famous



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individuals are constructed. Through a range of sources, you will consider the role of evidence, interpretation and perspective in the construction of historical accounts. By looking closely at Trump, you will also see some of the problems associated with historical writing about individuals, such as the abundance of documentary material, the incomplete nature of evidence and political controls on access to materials, including classified records. Finally, and importantly, through studying contrasting views on Trump, you will see the role that selectivity, emphasis and omission play in the construction of historical accounts.

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Donald Trump

**Born:** 14 June 1946
**Nickname:** 'The Donald'
**Party:** Republican Party
**Elected President:** 9 November 2016
**Presidential inauguration:** 20 January 2017
**Education:** Economics at the University of Pennsylvania
**Net worth:** $4.5 billion (2016 Forbes estimate), making him the wealthiest US president
**Before politics:** Donald Trump first made a name for himself as a mega-rich businessman from New York. Though he was bankrupted several times he was also successful in many business ventures, including real-estate and licensing his own brand. Trump became a global television star in the mid-2000s in *The Apprentice*, then in 2015 announced he was running for the 2016 presidential election.
**Quote:** "America will start winning again. Winning like never before."




**SOURCE 2.3** Donald Trump in 2015

## 2.1 Constructing a history of Trump

It is a challenging task to construct a sound historical account to enable informed judgements about Donald Trump. There are a vast number of sources of various types relating to Donald Trump that deal with his past business career, his candidacy in the US elections and his presidency. The sources generated by the Trump presidency on a daily basis since his inauguration have been unprecedented. The scrutiny and commentary – so global in their reach – have been intense and possibly more so with Trump than with any previous US president.

### The problem of sources and evidence in the contemporary world

Constructing histories from the more contemporary past is more complex than ever due to the following factors:

#### Information overload

The sheer volume of information available virtually instantaneously and in a wide variety of formats can be overwhelming for anyone constructing a history of someone living in recent times. As we will see with Donald Trump, many books have been written about him, and by him, and he has appeared in print and other media on an almost daily basis for his entire business career. As President Trump is a constant presence



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in the news around the world every day, countless articles, interviews and documentaries continue to be made to analyse his presidency.

## Social media and internet media outlets

The impact of social media on the way news is reported has been profound in recent years. Facebook and Twitter have become the main sources of news for many people. Yet Facebook tailors its newsfeed to individual tastes so people are often only exposed to information that already aligns with their view of the world. The other problem is that **fake news** spreads quickly on the internet and especially on social media. What is often valued on the internet is speed above accuracy. Added to this, traditional news organisations, which pride themselves on presenting the truth, are finding it hard to compete financially due to the fact that news is available for free from so many sources on the internet.




**SOURCE 2.4** The Twitter Inc. accounts of US President Donald Trump, @POTUS and @realDonaldTrump. Trump already had over 22 million followers on Twitter on his personal account. On becoming President he took over the Presidential Twitter account as well, with over 14 million followers.

**fake news** a concerted effort by a website or other form of media to fabricate information in order to influence political opinion or win financial gain. 'Fake news' is also used as a term of abuse.

**democracy** the belief in freedom and equality between people, or a system of government based on this belief, in which power is held either by elected representatives or directly by the people themselves

## Political bias

Traditional news sources in the US are not politically neutral, and journalists in these organisations tend to hold similar and strong political views. Various researchers cite these organisations as left-learning, Centrist or right-leaning. Generally speaking, CNN, ABC, MSNBC, and *The New York Times* lean left, whilst Fox News and *The Wall Street Journal* lean right.

## Selectivity, emphasis and omission

Historians construct their histories by choosing evidence from a variety of sources. This very act is in itself political. For example, there are many books available about Donald Trump. These range from flattering portraits highlighting his business acumen, to unflattering portrayals of him as a politician who poses a threat to **democracy** itself. Depending on the perspective of the historian, they may choose to include quotations that support their argument, in order to emphasise a certain aspect over another. They may also omit information that does not help their analysis of a historical figure or event. For example, anyone aiming to portray Trump in a positive light might refer to a website like Breitbart News. Breitbart News is an ultra-conservative news outlet that was founded by Steve Bannon, who became the chief strategist behind Trump's election campaign. For sources critical of Trump, one might start with the more liberal *New York Times*. A challenge for anyone writing about Trump is to try to remain objective and unbiased and, as




**SOURCE 2.5** Donald Trump wrote many books promoting himself. *Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again* was released on 3 November 2015, during the 2016 Presidential Election campaign.



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## KEY QUESTIONS

***Identifying problems***

1 What are the difficulties of dealing with sources in the contemporary world?

2 What new problems have arisen in using sources since the rise of Donald Trump?

we will see throughout the chapter, many professional writers and commentators do indeed write passionately about the subject, because they believe the words and actions of Trump carry great significance.

### Trump biographies and memoirs

In *The Making of Donald Trump*, biographer David Cay Johnston admits that we can never truly know his character, but argues that we can assess it based on his actions and his words. One thing that stands out for a reader of books written on the man's life is that Donald Trump has rarely been out of the spotlight. A constant throughout his career has been the presentation of himself as a successful businessman. Trump has been in the public eye for over 40 years, and since becoming President has featured regularly on the front pages of the global media. In recent years he has perfected the art of using social media, with a Twitter account that boasts over 20 million followers. (Trump's supporters would argue that Twitter allows him to directly address his followers without his message being filtered by the media.) Numerous biographies have been published about Donald Trump. Three biographies were written towards the end of his US presidential campaign before the 2016 election. *Trump Revealed: An American Journey of Ambition, Ego and Power* was written by Michael Kranish and Marc Fisher over a period of three months assisted by a team of twenty reporters, two fact-checkers and three editors from the *Washington Post* newspaper. The team wrote more than thirty articles covering all aspects of Trump's life and career. Trump himself also took part in twenty hours of interviews with the reporters. Meanwhile, Michael D'Antonio spent over three years researching for his book *The Truth About Trump*. David Cay Johnston, who wrote *The Making of Donald Trump*, had followed Trump 'intensely' over thirty years. Johnston said that his book was:

> ... a presentation of the facts as I have witnessed them and as the public record shows. They are facts reported with the same flint-eyed diligence as everything else I have written about in the past half century.

**SOURCE 2.6** David Cay Johnston, *The Making of Donald Trump*, 2016, p. xv

There is no shortage of experts who have written about Trump's life and career up to his election as President. Other biographies have been written on Donald Trump and now there will be a constant stream of books analysing his presidency as it unfolds.

According to *Trump Revealed*, throughout his entire career, Donald Trump's number one priority appears to have been to attract publicity. His daily routine was to read everything that had been said or written about him the previous day. Trump took special note of any negative stories about him and was very quick to phone or write to a journalist if he disapproved of a story they wrote about him. However, for him, even bad publicity was regarded as being a good thing, because it kept him in the news. As Trump stated in *The Art of the Deal* (1987):

> One thing I've learned is that the press is always hungry for a good story, and the more sensational the better ... Sometimes they write positively and sometimes they write negatively. But from a pure business point of view, the benefits of being written about have far outweighed the drawbacks.

**SOURCE 2.7** Donald Trump, *The Art of the Deal*, 1987, pp. 37–8

As well as becoming a master at using the media to help achieve his goals in business, Trump wrote a number of memoirs, some business advice books and some political books. In these publications, Trump was very candid about his views and his business practices. In *The Art of the Deal* Trump asserted that

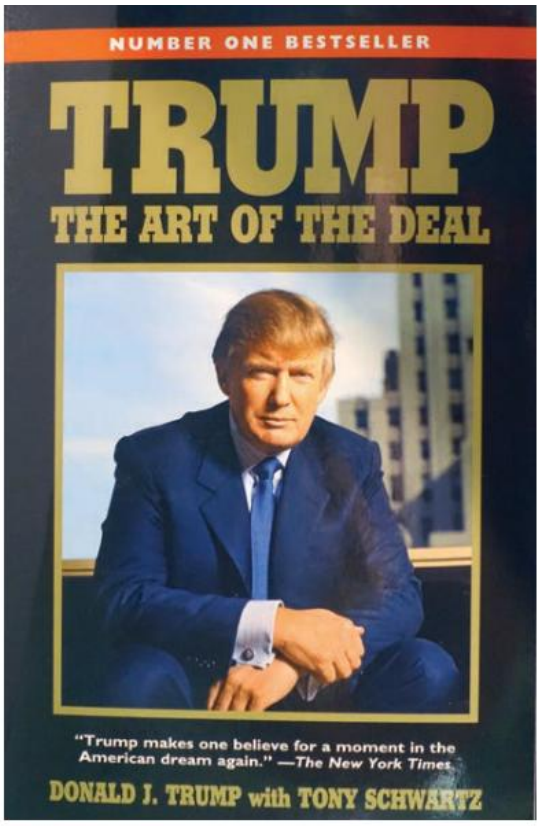


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he used 'bravado' and 'truthful **hyperbole**' in his dealings in real estate, stating:

> The final key to the way I promote is bravado. I play to people's fantasies. People may not always think big themselves, but they can still get very excited by those that do. That's why a little hyperbole never hurts. People want to believe that something is the biggest and the greatest and the most spectacular. I call it truthful hyperbole. It's an innocent form of exaggeration – and a very effective form of promotion.

**SOURCE 2.8** Donald Trump, *The Art of the Deal*, 1987, pp. 37–8




**SOURCE 2.9** Donald Trump, *The Art of the Deal*, 1987

In the books that Donald Trump has written himself (assisted by ghost writers) he has followed this approach. According to journalist Carlos Lozada, writing for *The Washington Post* in July 2015, six weeks after Trump announced he was contesting the US presidential election and sixteen months before the election, the things that stood out when he read all 2212 pages of Trump's books were his:

- constantly mentioning his achievements
- use of exaggeration: 'truthful hyperbole' and 'playing to people's fantasies'
- insults: 'like he's trying to make sure we're still paying attention'
- love for his buildings: 'as if they were living beings, friends or lovers'
- reluctance to admit mistakes
- confrontations with the news media
- demand for absolute loyalty to himself by those he deals with
- vengefulness: with Trump having said 'If someone screws you, screw them back.'

On the last point Lozada commented: 'Trump's world is binary, divided into class acts and losers … The discipline of book writing does not dilute Trump; it renders him in concentrated form.'

**hyperbole** language used deliberately to exaggerate, to emphasise something, to add humour or to gain attention. When people use hyperbole, they often make statements that are obviously untrue.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 2.1

Many commentators focus on Trump's ruthless approach to business. According to this journalist's summary of twelve of Trump's own books:

> [Trump's] always believed in the fundamental zero-sum nature of the world. Whether he's discussing real estate in New York, or his '00s reality TV career, or his views on immigration and trade, he consistently views life as a succession of deals. Those deals are best thought of as fights over who gets what share of a fixed pot of resources. The idea of collaborating for mutual benefit rarely arises. Life is dealmaking, and dealmaking is about crushing your enemies.

**SOURCE 2.10** Dylan Matthews, 'Zero-sum Trump: What you learn from reading twelve of Donald Trump's books,' *Vox.com*, 19 January 2017



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Some of Trump's biographers show another side to the man. According to Michael D'Antonio, the author of *The Truth About Trump: an Unauthorised and Comprehensive Biography*:

> For all of his flaws and all of the provocation that he dishes out on the campaign trail and things that he says that upset a lot of people, Donald has a lot of positive qualities that come out, especially in private. When you're with him, he's able to focus on the conversation at hand. He's rather kindly. He smiles. He can make fun of himself, and with his staff you can see that there's a loyalty and a mutual admiration that goes back and forth among them. Donald has hired a lot of people and given them more responsibility and more reward faster than, I think, any other major executive ever would, so if you go into his organization as a gifted young person and you show that you can handle an assignment, he'll give you a tougher one and a tougher one, and he'll reward you if you succeed. I even think that if you fail and he understands why you failed and the circumstances around that failure he'll give you a second chance, and this is contrary to the "you're fired" image that people get from 'The Apprentice'.

**SOURCE 2.11** Michael D'Antonio, 'Who is Donald Trump?' CNN website, 2016

1. Assess journalist Dylan Matthews' conclusion, drawn from books written by Trump, about his character. What does he think is Trump's main character trait?
2. Describe what Matthews means by the term 'zero-sum' in regard to Donald Trump.
3. Compare and contrast this assessment with that of Trump biographer Michael D'Antonio. Briefly describe each source, then account for their differences.
4. Explain whether you see any of these character traits exhibited in Donald Trump as President.

### SELECTED BOOKS BY DONALD TRUMP

*The Art of the Deal,* 1987
*Trump: Surviving at the Top,* 1990
*Trump: The Art of the Comeback,* 1997
*The America We Deserve,* 2000
*Trump: How to Get Rich,* 2004
*Think Like a Billionaire: Everything You Need to Know about Success, Real Estate, and Life,* 2004
*Think Big and Kick Ass in Business and Life,* 2007
*Time to Get Tough: Making America #1 Again,* 2011
*Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again,* 2015
*Great Again: How to Fix Our Crippled America,* 2016

## 2.2 The making of Trump

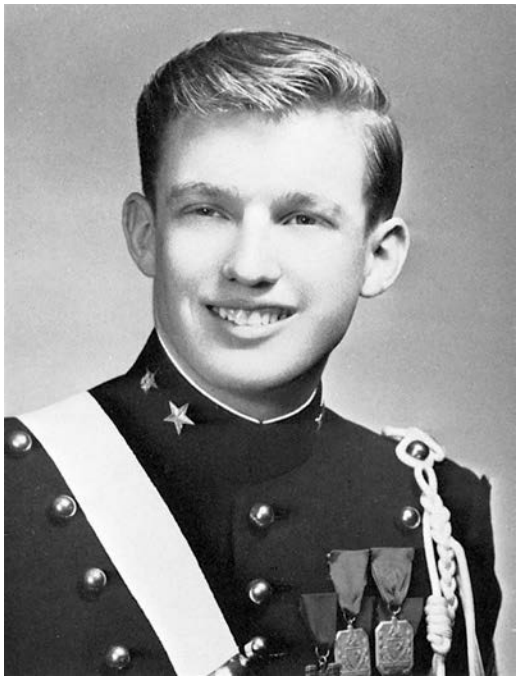
The next sections of this chapter use the form of historical writing known as narrative history in which a historian attempts to weave a story about a historical event or person together, drawing on historical sources as evidence in the process. Sources here will include biographies and autobiographies, news articles and opinion pieces on the rise of Trump.



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## Trump's early life influences

One of five children, Donald Trump was born in New York on 14 June 1946. He has immigrant heritage. His grandfather was from Germany and his mother, Mary McLeod, was from Scotland. His father, Fred Trump, a builder and real estate developer in the suburbs outside Manhattan, exerted a powerful influence on Donald's life. Fred has been described as a workaholic who devoted most of his time and energy to his real estate and construction business. Fred was very strict and demanding of his children, teaching them to be ruthless, competitive and aggressive. According to several of Trump's biographers, this strict upbringing had the effect of making young Donald Trump argumentative, aggressive and at times a bully towards fellow students. Perhaps to straighten him out, Fred sent the young Donald to a military academy high school at the age of thirteen. Donald thrived at the tough New York Military Academy and graduated in 1964. This was followed by four years at university studying business and graduating in 1968.



**SOURCE 2.12** A young Donald Trump pictured in his 1964 New York Military Academy yearbook

In 1971, Donald Trump left the family home and rented a unit in Manhattan where he dreamed he would one day construct magnificent buildings. As a child, Trump's only religious education consisted of some attendance at the Marble Collegiate Church in New York, where the widely known Reverend Norman Vincent Peale preached. The minister's main message was that with positive thinking and willpower anything could be achieved, outlined in his best-selling book *The Power of Positive Thinking*, first published in 1952. Other than the idea that anyone can achieve things with positive thinking, biographer David Cay Johnston claims Trump did not learn a great deal about Christianity or the Bible. Trump once reportedly said that his autobiography *The Art of the Deal* was the 'greatest book ever written except for the Bible'.

## Trump's mentor Roy Cohn

In Trump's 2011 autobiography *Time to Get Tough* he wrote: 'Look, I do deals — big deals — all the time … I'll do nearly anything within legal bounds to win.'

Roy Cohn was perhaps the greatest influence on Donald Trump – maybe more so than even his father. Cohn was a lawyer with allegedly strong connections to the American Mafia, who had once worked for Senator Joseph McCarthy in his communist investigations in the 1950s. Cohn became Trump's mentor. He was street-smart and advised Trump and acted as his lawyer for many years. According to Sidney Blumenthal (a former aide to President Bill Clinton and long-time confidant to Hillary Clinton), in 'A short history of the Trump family', *London Review of Books*, March 2017, Donald Trump, as his father Fred had been, was also 'married to the Mob.' Blumenthal argued that, Trump 'didn't really need an education in heartlessness, but he learned the finer points from Cohn.' Trump first met Roy Cohn in 1973 at Le Club, a private New York disco. Cohn helped Trump fight the Justice Department that was suing him and his father for racial discrimination in refusing to rent apartments to people from minority groups. Cohn advised Trump to tell them to 'go to hell' and countersue the Justice Department for $100 million. According to Robert O'Harrow Jr and Shawn Boburg in 'The man who showed Donald Trump how to exploit power and instil fear' in *The Washington Post*, 17 June 2016, Cohn soon represented Trump in legal battles, counselled him about his marriage and introduced Trump to New York power brokers, money men and socialites. Cohn also allegedly instructed Trump to exploit power and instil fear through a simple formula: attack, counterattack and never apologise. Trump biographer David Cay Johnston (an investigative journalist who



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**SOURCE 2.13** Trump Tower in New York was opened on 1 October 1983 with a black-tie event. To the right of Trump in the photo is Mayor Ed Koch and on the far right is Roy Cohn

## KEY QUESTIONS

***Contestability***

1 In your opinion, is Sidney Blumenthal a reliable source? Why/why not?

2 What about David Cay Johnston?

won a Pulitzer Prize in 2001 and a former writer for Reuters – a news agency known for its reporting of facts without political bias) spent many years investigating the Mob connections, which he detailed in his article 'Just what were Donald Trump's ties to the Mob?' in *Politico Magazine*, 22 May 2016. Johnston asserted that, from the public record, a clear picture emerged showing that:

> Trump's career benefitted from a decades-long and largely successful effort to limit and deflect law enforcement investigations into his dealings with top mobsters, organized crime associates, labor fixers, corrupt union leaders, con artists and even a one-time drug trafficker whom Trump retained as the head of his personal helicopter service.

**SOURCE 2.14** Sidney Blumenthal, 'Just what were Donald Trump's ties to the Mob?' in *Politico Magazine*, 22 May 2016

**Manhattan** the main part of New York City sits on the island of Manhattan, which is 22 km long and 4 km wide

## Trump the businessman

From his teenage years, Donald Trump's ambition was to own his own real estate and construction business based in **Manhattan**. He wanted to follow in his father's footsteps in real estate and construction, but with one key difference. Fred Trump had constructed and rented residential properties to low-income people. Trump wanted to operate in the high end of town and he wanted to be where the action was by living there as well. In 1971 he bought a small studio apartment in Manhattan and struck out on his own career path.



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**SOURCE 2.15** The construction of Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan, New York, made Donald Trump a celebrity, sought after by the press and courted by banks wanting to lend him money.

Donald Trump did not stop with real estate and construction. Over his career Trump engaged in many other business ventures:

- casinos, building and management
- golf clubs, construction and management
- a football team
- an airline
- beauty pageants
- writing books
- reality TV
- marketing the Trump brand.

Many of Trump's ventures ended in financial trouble, requiring restructuring of debt, financial deals with governments and the selling of assets. It was only the last two ventures, later in his career as a reality TV star and marketing the Trump brand, that steadied the financial side of his empire.

## KEY QUESTIONS

### *Clarifying*

Who were the main influences on Donald Trump when he was growing up?

What lessons did Trump learn from his mentors for his business career?

## NOTE THIS DOWN

### *Summarising*

Details and Assessment have been completed for the first in the list of Trump's business ventures below. Use this as an example to complete the rest.

| Trump's business ventures | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Venture** | **Details** | **Assessment** |
| Real estate | Grand Hyatt 1978 – first achievement<br>Trump Tower in New York 1983 | Trump became a star and celebrity.<br>Banks now willing to loan money |
| Casinos | | |
| Trump Shuttle | | |
| Gridiron football | | |
| Beauty pageants and modelling | | |
| Reality TV | | |
| Trump University | | |



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## Real estate

It was real estate that first made a name for Trump. The two real estate ventures, both in Manhattan, that set Donald Trump on his path to fame were:

- the Grand Hyatt Hotel, which was remodelled from the old Commodore Hotel in 1978
- Trump Tower, a 58-storey skyscraper that was completed in 1983. This hotel houses his private residence and is the headquarters of the Trump Organization. According to biographers Kranish and Fisher in *Trump Revealed,* Trump Tower:

> permanently ingrained Trump, his name, and his celebrity into the firmament of Manhattan, just as he had dreamed about as a young boy looking over the bridge from Queens [an outlying suburb], ...The Grand Hyatt had made Trump famous in New York. Trump Tower made him famous everywhere

Banks were now willing to lend him whatever he needed to finance other real estate deals. By 1990, Trump had become what he always wanted to be – a star. According to Kranish and Fisher many of Trump's associates had sensed a change and left, and Trump surrounded himself with people who did not argue with him or question him.

## Casinos

Trump's next biggest venture after real estate was his casinos. For this he moved to the neighbouring state of New Jersey, where commercial casinos had been legalised in 1976. He ended up owning, and in some cases building, a number of casinos in Atlantic City. One was named Trump's Castle but his crowning jewel was the Taj Mahal Casino.




**SOURCE 2.16** (Left) Exterior of Trump's Taj Mahal hotel and casino; (right) Trump at the opening of the casino in 1989

## The Trump Shuttle

Trump began moving beyond real estate and casinos, and in 1989 he bought a fleet of twenty-one aging Boeing 727 aircraft for $365 million and created his own airline, called the Trump Shuttle. However, Trump had no prior experience running an airline and it ran at a loss. By 1992, with the Trump empire in massive debt, the airline was sold off.



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**SOURCE 2.17** Donald Trump's airline, the Trump Shuttle, was one of his failed business ventures. It operated from 1989 to 1992 and never returned a profit.

## Gridiron football

Trump also branched out into sport and got involved in the United States Football League (USFL). The type of football played in the US is called gridiron. The USFL provided a televised football competition in the spring, while the main NFL (National Football League) played in autumn and winter. The USFL was growing in popularity and was signing up top players such as Herschel Walker for the The New Jersey Generals. In 1983 Donald Trump bought the Generals and apparently enjoyed the media attention that went with it. Trump then persuaded the other owners of team franchises to embark on a risky plan to move the USFL to autumn and winter in direct competition with the NFL and to compete for lucrative television contracts. He went on a spending spree with his Generals.



**SOURCE 2.18** In 1983 Trump announced that he had signed up Herschel Walker to play running back for the New Jersey Generals in New Jersey.




**SOURCE 2.19** Trump with Australia's Jennifer Hawkins, who was crowned Miss Universe in 2004. This gave Hawkins her big break in modelling.

However, this plan to compete with the NFL failed. By 1985, the USFL started to lose massive amounts of money. Trump's solution was to sue the NFL, accusing it of being an illegal monopoly. In July 1986 Trump won the case but the court awarded the USFL only $3.76 million in damages. The USFL collapsed six days later. Many people involved in the USFL blamed Trump, who was reported to have said, 'After taxes, I would say I lost $3m. And I got a billion dollars' publicity.'

**KEY QUESTIONS**

***Clarifying***

Why do you think Trump valued publicity so highly?

## Beauty pageants and modelling

Donald Trump extended his business interests further by getting involved in beauty pageants and modelling as a way to mix his investment portfolio as well as to give him exposure to a large international television audience. In 1996 he bought a controlling share of the Miss Universe pageants and was very actively involved.



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## KEY QUESTIONS

**Forming opinions**

In your opinion, what do we learn about Donald Trump's character from his business dealings?

However, a number of scandals emerged during that time. For instance, he publicly attacked Miss Universe 1996 for putting on weight. Then a business partner, Jill Harth, claimed that Trump had sexually assaulted her in 1993. In 1997, Harth filed a sexual assault lawsuit against Mr Trump, which she later dropped. Trump denied her claims and called them 'meritless'.

In 2015, the partnership with NBC to stage the pageants ended when Trump made controversial remarks about Mexican people. Trump sued for breach of contract and the case was finally settled out of court. In September 2016, he sold his interest in the Miss Universe pageant and walked away from the industry. However, his involvement in beauty pageants had helped to raise his international profile.

As a spin-off from Miss Universe Trump formed a company called Trump Model Management in 1999. The company brought 250 foreign fashion models to the US. Trump often used the models to support events for his other business ventures. In 2014, the company was involved in a series of lawsuits for failing to pay the foreign models properly. In early 2016 a New York judge dismissed the lawsuits, citing a lack of evidence.

### 'You're fired': Trump the reality TV star

One of Donald Trump's most successful ventures was his participation in the long-running **reality TV** show *The Apprentice* on the NBC Network, which he starred in from 2004 until its fourteenth season in 2014. It was a top 10 show nationwide in its first season, and quickly became a global hit. The show involved people competing for a high-level executive job and contestants were progressively fired with Trump's 'You're fired!' phrase becoming the show's trademark. When the show became wildly successful Trump was paid $1 million per episode. In 2015 he claimed he was paid a total of around $214 million for his fourteen seasons with the show.

**reality TV** shows based on the idea of members of the public living or taking part, in an unscripted way, in programs under conditions created specially by the producers of the programs

Trump loved the show and was obsessed with its ratings. He was now a genuine star. *The Apprentice* boosted his image with the American public. It made him start thinking again about the possibility of running for the presidency. (He had seriously considered running in 2000.) According to biographers Kranish and Fisher in *Trump Revealed*, the reality TV show 'sold an image of the host-boss as supremely competent and confident, dispensing his authority and getting immediate results. The analogy to politics was palpable.' Kranish and Fisher maintained that the show was 'a sustained development of character, a powerful mainline into the American consciousness, an essential bridge on the journey from builder to politician'.

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Forming opinions**

Do you think Trump's business background and TV persona would have appealed to some voters? Why/why not?

However, his relationship with *The Apprentice* did not end well. In June 2015, the NBC network ended their business relationship with Trump before the planned fifteenth season, due to his derogatory comments about immigrants.

### Brand Trump

Donald Trump used his popularity in *The Apprentice* to aggressively market the Trump brand. In 2004 he approached male clothing company Phillips-Van Heusen to have his name associated with their products. Over the following eleven years, Phillips-Van Heusen had Trump's name stitched onto clothing manufactured in China, Bangladesh and Honduras. Due to this alliance Trump received $1 million a year – some might argue this was an astonishingly successful business deal.

He went on to market his name for a wide range of things, from building projects to consumer products such as mattresses, eyeglasses, furnishings, ties, bottled water, wallets, lamps, credit cards and fragrances. Developers even paid to have the Trump name on their properties. By 2011 Trump's brand was worth anywhere between $200 million and a billion US dollars – depending on whose figures you believe. Added to this, Trump's



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children managed their own share of the brand empire with thirty-three licensing projects valued at a total of $562 million. In all of these deals he found that he could license his name without putting up any money and that he could make a good profit even if the ventures failed. Now Trump's main business was his brand.




**SOURCE 2.20** Sign promoting Trump's reality TV show *The Apprentice*

## Trump University

Trump University was founded in 2005. It has been reported that there was intense sales pressure on the university staff to sign up students for expensive courses. Free seminars were offered, during which staff were allegedly told to pressure attendees to sign up for a three-day seminar for $1495, then upgrade to classes with a mentor for $9995. Staff used the financial information on the enrolment forms to push those with the available funds to opt for the $34 995 'Gold Elite' package.

However, it is alleged that many students received little for their money, other than a photo taken with a cardboard cut-out of Trump and a certificate. Class action lawsuits soon followed, with two in San Diego, in California, in 2012 and one in New York in 2013. In each it was claimed that Trump had defrauded thousands of people. All 7000 plaintiffs claimed that everything Trump had said about the university was false. For instance, none of the 'instructors were handpicked by him, as advertised, and none of the profits went to charity'. During the US election campaign in 2016 Donald Trump criticised Judge Gonzalo Curiel, who was overseeing the case, because his 'Mexican heritage' was influencing his 'unfair judgments'.

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Clarifying**

1. In which ventures did Donald Trump have most success?
2. Are there any common elements shared by all of Trump's business ventures?

On 19 November 2016, President-elect Trump agreed to settle the lawsuits out of court. There was no admission of guilt, though New York State Attorney-General Eric Schneiderman called Trump University's actions the 'hallmark of snake-oil salesmen'. In March 2017 the settlement was put in jeopardy because one student, Sherri Simpson, wanted to be excluded so that she could sue separately. She had been one of the students encouraged to sign up for the $35 000 'Gold Elite' program.




**SOURCE 2.21** On 32 May 2005 in New York, Donald Trump held a media conference announcing the establishment of Trump University.



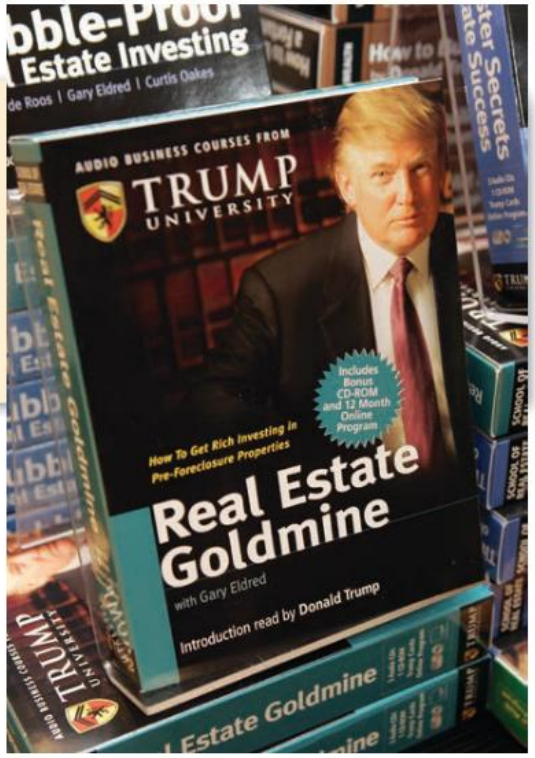
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## RESEARCH TASK 2.2

### *Clarifying*

1 To what extent have the three Trump University lawsuits been resolved?

2 Have any other US presidents faced serious lawsuits? If so, explain what their outcomes were, and whether there was any evidence of further wrongdoing during their time in the presidency.




**SOURCE 2.22** Copies of 'Real Estate Goldmine', part of a series of nine audio business courses created by Trump University

## 2.3 Trump the politician

Donald Trump has had an interest in politics since the 1980s. In the 2000 election he considered running as a third-party candidate. Then in 2010–2012 he became the symbolic leader of the 'Birther issue', which was led by a group who believed that President Barack Obama was not born in the US (which would have made Obama's presidency illegitimate). Trump used the 'Birther issue' to increase his profile among certain sections of the American population. Trump was actually mocked about this by Obama himself at the White House Correspondents' Dinner on 30 April 2011. On the day after Mitt Romney lost the election to Obama on 7 November 2012, Trump took out a patent on the phrase 'Make America Great Again'.

**global financial crisis** a catastrophic global recession considered by many economists to have been the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s

**Rust Belt** a term for the region of the US from the Great Lakes to the upper Midwest States, referring to economic decline, population loss and urban decay due to the shrinking of its once-powerful industrial sector, also known as deindustrialisation

**globalisation** the increase of trade around the world, especially by large companies producing and trading goods in many different countries

### Trump enters the Presidential Primaries

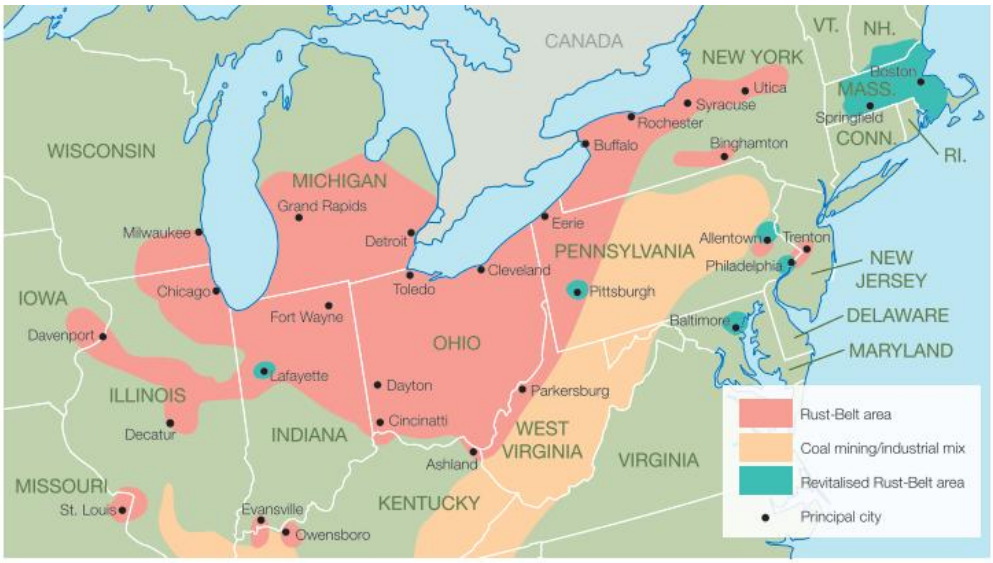
On 16 June 2015, Donald Trump announced that he would run in the upcoming November 2016 presidential elections for the Republican Party, declaring that 'we are going to make the country great again' and that he would be 'the greatest jobs president that God ever created'. Trump's announcement sought to appeal to Americans who had been directly affected by the **global financial crisis** of 2007-2008. Many of these Americans were located in the region known as the **Rust Belt**. Many voters in these states had previously worked in manufacturing industries that had closed down and their jobs were sent overseas where production costs were cheaper. This was a negative symptom of **globalisation**. They were said to be the 'forgotten Americans', who used to be strong supporters of the Democratic Party, and who had felt ignored by successive governments. Trump directly appealed to these voters by claiming he would bring back American manufacturing jobs to these regions and reminded voters of his business experience and deal-making abilities.

## RESEARCH TASK 2.3

Visit the official websites of both the Republican and Democratic parties and read a description of what each party stands for. Write a definition for each party and its values in your own words.



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**SOURCE 2.23** The so-called Rust Belt of the US, where Trump campaigned strongly and won many votes on election day 2016

## ANALYSING SOURCES 2.4

In his speech announcing that he was moving into politics and running for the presidency, Trump also said:

> When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending the best ... They're sending people that have lots of problems and they're bringing those problems. They're bringing drugs, they're bringing crime. They're rapists and some, I assume, are good people, but I speak to border guards and they're telling us what we're getting.

**SOURCE 2.24** A section of Donald Trump's speech announcing his candidacy for the 2016 presidential election, 16 June 2015

In a press release NBC claimed that 'Due to the recent derogatory statements by Donald Trump regarding immigrants, NBC Universal is ending its business relationship with Mr. Trump.'

1. Account for why Trump's comments about Mexicans in his announcement of 16 June 2015 were controversial.
2. Discuss whether comments like this would matter more to people affected by globalisation, compared to people who were not directly affected by the economic collapse.
3. Investigate Trump's claims and see if there is evidence that contradicts and/or supports his statement.




**SOURCE 2.25** Donald Trump announces his bid for the presidency in the 2016 presidential race during an event at Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue in New York City on 16 June 2015.



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**Primaries** a series of votes among members of political parties to decide who will be their party's candidate for the presidential election

**populist** representing or relating to the ideas and opinions of ordinary people

**liberal international order** a situation in which like-minded nations agree that they should work together and try to understand one another in the name of peace and international law

Trump had to win the Republican **Primaries** to be made the Republican candidate for President. Throughout the Primaries he continued to build support for his campaign, running a **populist** campaign focused on national concerns over global ones. One political commentator explained Trump's world view in this way:

> Donald Trump believes the United States is in a steep decline because of its activities on the world stage. He believes the US-led **liberal international order** has failed Americans. He wants others to do more and pay more and he wants the US to focus on a very narrow set of national interests, rather than the broader notions of liberal order that have shaped US strategy since the Second World War.

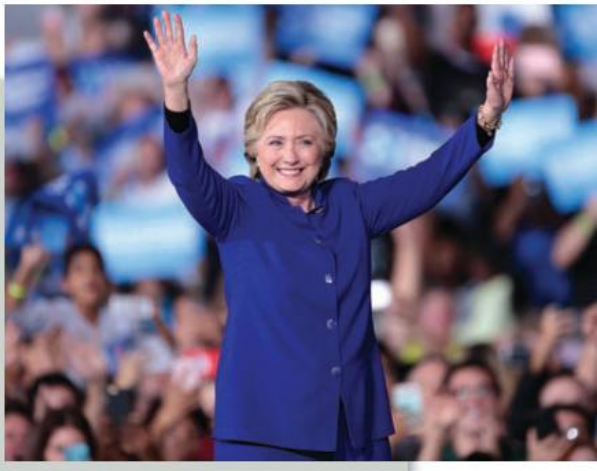
**SOURCE 2.26** Dr Thomas Wright, US policy expert, Lowy Institute address, 22 March 2017

Trump also made controversial comments that were deplored, even by some Republicans, but these also generated free publicity and attention for his campaign. That he would be successful in the Republican Primaries was initially considered very unlikely by many commentators. However, one by one he defeated each of his competitors. By May 2016 Trump had won 53 per cent of the Primary vote. At the Republican Party Convention in July 2016 he chose Mike Pence, the Governor of Indiana, as his vice-presidential nominee. On 21 July, Trump secured enough votes to secure the Republican Party's nomination. In his very long acceptance speech he outlined many key issues, saying that the main difference with his opponent was that 'Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo.'

## US election campaign: Trump versus Hillary Clinton

### SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

**Hillary Clinton**
**Born:** 26 October 1947
**Party:** Democratic Party
**Education:** Yale Law School
**Before politics:** Lawyer and First Lady of Arkansas (to husband Bill Clinton)
**Political career:** Clinton was the First Lady of the United States from 1993 to 2001, US Senator from New York from 2001 to 2009, 67th United States Secretary of State under President Obama from 2009 to 2013, and in 2016 she became the first female candidate to be nominated for President by a major US political party.
**Strengths:** Measured speaker, diplomatic, passionate about issues such as women's rights and health care
**Controversies:** Clinton had been involved in some scandals throughout her public life, including questions raised about her ethics as a lawyer, and doubts over financial donations from foreign governments to her charity, the Clinton Foundation. There were concerns about Clinton's alleged misuse of classified government information as Secretary of State. The charge that she had sent content from an unsecured email account and was in breach of national security protocols was investigated by the FBI and she was cleared of any wrongdoing in July 2016. These concerns affected Clinton's image with some voters.
**Quote:** 'If I want to knock a story off the front page, I just change my hairstyle.'



**SOURCE 2.27** Hillary Clinton during the 2016 US election



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During his election campaign Trump highlighted certain fears that many Americans had about matters such as unemployment, crime, Islamic terrorism and globalisation, and proposed radical solutions such as:

- targeting Muslims by banning them from entering the US, putting American Muslims on a watch list and deporting any with criminal convictions
- building a wall along the border with Mexico, making Mexico pay for it and deporting 11 million undocumented immigrants
- pulling the USA out of the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) and pursuing a protectionist trade policy
- making America's allies pay for their own defence.

Trump's campaign centred on his phrase 'Make America Great Again'; many of his ideas were outlined in his recent book *Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again*.

During the campaign Trump was criticised for:

- misogynistic views on women; a number of women made sexual harassment allegations against him (Trump denied the allegations and threatened to sue)
- racist statements about Mexicans and discriminatory comments about people of the Muslim faith
- encouragement of violence towards people who protested at his rallies
- praise for Vladimir Putin and implied backing of the Russian hacking of the Democratic Party campaign, when he jokingly asked Russia to reveal Hillary Clinton's emails.

## 2.4 Historians' views on Trump during the election

This next section of the chapter looks at the ways in which political commentators and historians viewed Donald Trump during the 2016 election campaign. We will see how the differing views highlight some of the problems associated with constructing histories of personalities in the modern world. The views from 2016 and early 2017 show how difficult it is especially for historians to write authoritatively about current and future events. The writers have to make predictions based on incomplete evidence, and sometimes bold statements can look overly melodramatic once some time has passed. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see how people were reacting to Donald Trump's campaign speeches and the ways in which some people invoked history to explain the events that were current at that time.



**SOURCE 2.28** On 26 September 2016, Donald Trump and Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton speak during the first of three presidential debates for the 2016 election.

### KEY QUESTIONS

***Forming opinions***

Legally, people should be assumed to be innocent until proven guilty. However, should people be wary of voting into public office someone associated with lawsuits involving unethical business practices or government investigations? Reflect on the cases of both Trump and Clinton in the 2016 election.

### KEY QUESTIONS

***Researching***

Research the violence at some of Trump's campaign rallies. What was the cause, and were there problems with both anti- and pro-Trump supporters?

***Forming opinions***

In June 2016 the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union, while in France Marine Le Pen's National Front party was gaining support. Do you think the Trump campaign was tapping into a global backlash against globalisation?



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**rhetoric** speech or writing intended to be effective and to influence people

**Brexit** the decision to exit the European Union by the United Kingdom

**authoritarian** demanding that people obey completely with no avenue of appeal and refusing to allow them freedom to act as they wish

**fascism** a political system based on a very powerful leader, state control, characterised by being extremely proud of country and race, and in which political opposition is not allowed

From early 2016 many historians and political commentators started to take seriously the possibility that Donald Trump could become President of the United States of America. At this time, a range of views were published around the world regarding Trump after he became the Republican candidate for the presidency. While Trump had his fair share of supporters, he also had many critics, and historians in particular aired concerns centred around issues about his personal character and suitability for office, the unprecedented nature of the values he seemed to stand for, and policies that he proposed. Though there was not a consensus shared by historians, Trump's negative campaign **rhetoric** was a cause of concern for many groups and individuals within America and abroad.

In Trump's campaign, some left-wing critics saw 'ominous historical parallels' as political commentator Mark Oppenheimer put it. For some historians at the time, examples such as the **Brexit** vote in the UK, the rise of Marine Le Pen's National Front party in France, and the rise of Donald Trump in the US suggested a return to a world where nations were turning their backs on the international community. For some, this harked back to an earlier, darker historical period: the 1930s, a period characterised by **authoritarian** regimes, and extreme nationalism. Some historians even argued that Trump's election campaign speeches revealed '**fascist** tendencies'. Some of the strongest views came from historians Robert Kagan and Timothy Snyder. On 18 May 2016, American historian Robert Kagan (a lifelong conservative thinker and Republican voter who disliked Trump so much he left the party to support Democrat Hillary Clinton in the election) wrote an article in *The Washington Post* titled 'This is how fascism comes to America.' He acknowledged that Trump had tapped into a widespread feeling of economic stagnation and dislocation but also that he did not offer any concrete solutions to people's problems. Rather, what Trump offered was:

> an attitude, an aura of crude strength and machismo, a boasting disrespect for the niceties of the democratic culture that he claims, and his followers believe, has produced national weakness and incompetence.

**SOURCE 2.29** Robert Kagan, 'This is how fascism comes to America', *The Washington Post*, 18 May 2016

**Putinism** a term to describe the popular rule of strongman Vladimir Putin, who has been President of Russia since 1999

Trump's speeches, claimed Kagan, provoked and played on 'feelings of resentment and disdain, intermingled with bits of fear, hatred and anger'. This phenomenon is fascism, Kagan argued, and it was rampant in the first half of the last century. The common element in fascism across different countries was that the emphasis was on a strong leader in whom the fate of the nation was entrusted.

> Whatever the problem, he could fix it. Whatever the threat, internal or external, he could vanquish it, and it was unnecessary for him to explain how. Today, there is **Putinism**, which also has nothing to do with belief or policy but is about the tough man who single-handedly defends his people against all threats, foreign and domestic.

**SOURCE 2.30** Robert Kagan, 'This is how fascism comes to America', *The Washington Post*, 18 May 2016

Kagan feared that if Trump became US President he would take the country down an **authoritarian** path, much the same as Vladimir Putin had done to Russia. He wrote in his article, 'Is a man like Trump,



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with infinitely greater power in his hands, likely to become more humble, more judicious, more generous, less vengeful than he is today, than he has been his whole life? Does vast power un-corrupt?'

Kagan finished his May 2016 article with a warning:

> This is how fascism comes to America, not with jackboots and salutes (although there have been salutes, and a whiff of violence) but with a television huckster, a phony billionaire, a textbook egomaniac 'tapping into' popular resentments and insecurities, and with an entire national political party – out of ambition or blind party loyalty, or simply out of fear – falling into line behind him.

**SOURCE 2.32** Historian Robert Kagan, 'This is how fascism comes to America', *The Washington Post*, 18 May 2016



**SOURCE 2.31** Vladimir Putin, Russian President

Similarly, historian Timothy Snyder from Yale University drew historical parallels with Trump's words and actions and those of authoritarian leaders of the past. Snyder felt so strongly about this line of reasoning that he wrote a best-selling book called *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*, which was published early in Trump's presidency. Snyder saw similarities between the path to power of the Trump administration and that of the Third Reich. He argued that 'We are no wiser than the Europeans who saw democracy yield to fascism, Nazism, or communism in the last century. Our one advantage is that we might learn from their experience.'

Overall, some historians including Robert Kagan, Timothy Snyder, Paul Krugman, George Prochnik and John McNeil, each aired similar concerns about Trump, and what they perceived as his attack on the institutions that underpin the **rule of law** such as the courts, the constitution, civil liberties, and the free press, as well as his proposed policies against minorities.

Political commentator Will Saletan has argued that the term 'fascism' is probably thrown around too casually by the left, as 'socialism' is by the right. In an interview for an ABC Radio National segment from 7 March 2017 titled 'Is it fair to call Donald Trump a fascist?', historian Richard Evans argued that fascism is not a particularly useful concept to apply to Trump. 'Maybe it's a useful term of abuse, but it has been spread so widely and so generally now that it's not even very good as a term of abuse … I think we need to ask a different question, which is how do we defend democracy, what are the threats to democracy, how can we overcome them?' For other more conservative historians like Niall Ferguson, who were openly sceptical of arguments by people like Snyder: 'We've seen this movie before and it doesn't need to end in World War II … Not every authoritarian leader is Adolf Hitler.' In the conservative *Nation Review*, Jay Nordlinger describes Trump as 'a lout', 'a nationalist', 'a demagogue … but he's not a fascist'. For historian Eric Metaxas:

## KEY QUESTIONS

***Clarifying***

What is fascist **ideology**?

**ideology** a set of beliefs or principles, especially one on which a political system, party or organisation is based

**rule of law** the principle that no one is above the law and that laws are publicly disclosed and enforced with established procedural steps

## KEY QUESTIONS

***Clarifying***

Using your knowledge of what is happening in the news today, to what extent are people invoking history when discussing the Trump administration?

***Researching***

What are the checks and balances in the American democratic system on the power of the president?



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**Machiavellian** using clever but often dishonest methods that deceive people so that you can win power or control

I get the parallels, but a lot of this is emotional. I don't think Americans would put up for that. I think we are very different as a nation than Germany was ... I would put [Trump] more in the category of a relative who is basically a good guy, like an uncle, but he says a lot of things you don't agree with. But in his core he's not **Machiavellian** or genuinely xenophobic or bigoted. If I believed he were, I wouldn't vote for him.

**SOURCE 2.33** Eric Metaxas, quoted in Mark Oppenheimer, 'The Holocaust Historian who loves Donald Trump', the daily beast website, 7 August 2016

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- What aspects of Donald Trump's character made some people view him as being unfit to be President?
- Why did some historians compare Trump to fascist leaders of the past?

As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider whether comparing Trump's leadership approach to fascism was useful or not. Did these views reveal more about the anxieties of left-wing commentators at the time, or were they right to condemn Trump for his controversial statements?

## 2.5 Trump's election win

### FLASHPOINT!

***Trump's election win – 8 November 2017***

Trump's election win came as a surprise to many in the US and around the world. The nation entered a transition phase during which President-elect Trump assembled a team to be his executive and to formulate policy for implementation when he became President. Two days after the election, Barack Obama met with Trump in the White House for a 90-minute meeting. It was a very civil meeting, in which Obama told the President-elect that 'we are going to do everything we can do to help you succeed because if you succeed the country succeeds.' Many Americans were in a state of shock and large numbers of people took to the streets across the nation in protest. However, the fact is that many Americans also voted for him, and elected him President.



**SOURCE 2.34** President Barack Obama and President-elect Donald Trump shake hands during a transition planning meeting in the Oval Office at the White House on 19 November 2016 in Washington, DC.

### RESEARCH TASK 2.5

**leak** the release of classified information to the media or sites like WikiLeaks

Before leaving office, outgoing President Barack Obama wrote Donald Trump a good luck letter, which Trump publicly called 'beautiful'. It was **leaked** to the media in August 2017. Find a transcript of the letter online. Identify the values that Obama stressed were important for Trump to uphold as President.



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## How did Trump become President?

Trump won the 2016 presidential election after securing 306 **Electoral College** votes. A candidate needs over 270 to win. Hillary Clinton won the popular vote by almost 2.9 million votes with 65 844 954 (48.2%) to Donald Trump's 62 979 879 (46.1%).

There is no doubt that many people were shocked when Trump won office. After a series of controversies throughout his campaign many opinion polls, journalists, academics and other political commentators concluded that Clinton, not Trump, would win by a comfortable margin. In Australia, the ABC revealed that our own government was totally unprepared for Trump's victory.



**SOURCE 2.35** In Australia, outside Parliament House in Canberra, Pauline Hanson and One Nation senators toast the election victory of Donald Trump in the US, 9 November 2016.

Many experts have tried to explain the surprise success of Trump. Some of these theories are listed in the following table.

**Electoral College** a group of 538 people who are the formal electors who cast an electoral vote. A president needs to win a majority — 270 electors — who then cast their vote for the president

**Bernie Sanders** a popular left-wing candidate who eventually lost the Democratic Party nomination to Hillary Clinton

**TABLE 2.1** Snapshot of reasons for Trump's election win

| Reasons for Trump's win | Explanation |
|---|---|
| **Change of party** | After eight years of President Obama, who was a Democrat, Trump, the Republican, offered something new to voters – while Clinton looked like continuing the policies of her predecessor. |
| **Unorthodox candidate** | Trump recognised that many Americans were fed up with the way that Washington had been operating for many years. Back when Trump was battling opponents in the Republican primaries, journalist Philip Rucker wrote in *The Washington Post* in late 2015:<br><br>This has become the summer of the political outsider…The surging candidacies of Donald Trump and **Bernie Sanders** are fuelled by people's anger with the status quo and desire for authenticity in political leaders. Across the ideological spectrum, candidates are gaining traction by separating themselves from the political and economic system that many everyday Americans view as rigged against them.<br><br>**SOURCE 2.36** Philip Rucker, quoted in John Sides and Henry Farrell, *The Science of Trump: Explaining the Rise of Donald Trump*, 2016<br><br>For historian Niall Ferguson, 'Donald Trump won the presidency because he was able to tap into the "ugly mood" of the American electorate.' In this view, Trump benefited from a disconnect between elite politicians and regular people. The establishment (represented by Clinton) simply failed to recognise the depth of public anger. |



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**TABLE 2.1** *(continued)*

| Reasons for Trump's win | Explanation |
|---|---|
| **Change of government processes** | Trump was not a career politician, coming instead from the business world. He made an election commitment to 'drain the swamp' by selecting fewer appointees with prior government experience to his cabinet. Australia's Ambassador to the US, Joe Hockey, argued that, for many voters, Trump represented a welcome 'disruption into the mainstream of American politics'. |
| **FBI investigation into Clinton** | With a week to go before polling day, Clinton seemed to have an unassailable lead in the national polls. However, her lead shrank dramatically after the FBI announced they were again investigating her private emails, sent during her time as the Secretary of State under Barack Obama. Though she was cleared of any criminal wrongdoing before polling day, many people were scared off voting for her. After the election, Clinton herself blamed this event for her loss to Trump. |
| **Clinton's unpopularity** | Among Democrat voters Clinton herself was not a very popular candidate, and many preferred rival candidate Bernie Sanders. To Trump's Republican supporters 'Crooked Hillary' was a figure of scorn, and some people even voted for Trump just to ensure Clinton didn't win. 'Lock her up' was a regular Trump rally chant in reference to the email scandal. Trump played up the doubts the electorate held over Clinton – painting her as an untrustworthy politician while also arguing that he was not a typical political candidate himself. Both these ideas stuck with many voters. Clinton herself made a blunder by labelling Trump's supporters as a 'basket of deplorables' – which made a lot of people angry. |
| **'Forgotten Americans'** | 'Two Americas collided in the presidential race and the side that was genuinely passionate about its champion walked away the narrow winner' (Ronald Brownstein, 'How the Rustbelt paved Trump's road to victory', *The Atlantic.com*, 10 November 2016). Generally speaking, Clinton appealed to educated younger people and the middle class, while Trump was more attractive to older and working-class conservative voters. Trump ran a populist campaign promoting national interests ahead of international ones, which directly appealed to the 'forgotten Americans'. Crucially – Hillary Clinton did not campaign in the Rust Belt states, and this in hindsight was a major tactical error. |
| **Electoral College system** | In the US, the candidate with the most votes from the people does not automatically win the election. Trump won the most votes in the Electoral College system, even though Clinton won the popular vote. |

Overall, many of these factors played a part in the Trump victory – and this is by no means a comprehensive overview. The election result proved that, for a great number of voters, Trump was a charismatic and popular figure.



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## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- Which types of voters did Trump appeal to?
- How did Trump come from behind to win the election?

As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider the nature of US democracy – in which Trump won office with 62 million people voting out of a total population of 318 million. How do you account for this?

## RESEARCH TASK 2.6

Google the ABC TV series Foreign *Correspondent's* story from 20 November 2016 titled 'President Trump'. Either watch the story or read the transcript. Identify the historical event Trump voters blamed for the transformation of Midwestern America.

# 2.6 President Trump

## Trump's first weeks in power

During the transition period before Trump became President there was much speculation regarding whether as President he would moderate his behaviour, choose a broad team for his executive and rethink his most controversial policies, such as building a wall with Mexico or banning Muslims from entering the US. However, this was not to be and President Trump's presidency was marked with controversy from Day 1.



**SOURCE 2.37** Donald Trump is sworn in as the 45th US President in Washington, DC on 29 January 2017. Trump's wife Melania holds the Bible and son Barron looks on.

On 20 January 2017 Donald Trump was sworn in as the 45th President of the United States. In his **inauguration** speech, he said that he would put 'America first' and that 'America will start winning again, winning like never before.' Following the inauguration there was immediate controversy, as commentators estimated that the crowd numbers on the streets for the inauguration were low and much smaller than they had been for Obama's inauguration in 2008. Sean Spicer, President Trump's new press secretary, claimed that 'this was the largest audience ever to witness an inauguration' and expressed outrage, condemning the press for giving 'deliberately false reports'. Meanwhile, Kellyanne Conway, the White House counsellor, defended Spicer's comments, calling them '**alternative facts**'.

On 21 January 2017, the day after President Trump's inauguration, there were mass women's protest marches across the US and around the world. According to the Women's March website, the aim of the march was

> ... to send a bold message to our new government on their first day in office, and to the world that women's rights are human rights. We stand together, recognizing that defending the most marginalized among us is defending all of us.

**SOURCE 2.38** Women's March website, January 2017

**inauguration** a ceremony that marks the formal beginning of a President's term

**alternative facts** politically created 'facts' that do not match reality

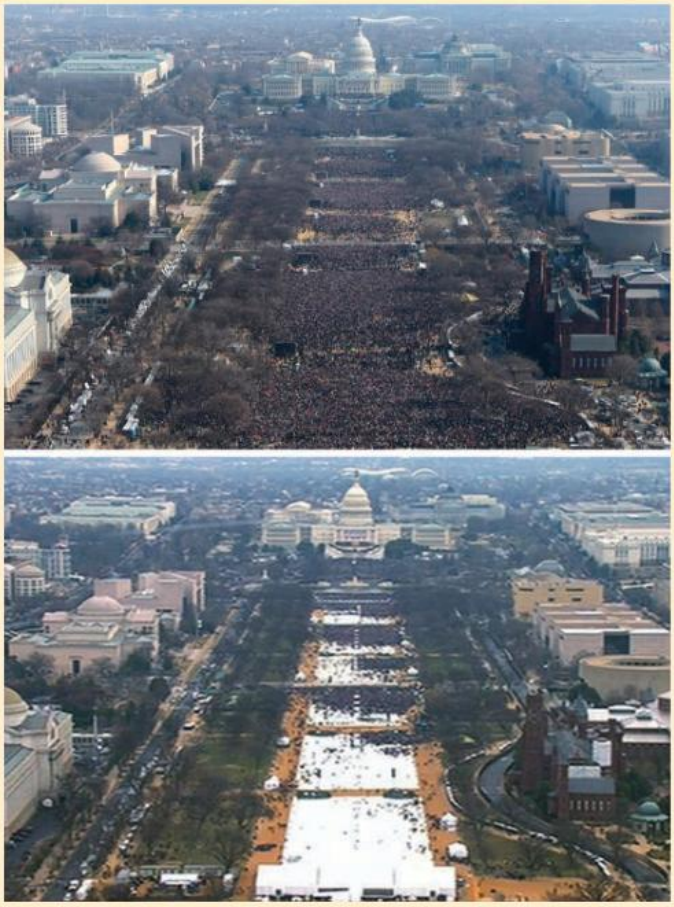


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Over half a million protesters took to the streets in Washington DC, in the same location in which the inauguration of President Trump had taken place the day before. Marches were also held in the capital cities of Australia and elsewhere in the world. It was 'a human rights demonstration of historic proportions', according to one commentator.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 2.7

### *Day 2 of the Trump presidency*



**SOURCE 2.39** The inauguration crowds for President Obama in 2009 and President Trump in 2017 compared – both images were taken around the same time of day.

1. After the inauguration, President Trump and various White House spokespeople claimed that Trump's was the biggest inauguration crowd ever. In response to the evidence of the photos shown in Source 2.39, this was claimed to be an 'alternative fact'. Propose any other sources that could be consulted to verify the impression that Source 2.39 gives as to the size of the crowd at President Trump's inauguration.
2. Closely analyse the motives of these protests through discussion of the following questions. Explain the context of Source 2.40, including why women attended mass marches against President Trump around the world. Describe the impression this photograph gives about this particular march.
3. To what extent were the protests a reaction to the fact that their preferred candidate did not win the election?
4. Investigate online statistics on how many women voted for Trump. To what extent did these protesters represent the views of all women?
5. Describe the issues that are highlighted in Source 2.41. What policies of the Trump administration may these protesters have been concerned about in the third week of Trump's presidency?
6. Investigate how effective these and other mass protests have been in challenging the policies of the Trump administration.
7. Discuss what we can learn from history about the various avenues open to people who believe that the government of the day is violating certain rights.
8. Deduce whether Trump had done anything that violated human rights with the 'Muslim travel ban'.



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**SOURCE 2.40** Women's march in Washington on 22 January 2017, on the day after the inauguration, in protest at Donald Trump's attitude to women




**SOURCE 2.41** Protests broke out in the US and around the world against the President's executive order, referred to as the 'Muslim travel ban', to keep out of the USA people from Libya, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Yemen and Sudan even if they had a valid Green Card. This photo was taken at The Hague on 1 February 2017.

## Supreme Court nomination

**KEY QUESTIONS**

***Clarifying***

Why was the Supreme Court nomination of Neil Gorsuch significant for Trump?

One key election issue was that the winning President would get to choose a new Supreme Court judge. The US Constitution requires the President to nominate justices to the Supreme Court, subject to the 'advice and consent' of the Senate. In the US justice system, these judges hold a lot of power and serve for life. Justice Antonin Scalia died in early 2016 and needed to be replaced by the incumbent president. Therefore, the choice of a Supreme Court judge became an election issue for voters – knowing that Democrat Hillary Clinton would choose a liberal judge and Republican Donald Trump a conservative one. Donald Trump scored political points with conservatives when he appointed Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court on 31 January 2017. According to the *Sydney Morning Herald* Gorsuch was known for his strong conservative stance on key issues such as abortion, gun control, the death penalty and religious rights.

## 'Running like a fine-tuned machine': the first month of the Trump administration

**FLASHPOINT!**

***White House Press conference – Thursday 16 February 2017 (Day 28)***

On his 28th day as President, Donald Trump held a 77-minute press conference in the White House.

Most of the press conference consisted of a monologue by the President during which he he made a number of assertions such as:

- he had inherited a mess when he took power
- there had been no other president who had done done so much in so short a time



**SOURCE 2.42** Trump during the 77-minute long press conference of 16 February 2017



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- his cabinet would be one of the greatest ever assembled in history and his government was making 'incredible progress' and 'running like a fine-tuned machine'
- he had a bigger Electoral College vote than the last few presidents
- there had been a very smooth roll-out of the travel ban
- the press was 'out of control' and the media was the real enemy
- the story of his administration's links with Russia was 'fake news'
- a nuclear holocaust would be like 'no other'.

During questions President Trump:

- scolded an Orthodox Jewish reporter for asking about rising anti-Semitism in America
- asked a black reporter whether members of the Congressional Black Caucus were friends of hers
- refused to answer any questions from media outlets he did not like
- refused to answer questions about his links with Russia.

The media had a variety of views about the press conference. *USA Today*, known for their lack of political bias, called it 'one of the wildest presidential press conferences on record'. Richard Wolf, writing on 17 February, said that 'in many ways, the performance summed up Trump's first four weeks in office – 180-degree reversal from the 'no drama' days of the Obama administration, led by a cautious, diplomatic President who tried to steer clear of controversy.' Conservative commentators had a different view. According to *The Wall Street Journal,* in the press conference 'President Trump defended his administration and his campaign from questions about their association with Russian officials'. Conservative analyst Rush Limbaugh argued on a radio show that 'this was one of the most effective press conferences I have ever seen. The press is going to hate him even more after this. Don't misunderstand. When I say effective, I'm talking about rallying people who voted for him to stay with him.' Many left-wing media outlets strongly criticised Trump. *The Guardian* called it an 'anti-press conference' and a 'freak show'. And other press outlets had headlines in the same vein, such as 'fiery', 'combative', 'surreal', 'free-wheeling', 'unhinged', 'a spectacle for the ages' and an 'amazing moment in history'.

## KEY QUESTIONS

### *Researching*

Did Trump have a bigger Electoral College vote in the election than other recent presidents?

### *Forming opinions*

What do media reports of this press conference reveal about the relationship between the Trump administration and the press at this time?

### *Drawing conclusions*

How has the story of the Trump campaign's ties to Russia played out over time?

## FLASHPOINT!

### *Trump strikes back – Florida Rally – Saturday 18 February 2017 (Day 30)*

Two days after his controversial press conference and on Day 30 of his term as President, Donald Trump spoke confidently to a gathering of 9000 people in Florida that was more like a campaign rally. Among other things, Trump promised to create more jobs in the US, to repeal **Obamacare**, to rebuild the military and 'totally destroy' the **Islamic State**. He also highlighted a terrorist attack that occurred 'last night' in Sweden, though this was later reported as false. Trump then criticised the 'dishonest' media and said that reporters were part of a 'corrupt system' reporting 'fake news'.

The Florida rally showed that there was a large number of Americans who supported Donald Trump and who saw him as an inspirational leader. The day after the Florida rally Geoffrey Kabaservice wrote an article for *The Guardian*

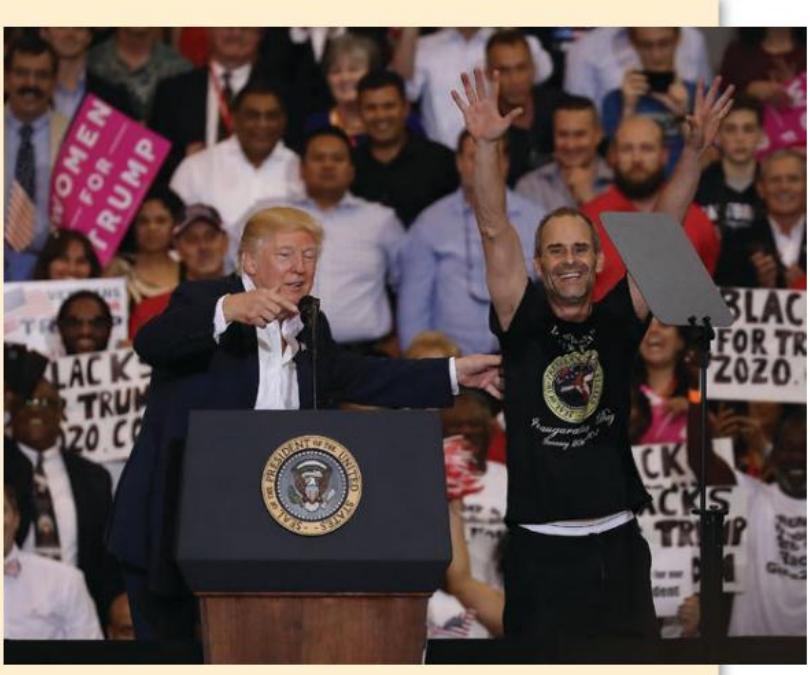
**Obamacare** a name given to the Affordable Care Act, a law introduced by President Obama in 2010 to make it easier for people in the US to get insurance for medical treatment

**Islamic State** an Islamist terrorist organisation, formed in the early twenty-first century



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titled 'A bad week for Trump? Not to his supporters cheering at every turn', in which he reported that most people who voted for Trump were responding to him with 'cheers, not boos'. In fact, he concluded his article saying that 'absent any major debacle – another disastrous war or economic crash – Trump's supporters will continue to believe that he represents the only solution to a broken political process and rigged economic system. The media's criticism will only harden that belief.'




**SOURCE 2.43** Trump's campaign-style rally in Florida on Saturday 18 February 2017

## RESEARCH TASK 2.8

Investigate the 'Bowling Green Massacre', mentioned by Trump adviser Kellyanne Conway to the press on 6 February. To what extent was it part of a pattern of behaviour for the Trump administration in its early days?

## TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS OF THE FIRST MONTH OF TRUMP'S PRESIDENCY

| DAY | | DATE | TRUMP ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Fri | 20/1 | Inauguration – controversy over low turnout for Trump and the use of 'alternative facts' by Trump's team. |
| 2 | Sat | 21/1 | Women's marches against Trump across the US and other countries around the world. |




**SOURCE 2.44** Women march in Sydney against Trump.

### KEY QUESTIONS

***Clarifying***

Discuss whether it was right for protesters around the world to criticise another country's democratic choice of leader. Why/why not?



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| DAY | | DATE | TRUMP ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | Sun | 22/1 | Trump phones PM Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel. |
| | | | |
| 4 | Mon | 23/1 | Trump's first Executive Order – the US to pull out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership<br>Controversy when Trump claims that votes from 3–5 million illegal immigrants cost him the popular vote in the election. |
| 5 | Tues | 24/1 | Trump signs five Executive Orders. |
| 6 | Wed | 25/1 | Executive Order – to begin construction of the wall with Mexico. |
| 7 | Thurs | 26/1 | Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto cancels meeting with President Trump. |
| 8 | Fri | 27/1 | Executive Order – Trump bans entry to the US of any citizen from Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria or Yemen for 90 days. Known as the 'Muslim travel ban', this sparks mass protests in the US and around the world. |
| 9 | Sat | 28/1 | Trumps speaks with a number of foreign leaders by phone, including Vladimir Putin (Russia), Angela Merkel (Germany) and Shinzo Abe (Japan). |
| 10 | Sun | 29/1 | Trump sacks Sally Yates from the position of acting Attorney-General for defying his immigration order. |
| | | | |
| 11 | Mon | 30/1 | |
| 12 | Tues | 31/1 | Trump nominates, Neil Gorsuch to fill the Supreme Court vacancy. |
| 13 | Wed | 1/2 | Controversy erupts after Trump speaks on the phone with Australian PM Malcolm Turnbull about the refugee deal. Trump later tweets that it was the worst phone call and a 'dumb deal'. |
| 14 | Thurs | 2/2 | |
| 15 | Fri | 3/2 | Trump re-imposes sanctions on Iran. |



**SOURCE 2.45** (Left) Trump during his tense phone call with PM Malcolm Turnbull (right)



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| DAY | | DATE | TRUMP ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | Sat | 4/2 | |
| 17 | Sun | 5/2 | Appeals Court denies request for the 'immigration ban' to be reinstated. |
| | | | |
| 18 | Mon | 6/2 | Appeals Court of the Ninth Circuit refuses to restore the immigration ban. |
| 19 | Tues | 7/2 | Betsy DeVos is appointed Secretary of Education with a 51–50 vote in the Senate, with the Vice-President using his deciding vote. |
| 20 | Wed | 8/2 | Jeff Sessions is appointed Attorney-General despite allegations he has expressed racist views in the past. |
| 21 | Thurs | 9/2 | Ninth Circuit again refuses to block a lower court ruling that blocked the President's immigration order. President Trump agrees to follow **One China policy** in discussion with China's President Xi Jingping. |
| 22 | Fri | 10/2 | President Trump meets with PM Shinzo Abe from Japan. |
| 23 | Sat | 11/2 | North Korean missile test. |
| 24 | Sun | 12/2 | |
| | | | |
| 25 | Mon | 13/2 | President Trump meets with Canadian PM Justin Trudeau. Michael Flynn resigns as National Security Adviser over secret Russian meetings. |
| 26 | Tues | 14/2 | |
| 27 | Wed | 15/2 | President Trump meets PM Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel. Both abandon the **two-state solution**. |
| 28 | Thurs | 16/2 | Press conference – President Trump defends his administration's work, makes statements many deem to be false and attacks the press for being dishonest. |
| 29 | Fri | 17/2 | |
| 30 | Sat | 18/2 | Florida rally with 9000 supporters. President Trump defends his actions and attacks the 'fake' media. |

**One China policy** a policy that originated in 1979 from an agreement that involved the US shifting its embassy from Taiwan to China and officially acknowledging that Taiwan was a part of China. The US continues unofficial relations with Taiwan.

**two-state solution** this goal, to establish an independent State of Palestine alongside the State of Israel, has been the agreed basis of peace negotiations, from all stakeholders, for decades

## ANALYSING SOURCES 2.9

Refer to the timeline above.

1. Identify what significant policy announcements were made in the first month of the Trump presidency.
2. Explain to what extent these have been pursued since the first month.
3. Outline any setbacks for the Trump administration in this time.



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4 Since this time, has the Trump administration had any success in those areas in which they had experienced setbacks in the first 30 days? Discuss.

5 Explain why the White House press conference of 16 February and the Florida Rally of 18 February were significant.

## 2.7 Trump's first 100 days in office

> I loved my previous life. I had so many things going. This is more work than in my previous life. I thought it would be easier.

**SOURCE 2.46** Donald Trump, Reuters News Agency interview, 28 April 2017

As Source 2.46 indicates, by the 100-day mark of his presidency Trump gave a candid insight into his new role. His administration had a rocky start with several controversies taking place, though there were also policies enacted and decisions made that would please Trump's many supporters.

### FLASHPOINT!

***Trump's battle with the media – Press ban – Saturday 24 February 2017 (Day 36)***

> I want you all to know that we are fighting the fake news. It's fake, phony, fake. A few days ago, I called the fake news 'the enemy of the people', and they are. They are the enemy of the people. Because they have no sources. They just make them up when there are none.

**SOURCE 2.47** President Trump speaking at the CPAC (Conservative Political Action Conference) on 24 February 2017

On 24 February 2017, President Trump escalated his criticism of the mainstream press by doing something unprecedented — barring certain news outlets from a White House press briefing. The organisations barred included *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *CNN* and *Politico* – all deemed to be critical of the Trump administration. White House Press Secretary Sean Spicer said 'I think we're going to aggressively push back … We're just not going to sit back and let false narratives, false stories, inaccurate facts get out there.' In the opinion of some left-wing commentators, Trump had attacked free speech, which is one of the pillars of democracy. Writing for *The Guardian*, Lawrence Douglas argued that Trump regarded the media as his main opposition, and they needed to be silenced. Conservative *Fox News* was allowed to attend the briefing, but also joined fellow news outlets in condemning the move. Ben Smith, editor-in-chief of *BuzzFeed News*, said in a statement: 'While we strongly object to the White House's apparent attempt to punish news outlets whose coverage it does not like, we won't let these latest antics distract us from continuing to cover this administration fairly and aggressively.'

1 Propose why you think *Fox News* criticised Trump's ban on certain media outlets.

2 Explain what Ben Smith's comment suggests about the media and Trump.

3 To date, how would you describe the Trump administration's relationship with the media?



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 2.10

On 4 March 2017 President Trump caused a stir when he sent out the Tweet shown in Source 2.48.

There was no evidence provided to back up the claim, and the spokespeople for the White House were unable to substantiate the serious accusation of President Trump.




**SOURCE 2.48** Trump's tweet of 4 March 2017

1. Investigate this story online. To what does 'Nixon/Watergate' refer?
2. Identify how Barack Obama or his spokespeople responded to the accusation.
3. Examine what FBI Director James Comey told Congress about the President's claim sixteen days later.
4. Discuss what happened to Comey on 9 May 2017.
5. Propose whether this type of comment, which would have been immensely controversial in the past, is part of the usual way Donald Trump operates as a 'political outsider'.

## FLASHPOINT!

### *Missile attack on Syria – Thursday 6 April 2017 (Day 28)*

On 31 March, Nikki Haley, US Ambassador to the UN, and Rex Tillerson, Secretary of State, reversed previous Obama-era US foreign policy by saying that they would no longer focus on getting rid of Syria's Bashar al-Assad. However, after the Syrian air force launched a chemical weapons attack on the town of Khan Shaykhun in the Idlib region of Syria, on 4 April, Donald Trump condemned it. Nikki Haley returned to the UN Security Council to also condemn the attack. Then, on 6 April 2017 President Trump launched a surprise missile attack against Syria in retaliation for the chemical weapons attack, using 59 precision guided missiles on Shayrat Airfield in Syria, where Washington believed the initial attack was launched. Trump's decision to launch the missile attack received widespread support from around the world, though it did complicate relations with Russia – an ally of Syria.



**SOURCE 2.49** (Left) On 5 April at the UN Security Council in New York, US Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley holds up photos of victims of the Syrian chemical attack. (Right) US President Donald Trump delivers a statement on Syria from the Mar-a-Lago estate in West Palm Beach, Florida, on 6 April 2017.



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1 Explain how the world reacted to the US missile attack on Syria.

2 Under previous leaders, the US has acted as a 'global policeman', intervening in world affairs. To date, how would you describe the Trump administration's role in global affairs under his America First policy?

**KEY QUESTIONS**

***Forming opinions***

Why do you think President Trump held election-style rallies after becoming President?

## Judging presidential performance after 100 days

New US presidents are always assessed after their first 100 days in office. According to historian Dale S. Kuehne, 'this exercise is based on the assumption that by this time we can evaluate the effectiveness of a President and predict his future promise'. Trump claimed on Twitter that the traditional assessment of a new president by the 100-day mark was a 'ridiculous standard', though he also asserted that he had brought 'profound change' as President and 'the first 100 days of my administration has been just about the most successful in our country's history.' Trump chose to mark his 100 days with another election-style rally in Pennsylvania. At the same time, across America and in 'sister' rallies around the world, tens of thousands of opponents of Trump joined marches against his stance on climate change and his crackdown on illegal immigrants. Since Trump's inauguration, there had been regular national protests focused on a range of issues. Both the Trump rally and the protest marches were symbolic of Trump's presidency up to this point.

Media reports around the world tried to assess the performance of Trump up until that point, and weigh up the pros and cons of his first 100 days. UK newspaper *The Telegraph* published an article titled 'What are Donald Trump's achievements and failures in his first 100 days as president?' on 29 April 2017. Their list was:

| Achievements | Failures |
|---|---|
| 1 Supreme Court nomination | 1 Travel ban |
| 2 Withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership | 2 Drain the swamp |
| 3 Illegal border crossings | 3 Health care |
| 4 National security | 4 Mike Flynn's resignation |
| | 5 Build the wall |
| | 6 A $1 trillion infrastructure program |
| | 7 White House infighting |
| | 8 The presidential voice |
| | 9 Executive branch job vacancies |

On balance, *The Telegraph*'s summary was fairly typical of media analysis of the Trump administration at that point. Though there were some notable wins for Trump, there were also numerous setbacks. The political impact of the failures was also reflected by statistics. According to opinion polls, Trump had the lowest popularity for any US president after 100 days in office.

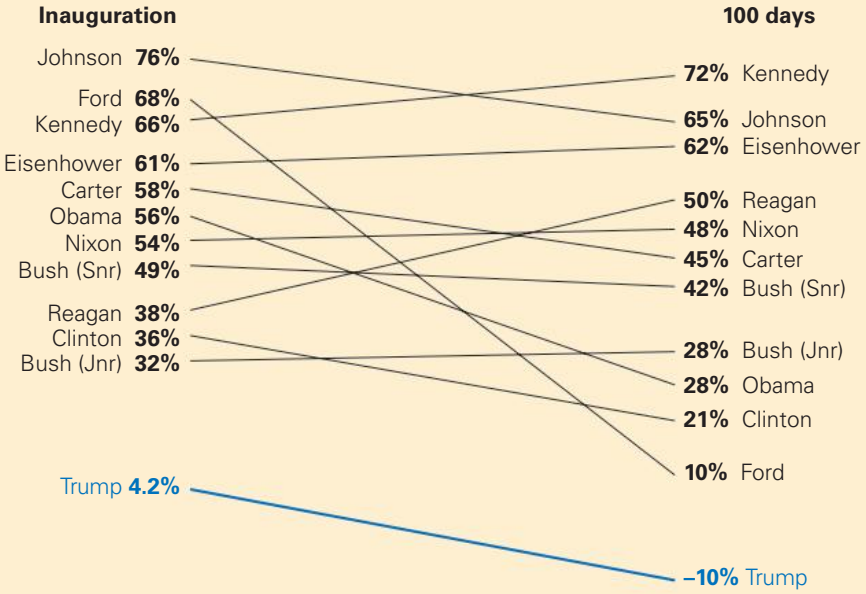
In the end, Trump's 100 days ended the way they had begun – with America divided in opinion over the man and what he represents. The opinion polls seemed to show that, just like the close election result, Trump strongly polarised opinions; yet his supporter base remained loyal and his brand of politics appealed to at least 62 million American voters. Any historical account of the rise of Donald Trump must acknowledge this fact.



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 2.11

Approval ratings are calculated by subtracting the percentage of Americans who disapprove from the percentage who approve.




**SOURCE 2.50** Trump's approval ratings as US President at inauguration and after 100 days. Information from *FiveThirtyEight/ABC News* (Australia) website, 28 April 2017.

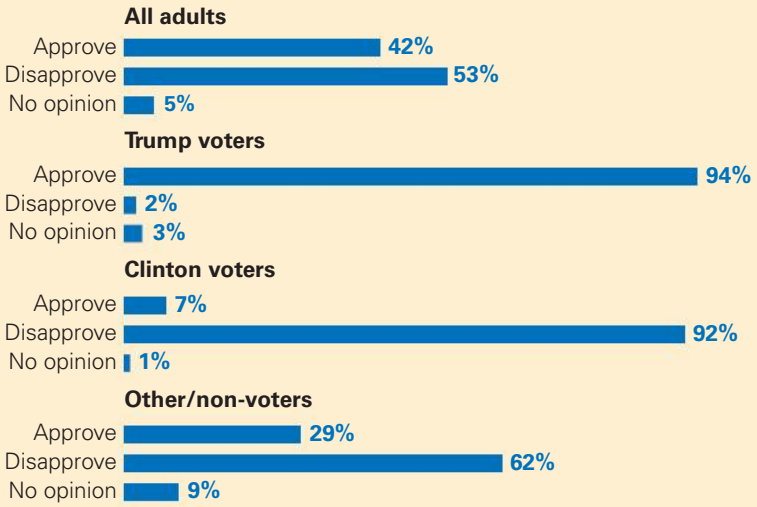
### Analysis

1 List what was Trump's approval rating at inauguration.

2 List what was his rating after 100 days.

3 Explain how you account for the change.

However, at the same time Trump's assertions to the press and his Pennsylvania rally showed his confident side to his supporters. Opinion poll data proved that Trump supporters were positive in their assessment of his performance after 100 days.




**SOURCE 2.51** Voter approval ratings for Trump after 100 days. Information from *Washington Post*/ ABC News (America) survey, 17–20 April 2017.



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### Analysis

1 Describe how popular Trump was among people who voted for him in the election.
2 Describe how unpopular he was for Clinton voters.
3 Account for whether more people approved or disapproved of Trump after 100 days.

## RESEARCH TASK 2.12

### *Recognising effects*

What had Trump achieved as President by the end of his first 100 days in office?

A number of mainstream press outlets in the US monitored President Trump's first 100 days in power and kept track of events. Some conducted an analysis of these events as well. Research a few sites, such as the liberal *The New York Times* and the conservative *The Wall Street Journal*'s pages dedicated to the first 100 days. Consider how each news outlet approached this period, and whether you can detect a political leaning in their reporting.

Identify what, in your opinion, were the 10 most significant events and justify each selection, using the outline below.

| Event | Positive/negative for President Trump? | Why do you think it was significant? |
|---|---|---|
| | | |

## EXTENSION TASK 2.13

Complete the activity above from the start of Trump's presidency until the present day.



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# CHAPTER 2 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### CONSTRUCTING A HISTORY OF TRUMP

- Undertaking historical research on Trump is difficult, as the sources generated by the Trump presidency on a daily basis are unprecedented.
- In terms of character, Trump's many memoirs reveal his ruthless attitude towards conducting business.

### THE MAKING OF TRUMP

- Trump has always been in the spotlight and has always sought it.
- Trump inherited a fortune from his father and used it to create a business empire.

### TRUMP THE POLITICIAN

- During the 2016 election Trump highlighted certain fears that many Americans had such as unemployment, crime, Islamic terrorism and globalisation.
- Trump proposed radical solutions such as building a wall between the US and Mexico to keep out illegal immigrants.

### HISTORIANS' VIEWS ON TRUMP DURING THE ELECTION

- Some left-wing historians argued that Trump's extreme statements and policies challenged principles of democracy and the rule of law.
- Some people likened Trump's authoritarian approach to that of fascist European leaders of the 1930s, while others thought that was an outrageous comparison.

### TRUMP'S ELECTION WIN

- Trump was the underdog in the 2016 US presidential election, with rival Hillary Clinton expected to win.
- Many reasons have been given for Trump's shock win, including his promise to bring manufacturing jobs back to America.

### PRESIDENT TRUMP

- When Trump won the 2016 presidential election it surprised many people.
- The day after his inauguration there were mass women's protest marches around the world against his presidency.



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## TRUMP'S FIRST 100 DAYS IN OFFICE

- Near the end of his first month as President, Trump held a press conference to defend his administration from critics.
- During his first 100 days in office Trump: tried to ban people from Seven Muslim countries from entering the US, appointed a conservative Supreme Court judge, accused former President Obama of a serious crime, and fired missiles on Syria.

## Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

**1)** democracy
**2)** truthful hyperbole
**3)** Birther movement
**4)** fake news
**5)** alternative facts

## Historical concepts

### 1 Causation

- Create a diagram that summarises the influences on Donald Trump and how these informed his election promises and were reflected in his first actions and policies as President. Also, include the protests that resulted and a list of the President's policy priorities.
- In a paragraph response, account for how Donald Trump's reality TV star status transformed his business career and made a political life a possibility.

### 2 Continuity and change

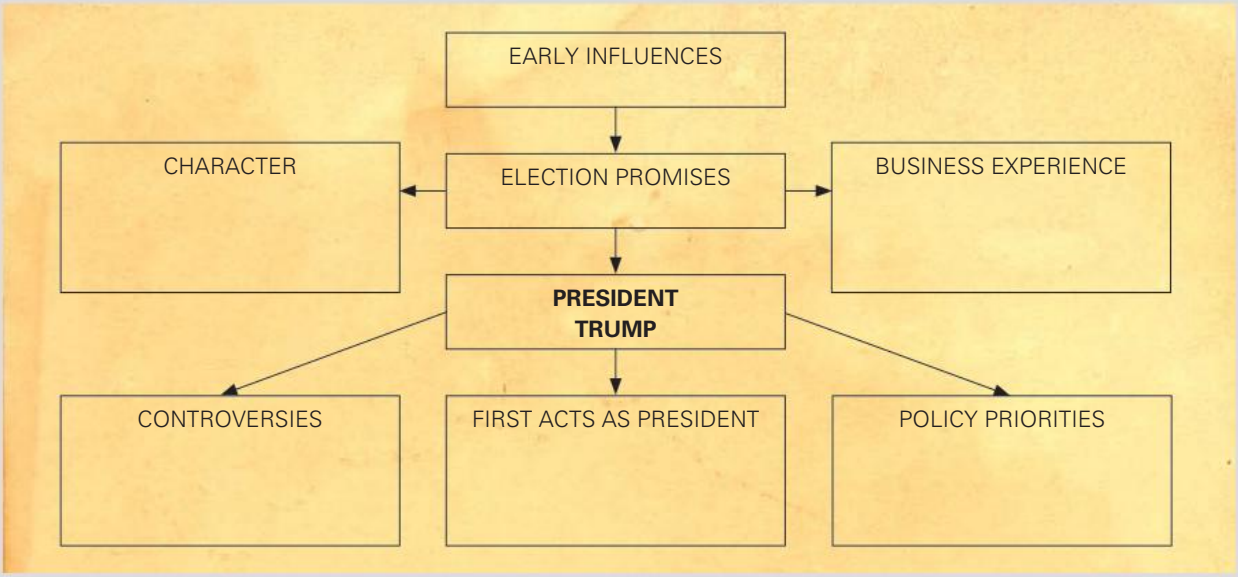
Based on the history of President Trump's Republican administration, from its earliest days and up to the present, think about three possible future scenarios for the next few years in American politics.

You may wish to refer to an article written in March 2016 during the election campaign that looked at three possible scenarios for a Trump presidency. Now that Trump has been President for some time, which of these scenarios were closer to the mark? What scenarios could be written for the next few years of American politics?

See Philip A Wallach, 'Looking Back from 2020: Three Trump Presidencies' on the *Brookings* website, 2 March 2016

### 3 Perspectives

As a class, outline the variety of sources that can be used to construct a history of Donald Trump's rise to the presidency. Discuss any issues that could exist in terms of perspective and reliability for each type of source.






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### 4 Significance

Write a brief response for each of the following activities:

- Identify some of the concerns that some historians and civil society groups had about Donald Trump becoming President during the 2016 election.
- Interpret what Trump's memoirs reveal about his character.
- Assess why you think Donald Trump appealed to so many American voters during the 2016 election.

### 5 Contestability

Write a brief response to answer the following question:

- Why were there so many protests against the Trump administration right from Day 2? In your answer, identify the various groups protesting and their motivations for doing so, and refer to the views of at least two historians included in this chapter.

## Historical skills

### 1 Explanation and communication

Prepare a PowerPoint presentation on one of these options:

- Explain how Donald Trump won the election but did not win the popular vote.
- Identify which of Donald Trump's business ventures were total successes or total failures. What were the impacts of these successes and failures?

### 2 Historical interpretation

At the 100-day mark of Trump's presidency, journalists around the world weighed in with their assessment of his performance.

> During the 2016 election, Donald Trump ran with a stunning ignorance of the American political process. He convinced millions of Americans that the country's problems could be solved through negotiation and force of will. But over his first 100 days in office, Trump has been gut-punched by America's system of checks and balances, leaving him with few achievements and low approval ratings.

**SOURCE 2.52** Tod Perry, 'Republican David Frum blasts Trump for saying he thought being President "would be easier"', The Daily Good website, 1 May 2017

- Describe Perry's interpretation of Trump. Do you think he is biased? Why/why not?
- Explain what Perry means by 'Trump has been gut-punched by America's system of checks and balances.'

### 3 Analysis and use of sources

- With reference to the quotation, how does Source A summarise the character of Donald Trump?
- What was the background to the mass march in Source B?
- How has social media transformed politics, according to Source C?
- How does each of the sources reflect on history in some way?
- Summarise the main message of each source in one sentence.
- To what extent were the concerns raised in Sources B and C from the first weeks of the Trump presidency valid in the light of President Trump's term in the White House up to this time?

### SOURCE A

> What we have seen in the first 100 days of the Trump Presidency is a President who is governing consistent with his background. Psychologically he may be the least complicated President in American History. He is extraordinarily transparent, to a fault. He created diplomatic waves the day after his election by taking a phone call from the political leader of Taiwan, thus violating decades of diplomatic protocol in dealing with China and Taiwan. Immediately, political analysts began asking questions about the calculation surrounding his decision to receive this call. They spoke of as if Trump had diplomatic instincts he has never exhibited. There is little doubt Trump had his reasons for taking the call, but it may not be more complicated than the fact he wanted to receive congratulations from a world leader.
>
> Extract from 'Lonely Like America: Reflections on Donald Trump's First 100 Days', by Dale S. Kuehne, writing for the ABC Australia website on 28 April 2017



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## SOURCE B



A 'No Ban, No Wall' march in Washington DC on 4 February 2017. This was one of many similar marches in cities across the United States that occurred over that weekend.

## SOURCE C

Coverage of Mr. Trump may eclipse that of any single human being ever. The reasons have as much to do with him as the way social media amplifies every big story until it swallows the world. And as important as covering the president may be, I began to wonder if we were overdosing on Trump news, to the exclusion of everything else ...

All presidents are omnipresent. But it is likely that no living person in history has ever been as famous as Mr. Trump is right now. It's possible that not even the most famous or infamous people of the recent or distant past – say, Barack Obama, Osama bin Laden, Bill Clinton, Richard Nixon, Michael Jackson, Muhammad Ali or Adolf Hitler – dominated media as thoroughly at their peak as Mr. Trump does now.

Extracts from Farhad Manjoo's article 'I ignored Trump News for a week, here's what I learned' in *The New York Times* on 22 February 2017

### 4 Historical investigation and research

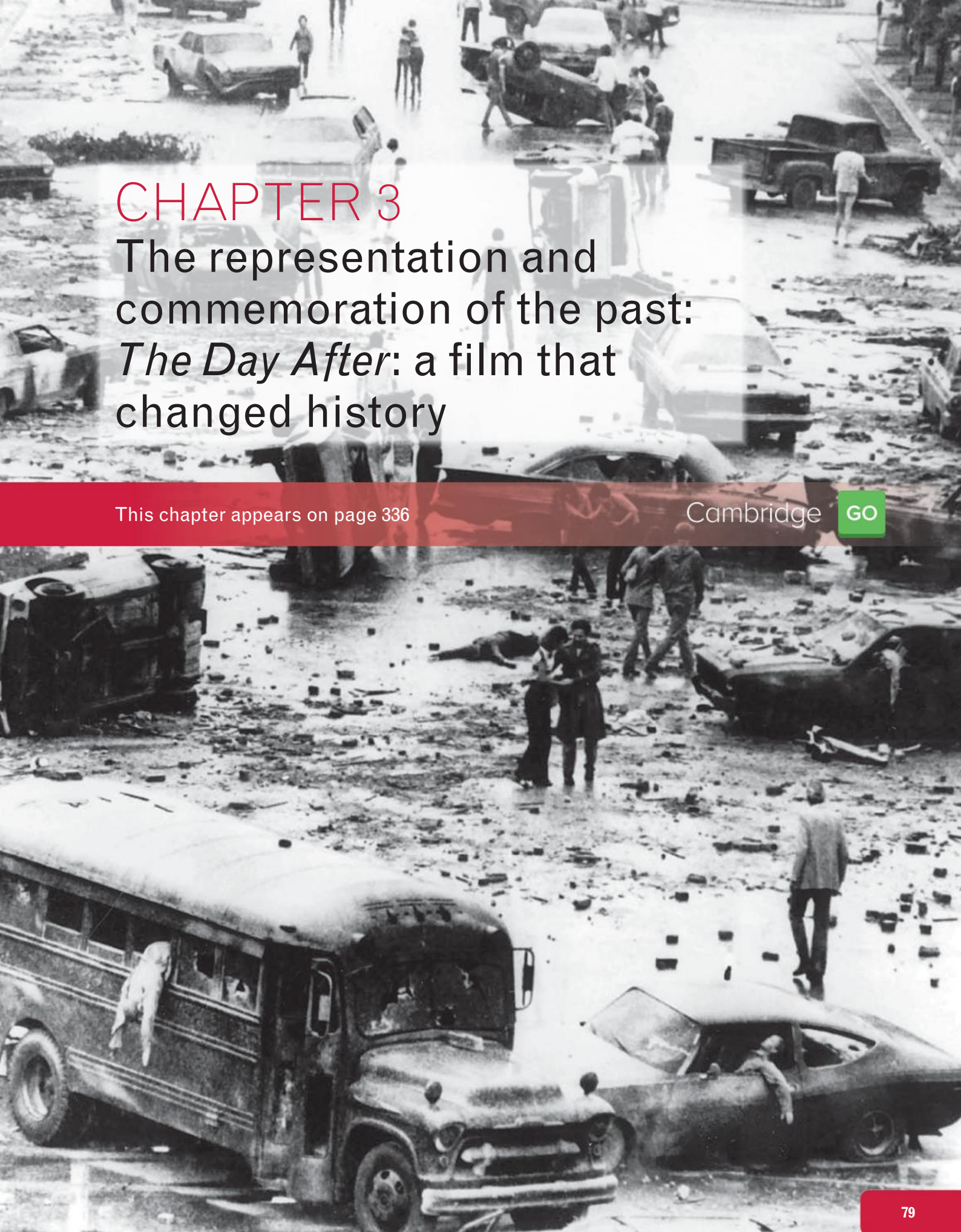
- Donald Trump made many bold promises during the election campaign. Explain to what extent Trump tried to implement his promises since the beginning of 2017 and up to the present.
- In order to help you answer this question, conduct historical research in your school or local library or online (from educational websites). In your investigation, be sure to include:
  - a list of mini-questions you want to answer in your response (to break down the question into smaller parts)
  - a research plan (where will you conduct research; how many different sources of evidence do you want to consider?)
  - evidence from a range of sources (try to include some quotes from each source; be sure to use quotation marks)
  - acknowledge your sources appropriately (after a quote, list the source's author, title, date published, page number).
- Present your research in the form of a page-long essay, including an introduction, at least three body paragraphs and a conclusion.

### 5 Further essay questions

- History informs how many people view Donald Trump. Discuss.
- Evaluate how Donald Trump's early life experiences and business ventures prepared him for political life and the presidency.
- Discuss how the history of Donald Trump has been 'constructed' over time.
- 'The term "fascist" is inappropriate to use to describe Donald Trump.' Critically evaluate, using evidence to back up your response.



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# CHAPTER 3

# The representation and commemoration of the past: *The Day After*: a film that changed history

This chapter appears on page 336

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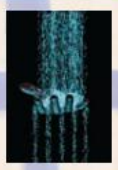
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# PART 2
# Investigating modern history: case studies

CHAPTER



**Chapter 4** The decline and fall of the Romanov Dynasty



**Chapter 5** The Digital Revolution – *Digital version only*



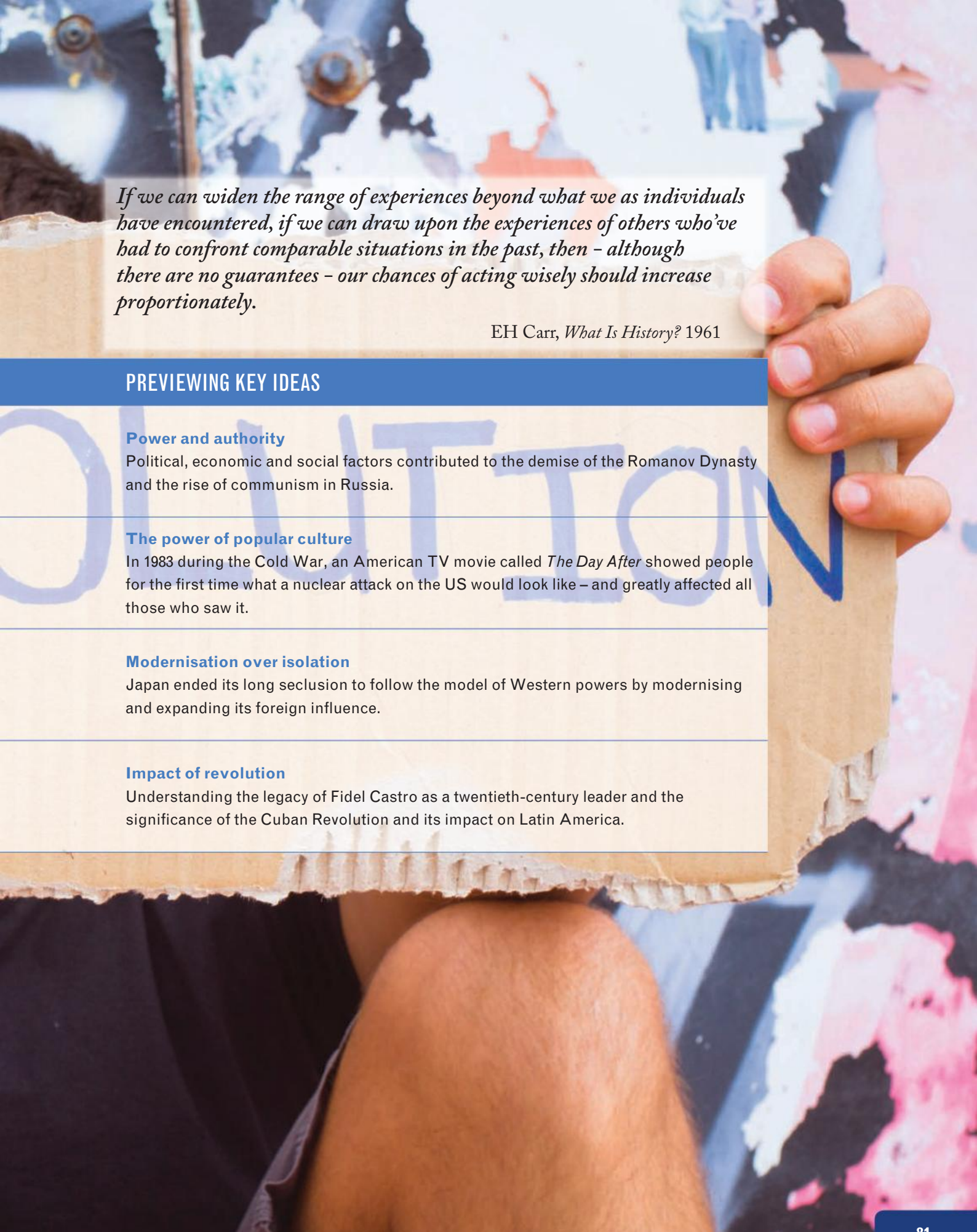
**Chapter 6** The Meiji Restoration



**Chapter 7** The Cuban Revolution and its impact on Latin America



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*If we can widen the range of experiences beyond what we as individuals have encountered, if we can draw upon the experiences of others who've had to confront comparable situations in the past, then – although there are no guarantees – our chances of acting wisely should increase proportionately.*

EH Carr, *What Is History?* 1961

## PREVIEWING KEY IDEAS

### Power and authority

Political, economic and social factors contributed to the demise of the Romanov Dynasty and the rise of communism in Russia.

### The power of popular culture

In 1983 during the Cold War, an American TV movie called *The Day After* showed people for the first time what a nuclear attack on the US would look like – and greatly affected all those who saw it.

### Modernisation over isolation

Japan ended its long seclusion to follow the model of Western powers by modernising and expanding its foreign influence.

### Impact of revolution

Understanding the legacy of Fidel Castro as a twentieth-century leader and the significance of the Cuban Revolution and its impact on Latin America.



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# CHAPTER 4
# The decline and fall of the Romanov Dynasty

*I shall adhere as unswervingly as my father to the principle of autocracy.*
Nicholas II in his opening manifesto of 1894

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

- By using a range of historical sources, you will investigate the downfall of the Romanov dynasty.

**KEY ISSUES**

You will explore:

- the historical context, such as:
  - the origins and character of the Russian Empire
- the collapse of the Romanov dynasty, such as:
  - the autocracy of Tsar Nicholas II
  - the growth of opposition to the Romanovs
  - political, economic and social grievances of the people
  - the role of the First World War in the downfall of the Romanov dynasty
  - the transfer of power from the Romanovs to the Provisional Government
- a relevant historical event – the murder of the Romanov family

**RUSSIA** 1890 1900

**1894** Nicholas Romanov takes power as Tsar after the death of his father; marriage of Nicholas to Alexandra





**1895** Formation of the Marxist political party, St Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class

**1896** Official coronation of Tsar Nicholas II; promises to maintain autocracy

**1898** Formation of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party

**1901** Formation of the populist Socialist Revolutionary Party

**1903** Split in the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks

**1904** Russo-Japanese War begins; *Zemstvo* campaign demands a constitution

**1905** Revolution of 1905; Bloody Sunday (9 January); mass strikes; October Manifesto promises political reform and civil rights; Sergei Witte appointed Prime Minister

**SOURCE 4.1 This photo (circa 1914) shows members of the Romanovs, the last imperial family of Russia.**



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# The Russian Empire during the reign of Nicholas II




**1907**
Second State Duma, also critical of government; government closes Duma and revises electoral law before allowing new elections

**1912**
Revival of labour unrest; legal publication of Bolshevik and Menshevik newspapers begins

**1915**
Tsar takes personal command of the armed forces



**1916**
Assassination of Rasputin



**1918**
Start of civil war; former Tsar and his family murdered

## 1910

**1906**
Fundamental Laws; First State Duma (parliament) elected; critical of government, so closed; new Prime Minister Stolypin's land reforms and policies of repression; Rasputin begins to influence royal family

**1911**
Stolypin assassinated

**1914**
Outbreak of World War I – war with Germany and Austria

## 1915

**1917**
February Revolution; abdication of Nicholas II; establishment of the Provisional Government and Petrograd Soviet; October Revolution – Bolsheviks seize power from the Provisional Government

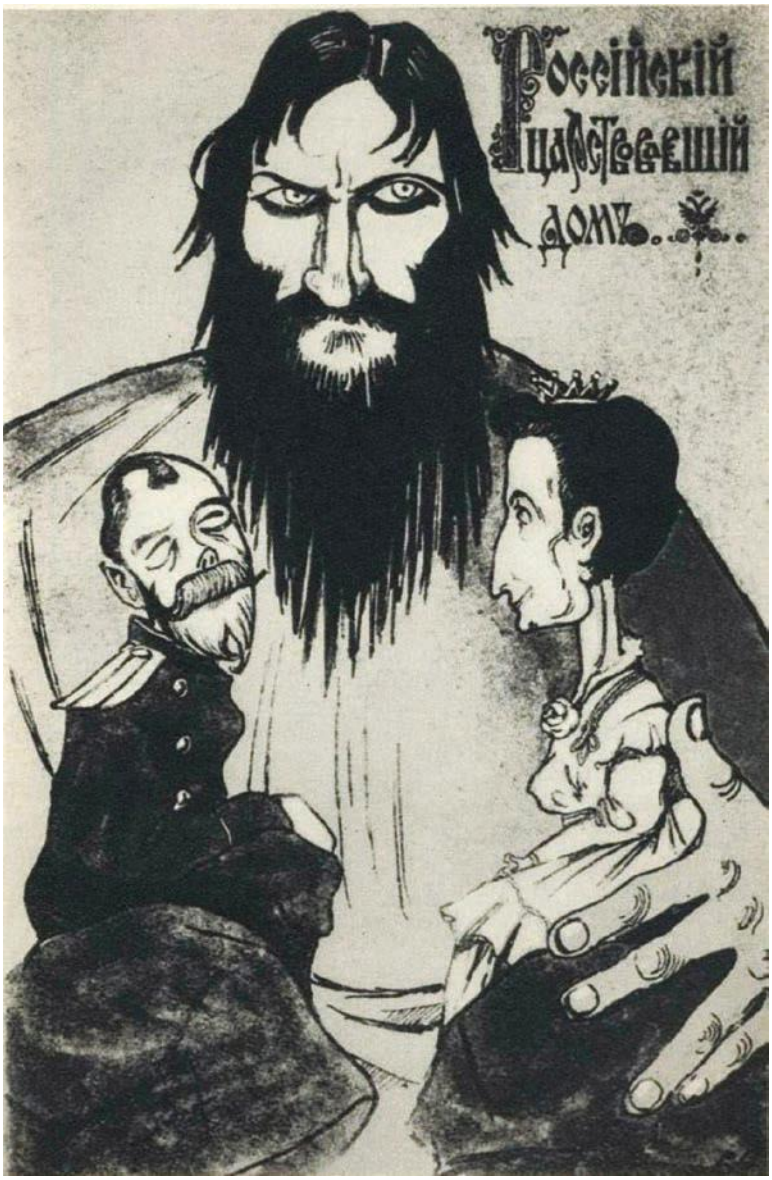





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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER




**SOURCE 4.2** A cartoon from around 1916 depicting the perceived relationship between Rasputin, Tsar Nicholas II and Tsarina Alexandra. The inscription reads 'The Russian Tsars at home'.

Based on the cartoon provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

| What do you see? | What do you think? | What do you wonder? |
|---|---|---|



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# CHAPTER 4 Overview

| KEY IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS TODAY | KEY TERMS AND NAMES |
|---|---|---|
| Political, economic and social factors contributed to the demise of the Romanov Dynasty and the rise of communism in Russia. | Nicholas II steered Russia towards a revolutionary situation that transformed Russia into a communist state lasting nearly 75 years. | • autocracy<br>• communism<br>• *Okhrana*<br>• revolution<br>• Bloody Sunday<br>• October Manifesto<br>• Duma<br>• World War I<br>• Provisional Government<br>• Tsar Nicholas II<br>• Tsarina Alexandra<br>• Rasputin<br>• Bolsheviks<br>• Lenin |

## *Painting the picture*

### What was tsarism?

Russian history is compelling and interesting in so many ways, and one of the most fascinating periods is the early twentieth century. During the troubled rule of the leader, Tsar Nicholas II, the famous and proud Romanov Dynasty was dramatically toppled after more than 300 years of rule.

To try to understand the events that led to the fall of the Romanovs, it is essential to understand the importance of the system of **tsarism**. Russian culture has traditionally relied on a strong central leader.

> Russian society is very much like a colony of bees, in which royalty is a natural necessity. Just as the colony would cease to exist without its queen, so, too, would Russian society cease to exist without the Tsar.

**SOURCE 4.3** German intellectual August von Haxthausen, *Studies on the Interior of Russia*, 1844

**INQUIRY QUESTION**

Was the fall of Tsar Nicholas II inevitable?

**tsarism** the Tsar (also sometimes spelt Czar) was the male ruler of Russia until 1917; tsarism in this context refers to the rule over the Russian Empire by either a male or a female (Tsarina) leader

**autocratic** refers to a political system whereby the ruler has complete political power, not limited by a formal constitution or parliament

The Fundamental Laws of the Empire were a statement issued by Russian tsars in 1716 and again in 1832. They described the Tsar as being 'an **autocratic** and unlimited monarch' and stated that 'God himself commands his supreme power be obeyed.' 'Tsar' is the Russian word for 'ruler' and 'tsarism' is used to refer to this system of one-person rule. These autocratic powers of the Tsar are explained by Australian historian Merilyn Hoysted:

> Neither a constitution nor other institutions limited the Tsar's authority. All law emanated from the Tsar. Russian officials swore an oath of loyalty to him personally, not to the state. Civil servants and ministers needed his permission to resign ... Nicholas II believed Autocracy to be a sacred trust and Russia the dynasty's patrimony to be handed on to his own son intact.

**SOURCE 4.4** Merilyn Hoysted, *The Russian Revolution: A Student Handbook*, 2001, p. 8



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## 4.1 The origins and nature of the Russian Empire and its relationships with foreign powers

### The Romanov Dynasty

Immediately before the founding of the Romanov Dynasty in the early 1600s, Russia was politically fragmented and economically and culturally undeveloped. This historical period was known as the 'Time of Troubles', characterised by its chaotic internal disorders, foreign invasions and rapid succession of rulers. Russia was essentially an unstable European power. However, when Michael Romanov was declared Tsar in 1613, Russia became united under one leader, and over the course of his 32-year reign a powerful autocratic tradition was established.

The House of Romanov would reign over Russia for 304 years, from 1613 to 1917. Eighteen different Romanov autocrats ruled Russia throughout the dynasty and between them, over time, the Romanovs established the modern world's largest and most powerful empire. Some of the most famous Romanov leaders included Michael Romanov (ruled between 1613 and 1645), Peter the Great (ruled between 1696 and 1725) and Catherine the Great (ruled between 1762 and 1796).



**SOURCE 4.5** Notable Romanov rulers throughout the 304-year dynasty: Michael Romanov, the first Tsar of Russia, who started the dynasty in 1613, Peter I (Peter the Great) and Catherine II (Catherine the Great)

Under the various Romanov rulers, Russia's geographic boundaries expanded significantly. Source 4.6 illustrates how the Russian Empire grew from the beginning of the dynasty to the time of the rule of the last of the Romanovs, Nicholas II, who became Tsar in 1894. By the start of the twentieth century, Russia was a truly great multinational empire embracing both Europe and Asia, and for a time it even included Alaska and northern parts of California, in North America. The Empire covered one-sixth of the total land surface of the earth.

### The Russian Empire

Russia was regarded as a great political and cultural force in the world. European travellers to Russia around 1900 may have been appalled by the dictatorial power of the Russian monarchy and dismayed at the poverty of most of the people, but they also recognised that educated Russians were as sophisticated and European as themselves. For example, Russia was renowned for its great literary figures, such as Tolstoy (the author of *War and Peace*) and for its composers, such as Tchaikovsky. However, it was also known for its political unrest, as illustrated by the fact that of the last dozen Romanov autocrats, half were assassinated.



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**SOURCE 4.6** Expansion of Russia under the various Romanovs

One of the effects of the expansion of the Russian Empire under the Romanovs was its increasing ethnic diversity. The Empire included around 70 distinct nationalities. The Russian Imperial Census of 1897, the first and only census carried out in the Russian Empire, showed the total population of the Empire to be almost 126 million people. Though the greatest proportion of its people were recorded as Russian (nearly 68 million), the rest of the Empire's total population had been conquered by the ancestors of Tsar Nicholas II. These peoples had their own languages, their own customs and their own ways of life. So, for five out of ten of the Tsar's subjects, Russian was a foreign language and Russian people themselves were foreigners. Furthermore, the many different peoples of the Russian Empire were not spread evenly throughout the lands controlled by the Empire. The cold lands of Siberia were thinly populated, while most lived in the five per cent of land that was good for farming. This was because the Russian Empire was a largely **agrarian** economy, which relied on the growing of crops for survival and trade. Cities were often overcrowded though, according to the 1897 census, of the 125 million people fewer than 17 million lived in urban areas.

**agrarian** relating to the production of foodstuffs in the countryside

**regime** a particular government or system of government

## Russia's relationship with foreign powers

The Tsar (or Tsarina), as autocrat, made all the main decisions in the Russian Empire and traditionally there was strong uniformity and force when dealing with foreign powers during the **regimes** of the most powerful Romanov leaders. Historian Simon



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**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Clarifying**

What was tsarism?

Sebag Montefiore, in his 2016 book *The Romanovs, 1613–1918*, argued that in terms of foreign policy, each of the Romanov leaders played at Western niceties while clinging to traditional Russian notions of absolute rule.

By the start of the twentieth century, we can say that:

- Russia's territorial control extended to Asia (known at the time as the Far East). Russia had invested in strong economic projects such as the Trans-Siberian Railway and relations with the Chinese region of Manchuria, which would lead to future military conflict with Japan.
- France would emerge as Russia's main ally, which needed its size and power to protect itself from the increasingly powerful German Empire. Both Russia and France would eventually sign the Triple Entente pact with Great Britain to encircle the German Empire, which thus led Europe into World War I.
- Nicholas II was related by blood to several European monarchs. His first cousin was King George V of Great Britain, which helped to strengthen ties between the two nations.
- Nicholas's wife, Alexandra, was German; this would eventually be held against her when Russia was at war against Germany in World War I.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Analysing issues**

What were some of the difficulties in leading Russia at the start of the twentieth century?

## 4.2 The role of Nicholas II as autocrat

Tsar Nicholas II became the new Tsar at the age of 26 after his father died unexpectedly of kidney failure in 1894. He was married to the German Princess Alexandra who, although she was sometimes shy, was also determined that autocratic power would not be shared. They had four daughters: Olga (born 1895), Tatiana (born 1897), Maria (born 1899) and Anastasia (born 1901). After four girls, Nicholas was openly delighted when Tsarevitch (crown prince) Alexei was born in 1904, providing him with an heir to the throne. Yet the royal doctors predicted a short lifespan for Alexei due to his haemophilia, a genetic condition that prevented his blood from forming the clotting cells needed to thicken blood if and when bleeding occurred.

**SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL**

### Tsar Nicholas II (1866–1918; Emperor 1894–1917)

In his extensive study of the Romanov Dynasty, historian Simon Sebag Montefiore described Nicholas II as 'the least capable and most narrow-minded' of the 18 different rulers. Nicholas succeeded to the throne after the death of his highly conservative father, Alexander III. Nicholas's rule was characterised by periodic crises and his efforts to contain the effects of modernisation. In particular, Nicholas resisted demands for more participatory government and civil rights. He was inspired by an ideology of autocracy that combined a conviction about the necessity and righteousness of the absolute power of the Tsar with a faith in a special bond of love and devotion between Tsar and people. In the midst of war and revolution, Nicholas II **abdicated** in March 1917, bringing to an end the Romanov Dynasty. He was executed, along with his family and close servants, in Ekaterinburg in July 1918.

**abdicate** resign from political rule (referring to a monarch)



**SOURCE 4.7** Tsar Nicholas II – the last of the Romanov autocrats



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## Nicholas's vision as leader

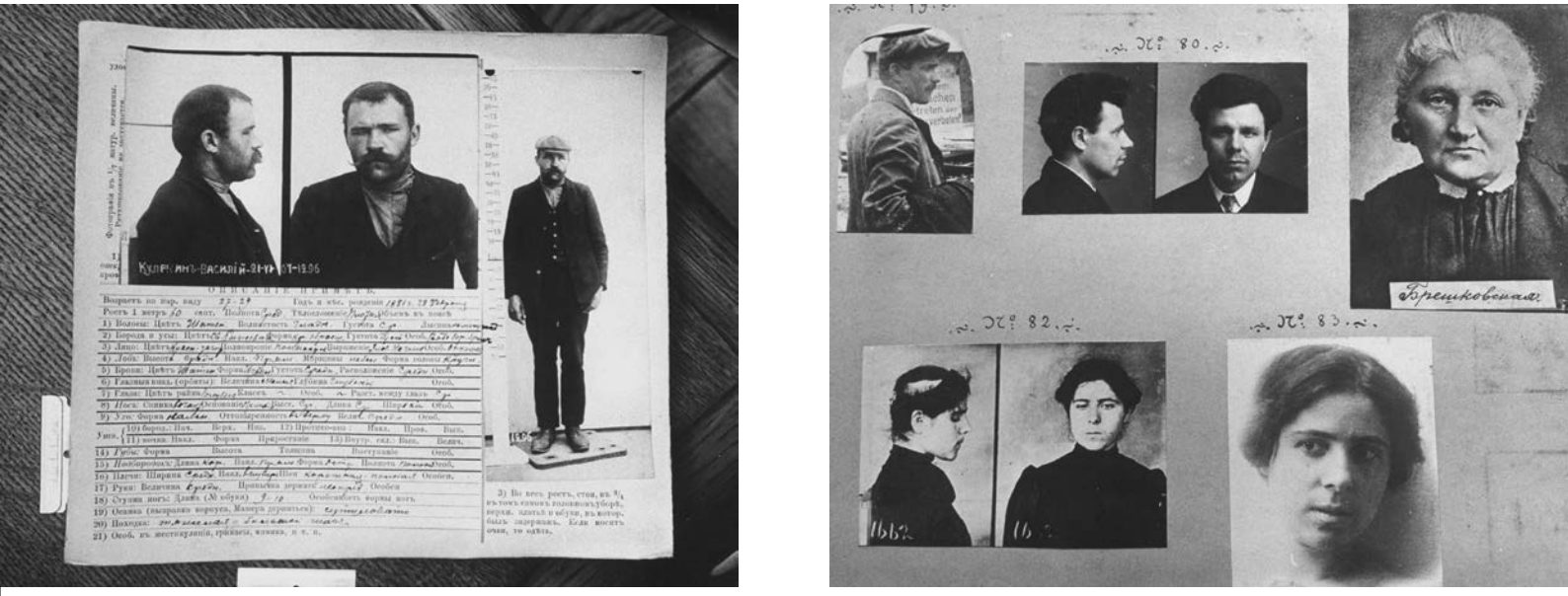
Nicholas II drew on two large political–cultural traditions in constructing his vision as a leader. The first of those traditions of the Tsar was one of an absolute authority advancing Russia's interests with might and force. This was the idea that the Tsar should be awesome in power and might; fierce and powerful. In his view, all people should be guided by the virtues of self-discipline, orderliness and regularity. He believed strongly that the autocratic order was key to Russia's might and stability and its progress as a nation. Nicholas II ruled a **police state** and his reliance on the ***Okhrana*** to respond brutally to anyone who dared challenge his authority reflected this notion. His persistent rejection of appeals for political freedom and democracy reflected his strong defence of autocracy. Nicholas II also relied on the elite **Cossacks**, whose savage fighting ability on horseback prompted the government to offer them land in return for their loyalty to the Tsar and service to the army.

**police state** a regime in which the government uses the police to severely limit people's freedom

***Okhrana*** the name given to the Tsar's secret police service that dealt with opposition to the royal government

**Cossacks** a group of people in Russia with a history of fighting and courage – a fiercely independent people from the region on the Don River near the Black Sea

The second tradition that Nicholas II fully believed in was that of the image of the ruler as a sacred figure, a divine figure who sought unity – a special bond – with the people and was loving and conciliatory. Nicholas believed deeply in the divine source of his authority. He was certain that God literally spoke and acted through him and he found an ever-increasing comfort in religious practice and faith. Nicholas and Alexandra's famous attraction to Grigorii Rasputin was connected to this faith. To the Russian people, the Russian Orthodox Church encouraged obedience to the Tsar and protected his interests.




**SOURCE 4.8** Declassified *Okhrana* files of some arrested revolutionaries. On the left is a file on a man named Vasily Kulenin and on the right are photographs of various other people, including an older woman known as 'Grandma Breshkovskaya'. These are typical dossiers on political suspects from the time of the Tsar's secret police.

Nicholas II was ill-prepared for the role of Tsar and knew very little about the reality of life in Russia. He relied on his advisers, as he never went on tours to visit factories and this severely affected his ability to make strong political decisions. For example, consider these two accounts of the leadership of the Tsar from two of his contemporaries:



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The daily work of a monarch he found intolerably boring. He could not stand listening long or seriously to ministers' reports, or reading them. [...] He liked such ministers as could tell an amusing story and did not weary the monarch's attention with too much business.

**SOURCE 4.9** Alexander Kerensky, Russian politician and Prime Minister in 1917, in *The Crucifixion of Liberty*, 1934, p. 264

The Emperor Nicholas has not inherited his father's commanding personality nor the strong character and prompt decision making which are essential to an autocratic ruler.

**SOURCE 4.10** Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador to Russia in 1910, in H Seton-Watson, op.cit., p.108

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Summarising**

How did the Tsar maintain his authority?

**Forming opinions**

What are your initial thoughts about Nicholas as a leader?

## NOTE THIS DOWN

**Analysing causes**

As you work through the chapter, take notes using this outline to identify the various causes for the decline of the Romanov Dynasty.

**Causes of the decline and fall of the Romanov Dynasty**

Political
-
-
-
Social
-
-
-
Economic
-
-
-

## 4.3 The Romanov Empire at the time of Nicholas II: political, social and economic grievances

The official census of 1897 quantified the Russian population as the largest in Europe. The most significant problem, however, was not the size of the Russian population but its social structure, which promoted privilege. There are two important concepts here: 'utility' means value or usefulness to society and 'merit' means personal skills and abilities. Russian society was based on privilege by birth, not on utility or merit.

### Russian social hierarchy

#### Ruling class

'The ruling class' was the name given to the Tsar and the rest of the royal family, together with the members of government. The ruling class made up only a tiny fraction of the population: just 0.5 per cent.

#### Upper class

The 'nobility' made up 12 per cent of the population and included hereditary landowning nobles, wealthy merchants, church leaders, leaders in the bureaucracy and the higher ranks within the army. The class was unified by its total protection from the harsh reality of Russian life, with members' incomes disproportionately high given their low workload.

#### Middle class

The middle class is a difficult one to categorise because of its lack of unity or common function. It was made up of people in business, like small-scale manufacturers, factory managers and white-collar workers, as well as educated thinkers, writers and artists.

#### Industrial working class

Though Russia was late to industrialise compared to other European nations, by the start of the twentieth century there was a growing industrial working class in the major cities of the Empire.

#### Peasants

Agriculture was the largest part of the Russian economy and therefore its foundation but, despite the estimated 90 million peasants who produced over half of the nation's income, the agrarian economy was



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underdeveloped. It was simply one of the worst in Europe. With such a **feudal** agrarian system, the amount of food produced rarely met the nation's demands and was especially scarce during a famine. Added to this was the conservative nature of the rural peasantry, whose high illiteracy rate made many resistant to change. The ruling classes were content with the backward nature of the peasants, as they feared that by educating them they might become politically dangerous. However, the increasing difficulty of rural life created a mood of social discontent and a push for government reforms.

**feudal** relating to serfdom, the medieval social system whereby the privileged nobles controlled the hard-working peasants

## ANALYSING SOURCES 4.1

1. Identify and list each group represented in the cartoon.
2. Evaluate the 'criticisms' each level of the cartoon provides of the Tsar's government.
3. Discuss the strengths and limitations of this cartoon as a representation of power relations in Tsarist Russia.




**SOURCE 4.11** An anonymous caricature of the social hierarchy of the Russian Empire published by the Union of Russian Socialists in 1900. The text translates thus (from the top down):

They rule with our money
They pray for us
They eat for us
They shoot at us
We work for them all.



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## The emergence of discontent and demands for change

At the turn of the century, discontent among the Russian people in both rural and urban areas was widespread. Just about every social group was unhappy under Nicholas II, due to a range of political, social and economic factors.

### Discontent in the countryside

Discontent was found increasingly among peasants. They were preoccupied with a need for more land and were angry about their poverty. Their 'land hunger' arose from a number of factors. For one, there had been an enormous growth in population, which had reduced the amount of land each family possessed. Peasants felt the need for more land because of the low productivity of the land they worked, due to poor-quality soil that was unsuitable for farming (despite Russia's vast size, most of the land was unusable); a short growing season due to Russia's cold climate; the backwardness of the peasant economy; and the inefficiencies of communal agriculture. Had economic conditions for the peasants improved, it is possible that their dream of having all that land might have faded – but poverty kept their dreams alive.



**SOURCE 4.12** Russian peasants outside a rural farm house, around 1910



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## Discontent in the cities

Dissatisfaction among the growing class of urban workers was on the rise. Workers in the expanding industrial terrain had a lot to be unhappy about. The material situation in cities like St Petersburg and Moscow and others was often horrible, which was typical of early industrialisation. Housing became overcrowded as workers came to the city. Nothing adequate was built for them and often the sanitary conditions were deplorable. It wasn't unusual for workers to be living in basement apartments in cities like St Petersburg, with mould and mildew on the walls and rats crossing their houses and their small rooms. A 1904 survey revealed an average of 16 people per apartment with six people per room. Workers were exposed to long hours. A ten- to twelve-hour day was the normal work day and they were at constant risk of injury from unprotected machinery, as there were no laws to protect them from dangerous wheels or belts.

However, worker discontent involved more than just the demand for a better physical life. Workers too, especially as they were more likely to be literate than peasants, began to be exposed to new ideas and to the inequalities of city life through the relatively liberal press.



**SOURCE 4.13** Striking workers of the Putilov steel factory outside the gates of the plant in St Petersburg in 1905



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**Marxism** a social, political and economic theory based on the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

**capitalism** an economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state

**revolution** a fundamental change in the way a country is governed, usually to a different political system and often using violence

**proletariat** the name Karl Marx gave to the industrial workers

**bourgeoisie** the name Karl Marx gave to the employers and people who run large companies, who have most of the money and take advantage of ordinary workers

**socialism** the set of beliefs that states that all people are equal and should share equally in a country's money, or the political systems based on these beliefs

**communism** the belief in a society without different social classes in which the methods of production are owned and controlled by all its members and everyone works as much as they can and receives what they need

**utopia** (the idea of) a perfect society in which everyone works well with everyone else and is happy

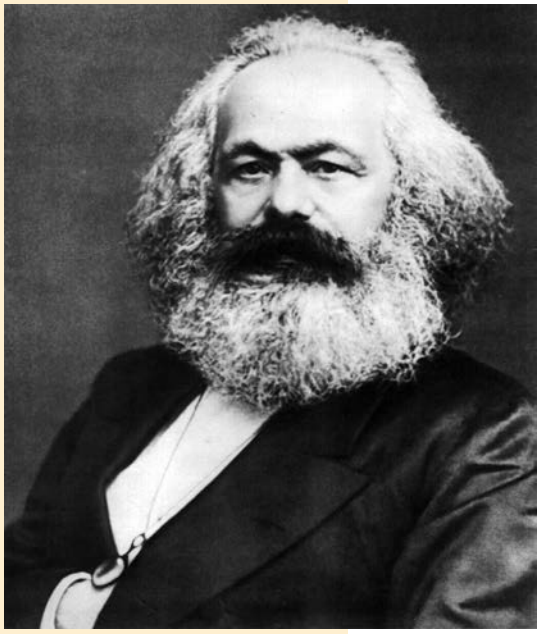
## 4.4 The development of opposition to the Romanovs

There was a continued growth in Russia of opposition to traditional autocracy, which came in the form of revolutionary political movements. There was also a growing interest in the political ideas of **Marxism**, which became popular among workers and educated classes.

# ANALYSING KEY CONCEPTS

### Marxism

Karl Marx was a German philosopher who in 1848 wrote an influential book titled the *Communist Manifesto* with Friedrich Engels. In this book, Marx and Engels predicted that, in **capitalist** societies (which had rapidly developed due to industrialisation), there would soon be violent **revolutions** in which the majority working class, or **proletariat**, would overthrow the minority capitalists (or **bourgeoisie**) who owned the wealth of the country. The workers would take away factories, mines, machinery and raw materials from the capitalists and would share them out equally among themselves. Marx and Engels called the sharing of wealth **socialism**.

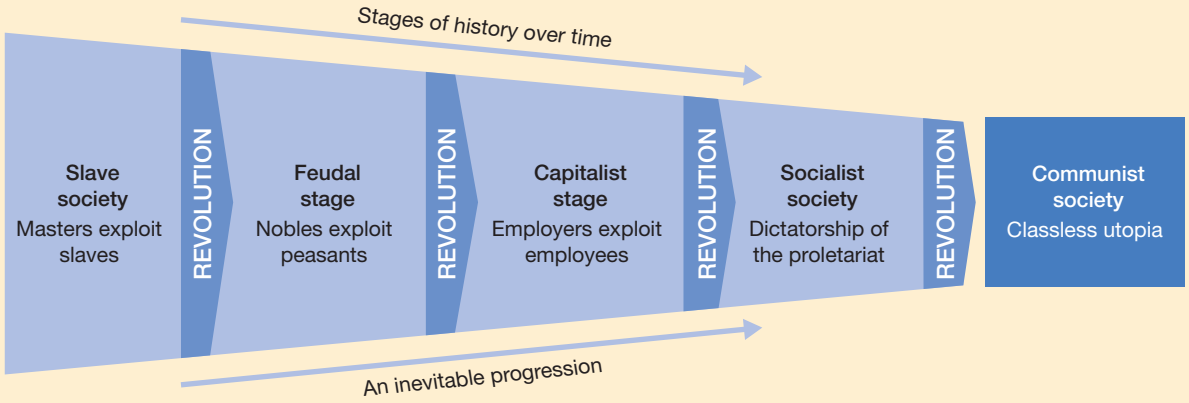


**SOURCE 4.14** Karl Marx

In a socialist society, Marx and Engels thought people would learn to work together for the good of everyone, not just for themselves. They would stop being selfish and would take only what they needed as payment for their work. At this stage, a system of **communism** would come into existence: a society in which people would work according to their abilities and be paid according to their needs.

Marx and Engels envisioned a process of evolution (via revolution) from a capitalist society to a socialist one, then to a communist, classless **utopia**.

MARX'S STAGES OF HISTORY






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## DATA FILE

| Marxist definition of capitalism | Marxist definition of communism |
|---|---|
| An economic system in which investment in and ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange of wealth is in the hands of private individuals and corporations | A system of economic and social organisation in which industry, capital, land and other means of production are owned and controlled by the community as a whole |

## ACTIVITIES

1 In your own words, explain why the concept of revolution is important according to Marxism.

2 Propose why Marxism might have been attractive to different groups in Tsarist Russia.

## What were the main revolutionary political movements?

### Marxist revolutionary parties

#### *Social Democratic Workers' Party*

Marxist principles were spreading throughout Russia in the 1890s, prompting George Plekhanov, at the time considered the father of Russian Marxism, to found the Social Democratic Workers' Party in 1898 on socialist principles. In 1903, the Party held its second **congress** outside of Russia in Western Europe (because political parties were illegal in Russia). This second congress sought to unite all Russian Marxists. The seemingly trivial question of membership split the Party into two factions: Vladimir Lenin and his supporters, who called themselves the **Bolsheviks** (meaning majority) and Julius Martov and his supporters, who became the **Mensheviks** (meaning minority).

**TABLE 4.1** Overview of the differences and similarities between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks

| | Bolsheviks | Mensheviks |
|---|---|---|
| **Key leader** | Vladimir Lenin | Julius Martov |
| **Key influence** | Marx's writings | Marx's writings |
| **Stages of history** | Believed they could bypass the capitalist stage and move straight to a socialist stage | Believed that the capitalist stage was necessary before evolving into a socialist society |
| **Party organisation** | Membership for the dedicated workers only and decisions made by leaders alone | Membership open to all workers and decisions made after open debate and majority vote |
| **Attitude towards workers** | Party needs to plan a revolution and seize power as the 'vanguard of the proletariat' | Party needs to educate workers to develop a **class consciousness** that unleashes a spontaneous struggle for equality |

**congress** a large formal meeting of representatives at which ideas are discussed

**Bolsheviks** a revolutionary political party begun by Lenin after splitting with the Mensheviks in 1903. They took power in Russia in 1917 and became the Communist Party in 1925.

**Mensheviks** a Marxist revolutionary party that was formed, along with the Bolsheviks, when the Social Democratic Workers' Party split in 1903

**class consciousness** a clear understanding of the differences between the various social classes or of belonging to a particular social class



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**TABLE 4.1** *(continued)*

| | Bolsheviks | Mensheviks |
|---|---|---|
| **Political influence** | Due to their small numbers, perhaps only as high as 10000 members before 1914, the Bolsheviks were not influential. Lenin was also in **exile**, leaving the party without direct leadership. | It was in fact the Mensheviks, not the Bolsheviks, who were more closely monitored by the *Okhrana* as the major revolutionary threat to tsarist authority. |

**exile** the condition of being sent or kept away from one's own country, especially for political reasons



**SOURCE 4.15** Members of the revolutionary St Petersburg League of Struggle in 1897. Lenin is seated in the centre; Martov is on the left.

### *Socialist Revolutionary Party*

The Socialist Revolutionary Party (SR) had the longest political tradition of any party. The Party had two very different faces in its approach to political action. Firstly, it believed deeply in education and in organisation. The Party fought hard for a democratic and free society where capitalism existed but was restricted by various social reform laws, not unlike those that the liberals were suggesting. They also wanted a socialist society, which in their minds meant complete control over the economy through the state, but through local institutions run by workers and peasants as well.

The darker side of the Social Revolutionaries was their use of terrorism. They believed it was necessary to lay the groundwork for popular revolution, to inspire people to prepare to attack that state and weaken the government through a series of political assassinations. It is clear that they effectively terrorised the tsarist government, and between 1901 and 1917 the Social Revolutionaries managed to kill 139 officials (many of them quite high-ranking).



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## Liberal political parties

Liberal ideas have had a long history in Russia, going back to the late eighteenth century. There were lots of differences among individuals who were part of the liberal movement, but most of them pretty much agreed on a common program – extension of basic civil rights to all Russians, freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and the like.

- They believed in the rule of law, which should trump absolute power, and the personal power and the will of autocrats, bureaucrats and the police.
- They were very passionate to have a society that was based on a constitution and a democratically elected government.
- They also argued for local self-government whereby the ***zemstvos*** should be stronger in controlling local affairs and the state should be actively engaged in social reforms.

There were two main political parties that emerged during 1905 and subscribed to liberal approaches: the Kadets and the Octobrists.

**TABLE 4.2** Overview of the Kadets and the Octobrists

| Kadets | Octobrists |
|---|---|
| The Constitutional Democratic Party, or **Kadets** for short, was the largest of the liberal parties. Its main policy was promoting a system of **constitutional monarchy**. | The Octobrists were given their name because of their readiness to accept the **October Manifesto** in 1905. Their loyalty to the Tsar made them embrace the **Dumas** as a significant constitutional reform. They were more conservative than the Kadets. |

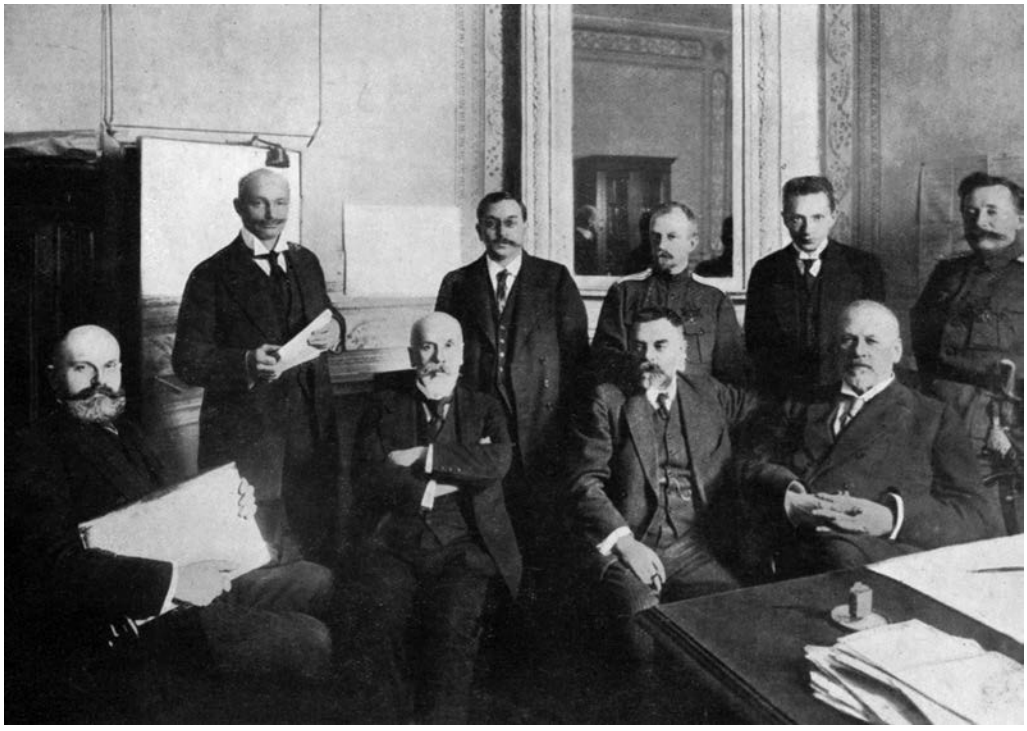
***zemstvos*** local councils that were made up of elected representatives of peasants and landowners

**Kadets** a conservative revolutionary group that played an important role in the First Duma in 1906 and in the Provisional Government in 1917

**constitutional monarchy** a system in which the king or queen's power is severely limited, because they act only on the advice of the politicians who form the government

**October Manifesto** the document produced by Tsar Nicholas II promising to grant an elected Duma in return for an end to general strikes that had paralysed the economy

**Duma** parliament; the elected legislative body that convened four times between 27 April 1906 and the collapse of the Empire in February 1917



**SOURCE 4.16** Octobrist leader Mikhail Rodzianko, pictured sitting on the right. Behind him is Alexander Kerensky.



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## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

| | |
|---|---|
| • How did Russia's social structure promote privilege? | • What obstacles limited the growth of opposition to tsarism? |

As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider the nature of the leadership style of Nicholas II in addressing the various political, social and economic concerns.

## FLASHPOINT!

### The Russo-Japanese War

The war with Japan began in early 1904. It was formally started by Japan; however, it was in many ways provoked by aggressive Russian policy trying to compete for property, land and influence in Korea and in Manchuria, Northern China. The Japanese struck first, launching a surprise torpedo attack against Russian ships anchored at Port Arthur. Psychologically, the attack was a great blow to Russian confidence and an equally powerful boost to Japanese morale. Between April and September, the Japanese launched a massive invasion, ferrying hundreds of thousands of troops to Manchuria, defeating Russian armies at the battles of the Yalu River and Nanshan, capturing the port of Dalny and surrounding Port Arthur. Russia suffered some devastating defeats, with the Japanese forces capturing Port Arthur in January 1905 and the Russian army of 320 000 suffering a massive defeat at Mukden in March. At the time, Japan was viewed as a strange but unthreatening and technologically backward nation. However, this assumption would be blown to bits in the narrow gap of water separating Japan from Korea, the Tsushima Strait. It was here that, on 27 May 1905, a thoroughly modern Japanese fleet annihilated a much larger Russian one, announcing Japan's entrance onto the global stage as a major power.

### Outcomes

- In Russia, the disaster of the Russo-Japanese War contributed to the uprising of 1905.
- Although Russia had a much larger fleet than the Japanese and some of their vessels were modern, others were outdated and the crews were generally ill-trained. It was the first time a European power had been beaten by an Asian nation.
- The Battle of Tsushima can be said to have directly contributed to the damaging image of the leadership of Tsar Nicholas II, as the Russian soldiers were shown to be unprofessional and poorly led compared to the Japanese, who were highly disciplined and dedicated.




**SOURCE 4.17** The Tsushima Strait (at the lower right of the Korean peninsula) was the site of the first great naval battle of the twentieth century – and a devastating military loss for Russia in May 1905.



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 4.2

1 Explain the key message the cartoon is meant to communicate to the audience about the impact of the Russo-Japanese War on Tsar Nicholas II.

2 Evaluate the significance of the French perspective on this international event.




**SOURCE 4.18** Political cartoon from France, titled 'Nicholas the Second ... and Last', by the artist Orens. This was published in the new medium of political postcards in 1905.

## The 1905 Russian Revolution

By 1905, the tsarist autocracy would be confronted by its greatest political challenge to date: a massive social and political revolution that was the most dramatic sign yet of the steady growth of opposition to traditional autocracy.



**SOURCE 4.19** A painting of Father Gapon leading the crowd on Bloody Sunday

### Bloody Sunday

#### *Background*

Bloody Sunday had a crippling effect on the tsarist government, demonstrating for the first time a widespread contempt for the regime. The autocracy was soon on the verge of collapse as domestic and external events continued to punish an already fragile state.

The genesis of the march has a rather bizarre context. In 1901, hoping to lead workers away from the radicals, the government set up special legal labour organisations under the control of the secret police (the *Okhrana*). One of these bodies, established in St Petersburg in 1904, was headed up and organised by a priest named Georgii Gapon who also worked for the secret police. It became known as the Assembly of Russian Factory Workers and was phenomenally successful. At this point, in December 1904, amid growing strikes among workers, Father Gapon's organisation decided to arrange a massive march to convey workers' grievances to the Tsar himself.

#### *Petition and march*

The march took place on a freezing Sunday morning on 9 January 1905 with Gapon leading tens of thousands of workers to the Winter Palace carrying a petition. Gapon had written the petition and about 135 000 workers signed it. This was all a very traditional act, as the petitioners were endeavouring to appeal to Tsar Nicholas II as the symbolic father of the people. They carried a picture of the Tsar; they carried **icons** and they carried banners borrowed from the churches, but the content of what they asked for was in many ways less traditional. They not only demanded that the state intervene to improve working and living conditions, but also included in their petition a demand for civil liberties – freedom of press, speech, assembly, belief, unions and strikes. They also called for the election of what they called a 'pre-parliament' – a constituent assembly; a body that would create a constitution and be based on universal, secret, direct and equal **suffrage**.

**icon** a painting, usually on wood, of Jesus Christ, or of a person considered holy by some Christians, especially in Russia

**suffrage** the right to vote in an election, especially for representatives in a government



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 4.3

> Sire, –
> We working men of St Petersburg, our wives and children, and our parents, helpless, aged men and women, have come to you, O Tsar, in quest of justice and protection. We have been beggared, oppressed, over-burdened with excessive toil, treated with contumely [contempt]. We are not recognized as normal human beings, but are dealt with as slaves who have to bear their bitter lot in silence. Patiently we endured this; but now we are being thrust deeper into the slough of right-lessness and ignorance, are being suffocated by despotism and arbitrary whims, and now, O Tsar, we have no strength left. The awful moment has come when death is better than the prolongation of our unendurable tortures.

**SOURCE 4.20** Quoted in Georgii Gapon, *The Story of My Life, by Father Gapon*, 1906, p. 257

1 Interpret what the language used reveals about the workers'/Gapon's attitude towards the Tsar before the events of Bloody Sunday.

2 Deduce what 'despotism and arbitrary whims' refers to.

The marchers were not met by the Tsar, who had left town, but by troops with orders to fire on the crowds approaching the palace. Hundreds were injured and killed; historians have estimated that 200 were killed and 800 wounded. This moment became known as 'Bloody Sunday' and it truly started a revolution. In the weeks that followed, everything the government had feared came to pass. The number of strikes and strikers in 1905 was greater than in all previous years of Russian history combined.



**SOURCE 4.21** An artist's representation from the time showing Cossacks on horseback attacking marchers on Bloody Sunday

The labour movement became more organised than ever before. Trade unions began to appear, paying no attention to the fact that they were illegal. And even new types of worker organisations, councils or worker representatives called **soviets** appeared for the first time. Workers' demands also became more political than ever before in response to, in part, their devastating experience on 9 January.

The workers were angrier now. They felt that they did not want a Tsar father if this was the way he was prepared to treat his people. They demanded a constitutional republic and full civil liberties. This became common behaviour for workers by the end of the year. To press their demands worker unions began publishing their own newspapers, completely ignoring the censorship laws and thereby showing up the government's weakness. The people were saying and doing what they wanted and the streets were filled throughout the year with endless demonstrations.

The government tried to respond with some mild concessions; in February, Nicholas II offered a consultative assembly. Years earlier, this would have been regarded as a major achievement, but at this point it was too little, too late. Most people no longer had enough confidence in the government to have a consultative assembly; they wanted a real **legislature**.

**soviets** councils with elected members

**legislature** the group of people in a country or part of a country who have the power to make and change laws



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**SOURCE 4.22** Tsarist forces monitor protesters in St Petersburg during the Revolution of 1905.

> A painful day. There have been serious disorders in St. Petersburg because workmen wanted to come up to the Winter Palace. Troops had to open fire in several places in the city; there were many killed and wounded. God, how painful and sad.

**SOURCE 4.23** Nicholas II, diary entry on Bloody Sunday, 22 January 1905

The high point of these protests came in early October, in a massive general strike. For two weeks, millions of workers – the vast majority of people earning wages in Russia – stayed off their jobs in factories all over the country, on the railways, in government offices, in commercial firms. Even every school and university was shut down by its students in October. The demands everywhere were the same (never had Russian society been so united): complete civil liberties and a constituent assembly to establish a constitutional order based on a legislature. And for many people this meant nothing less than a democratic republic, with no Tsar at all.




**SOURCE 4.24** 'The Czar of all the Russias' from the British magazine *Punch*, published 1 February 1905

## ANALYSING SOURCES 4.4

1. Assess the point the cartoon makes about the Tsar's position in Russia at the start of the twentieth century. (Hint: focus on the Tsar.)
2. Examine what the cartoon is suggesting about the conditions of the Russian people at this time. (Hint: focus on the figure on the ground. What class does this figure represent, and why?)
3. Interpret what the cartoon suggests tsarism is doing to Russia at this time. (Hint: focus on the bear. What could this represent?)



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### The October Manifesto

Powerful action provokes significant reaction. Underpinning all the revolutionary action against the Tsar during 1905 was the desire to have an elected parliament to represent the Russian people, which was called a Duma. Sergei Witte was a key player in 1905. He held the position as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, which was the equivalent of Prime Minister. In the face of this general political strike, Nicholas called on Witte to implement these reforms and on 17 October he signed what has been called the October Manifesto. For the first time in Russian history, basic civil liberties were granted to all Russians and a Duma with legislative powers was created. In other words, Russia was about to become a constitutional monarchy.

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

**Count Sergei Witte (1849–1915)**

Tsarist government official. Born into a family of mixed Dutch and Russian ancestry in government service, Witte studied mathematics at the University of Odessa, then entered the railway administration, in which he rose to responsible positions. In 1889, Witte was invited to establish a railway department in the Ministry of Finance and in 1892 was named Minister of Finance. He developed far-reaching plans, combining both state direction and the nurturing of a 'spirit of enterprise' for the economic development of the Empire. At the heart of his plans was railway building, particularly the Trans-Siberian line. His relationship with Tsar Nicholas II was strained. In August 1903, Witte was removed from the Ministry of Finance and appointed to the then largely powerless position of Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In July 1905, he was appointed head of the Russian delegation to conduct peace negotiations with Japan. He used his influence in 1905, amidst the national strike, to persuade the Tsar to issue the 'October Manifesto', which promised to grant a measure of representative government. He was forced to resign his post as Chairman of the Council of Ministers in 1906 after the Tsar lost confidence in him. In the summer and winter of 1914–15, he opposed Russian entry into World War I. He died foreseeing disaster for the Tsarist Empire.



**SOURCE 4.25** Chairman of the Council of Ministers Sergei Witte in 1905

Yet many in society still desired more, or did not trust the government's promises. Many workers and socialists condemned the Manifesto as inadequate and continued to protest. Students continued to refuse to attend classes and soldiers and sailors rebelled to transform conditions in the army. The October Manifesto caused restlessness among the peasants because they expected the changes to give them freedom, and that meant more land. Therefore they began to seize land, quite convinced that the Tsar had approved this.

Many liberals found this popular movement frightening, splitting the united social front for democracy that had existed until then. The Kadets complained that the reforms did not go far enough and continued to campaign against the government until true democracy came to Russia. More moderate liberals felt



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that the October Manifesto had done enough; in fact the disorder in the country was frightening them, as further changes would only encourage greater social unrest.

| EXAMINING THE ISSUES | |
|---|---|
| • What were the key crises of 1905? | • Outline how the Tsar responded to the crises of 1905. |
| As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider the nature of the revolutionary movement and the leadership of the Tsar in understanding why the 1905 Revolution failed. | |

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Clarifying**

List the measures that were promised in the October Manifesto in 1905. How did different groups react to the October Manifesto?

## The Fundamental Laws of 1906 and the politics of the Duma

In 1906, within a few months, the details of the promised reforms were announced in terms of a set of laws that became known as the **Fundamental Laws**. In many respects these represented a real, serious effort to include people for the first time in the formulation of policy. Political parties were legalised. Elections to the Duma, the parliament, were to be held; all Russian men from all classes were to be allowed to participate and the Duma was given real legislative authority: it could pass laws. But in other respects, the new Duma proved to be less an effective outlet for finding solutions to grievances than a constantly frustrating reminder of how the autocracy was not willing to accept true political reform. This was visible in the fact that there were many limitations on the reforms as they were announced in the Fundamental Laws and even more so in 1907, when many of these rules changed suddenly.



**SOURCE 4.26** In 1906 Tsar Nicholas gave the appearance of relaxing autocracy in favour of democratic values through his Fundamental Laws.

First of all, voting laws to the Duma were skewed in favour of classes the government most trusted, initially landowners and peasants. However in 1907, after dealing with two Dumas, both of which had closed down after just a handful of months partly due to constant protests on the floor of the Duma, it was decided that peasant delegates weren't so conservative after all, and the laws were changed to favour just the landowners.

**Fundamental Laws** laws enacted by Nicholas II to carry out the governmental reforms promised in his earlier October Manifesto

The legislative power of this Duma, which was not elected on equal or universal terms, was also restricted. The Tsar kept for himself the power to veto (block) any piece of legislation that he didn't like. Furthermore, so he wouldn't always have to do that, an upper house was created. Formed from an existing body, this body of notables, known as the State Council, included members who had been personally appointed by the Tsar himself, while the rest were well-established notables who were there by right of their elite position in society. The State Council was also given the power to veto anything the Duma passed that it didn't like; which is why it was known as 'the gravedigger' of democratic legislation in Russia.

The Duma's competence as an institution was restricted. A large part of its budget was out of control and it had no real influence over the military or foreign policy. Day-to-day political power in the Duma was also in the hands of ministers, men who had been personally appointed by the Tsar rather than elected to power.



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Finally, Article 87 was a critical component of the Fundamental Laws, implemented by the Tsar to limit the legislative authority of the Duma. The notorious Article 87 stated that the government could at any time declare a state of emergency and pass any law it wished while the Duma was out of session, which of course it would be during any state of emergency.

Nonetheless, the Constitutional Experiment of 1906 to 1914, when the war came, was not a complete failure. The Duma did in many ways offer people a public voice and a measure of public power such as had never existed before in Russia, but this didn't satisfy most people. Most of the nation was unrepresented; in fact, half the seats in the Duma were held by the **gentry**, who represented one per cent of the population. Members of the Octobrist party dominated the Duma, but even they were dissatisfied by the government's refusal to really let them have influence over the government. Social reforms left peasants and workers dissatisfied and even workers, who were allowed to strike and form unions, were themselves harassed and under the surveillance of the state. Many historians have argued that these half-hearted reforms only whetted people's appetites for more.

**gentry** people of high social class

> The Tsar never accepted the Duma. It was a concession granted reluctantly in a moment of panic; when the crisis subsided it was a concession he was only too happy to retract ...
>
> The Duma was also to share power with the upper house, the Imperial Court. This consisted half of members appointed by the Tsar and half of elected members, the representatives in both cases belonging to wealthier commercial and professional classes. As such it tended to be very conservative ...
>
> The Duma had very little control over government finances, and in the event of a dispute between the two houses over budgetary matters the government could accept the decision of either house. Each house was elected for a five-year period, but the Tsar could dissolve them at any time provided he set the date for a new election. When the Duma was not in session, and in 'exceptional circumstances', the emperor could legislate on his own account.

**SOURCE 4.27** M Bucklow and G Russell, *Russia: Why Revolution?* 1991, p. 112

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Recognising effects**

How did the Fundamental Laws allow the Tsar to maintain his autocracy?

### The reforms of Stolypin

In July 1906, Peter Stolypin was appointed Prime Minister of Russia in the wake of the traumatic events of 1905. He was a traditional statesman who supported tsarism, but was also a political realist. Stolypin's primary motivation during the reforms was to strengthen the position of the Tsar: 'As the revolution is so strong ... I must carry through effective measures of reform, and at the same time I must face revolution, resist it, and stop it.' The period under Stolypin seemingly sounded the death knell for all revolutionary parties, **ideologies** and movements. Stolypin's repression and the growing economy made revolutionary action less likely every year.

**ideologies** sets of beliefs or principles, especially those on which a political system, party or organisation is based

## A MATTER OF FACT

While Stolypin was Prime Minister, the hangman's noose became informally known as 'Stolypin's necktie' because he had so many political revolutionaries executed during his six years in power.



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Despite his success in consolidating the regime and his efforts in reforming Russia, Stolypin was not a popular figure. His relationship with the Tsar had deteriorated, as some historians have suggested, due to the malign influence of Rasputin. For example, Stolypin had presented a report to Nicholas outlining the drunken and sexual activities of Rasputin, which earned the undying hatred of the Tsarina. In 1911, Stolypin was assassinated by a young revolutionary at an opera performance in Kiev. The royal family did not attend his funeral because of his negative comments about Rasputin.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Making inferences**

How did Stolypin reinforce tsarism through his actions against opponents of the regime?

**TABLE 4.3** Overview of Stolypin's reforms and their results

| Stolypin's reforms | Results |
|---|---|
| **Land reforms**<br>1 All royal and government land was made available to the Peasants' Land Bank to be purchased by enterprising peasants.<br>2 Land was to be sold at the price consistent with its value and the buying power of the farmer.<br>3 A large-scale system of credit was initiated so that peasants had the money to buy more land and equipment and to improve their cultivation techniques.<br>4 Peasants were permitted to leave the previously compulsory village **commune**, or ***mir***, to combine their separate strips of land. | Stolypin's reforms were welcomed. By 1913, almost two million peasant families had left their village communes to farm independently, while another three million accepted government offers of land and financial aid if they relocated to Siberia. Most, however, preferred the security of the *mir*. |
| **Social reforms**<br>5 Aid was offered to insure peasants against potential sickness, mutilation, disablement or old age.<br>6 Proportional taxation was introduced that exempted most landless peasants from facing the burden of new taxes.<br>7 Religious tolerance and freedom of conscience were granted.<br>8 Compulsory primary education was introduced. | The number of primary schools doubled between 1906 and 1912, as did the local councils' expenditure on health, poor relief and agriculture advice. |
| **Industrial reforms**<br>9 Night and underground labour was banned for children, teenagers and women.<br>10 The maximum working day was shortened for adult workers. | The reforms began to slowly meet the demands of the workers' petition from the Bloody Sunday march in 1905. |



**SOURCE 4.28** Prime Minister Peter Stolypin

**commune (or *mir*)** village community in Imperial Russia



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## Russia by 1913: a stable nation or one on the brink of revolution?

**TABLE 4.4** Overview of Russia by 1913

| Russia by 1913: a stable nation? | Russia by 1913: on the brink of revolution? |
|---|---|
| • Nicholas's position was certainly more stable in 1913 than in 1905. The trauma of the 1905 Revolution had been fading away.<br>• Stolypin's reforms had transformed the countryside and reduced the impact of the revolutionary parties in domestic politics.<br>• Improvements were made in terms of foreign policy. The war with Japan was a fading memory and Russia had established a strong relationship with Britain and was steadily re-arming.<br>• Russia made enormous and necessary economic progress between 1906 and 1913. The key achievements of this period included: a reduction in national debt; an average annual growth rate of over 6 per cent, the highest in Europe; amounts in savings accounts doubled; exports doubled; and government expenditure and income both doubled. | • Despite the oppression of revolutionaries by Prime Minister Stolypin, political protests had significantly re-emerged due to the Lena Goldfields massacre in 1912 where tsarist troops killed 200 striking miners.<br>• With 1907–10 being a relatively peaceful time, there was a sharp increase in the level of strikes in Russia. There were now more workers concentrated in small areas, making it easier for them to radicalise.<br>• The land reforms only had a marginal impact on the Russian economy, as peasants preferred the security of the commune and they found life tougher in the cities.<br>• Despite economic advancements, Russia was still behind powerful industrial nations such as France, Germany and Britain. |

# 4.5 The role of World War I in the collapse of the Romanov Dynasty

## Reasons for, and the nature of, Russian involvement

Russia had never experienced a war like World War I, a protracted modern war against highly developed industrial powers – Germany and Austria – which required mobilising the entire society and economy, as well as the military. Weaknesses that were already emerging in its society, economy and political structure would now become critical threats to its survival.

At first, the war proved to be a great thing for Russia. As in a lot of countries in Europe in August 1914 when it broke out, going to battle kept people's minds off the various concerns and problems that had become so characteristic of late imperial Russia up till then. It united large numbers of people in support of the government against the external enemy. The Tsar was more popular than he had been for years; crowds cheered as troops paraded past him on the way to the front. Another positive result of the outbreak of war was that the Tsar started to work more closely with the Duma. Able people from the Duma began to be appointed to important war posts.

> The processions in the streets carrying the Tsar's portrait, framed in the flag of the allies, the bands everywhere playing the National Anthem … the long unending line of khaki-clad figures who marched away singing and cheering, tall bronzed men with honest open faces with childlike eyes and a trusting faith in the little father (Nicholas II), and a sure and certain hope that the saints would protect them and bring them back to their villages … Those first days of war! How full we were of enthusiasm, of the conviction that we were fighting in a just and holy cause …

**SOURCE 4.29** Muriel Buchanan, daughter of the British Ambassador to Russia, on the outbreak of war



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However, this patriotic enthusiasm was far from universal, as plenty of people found it difficult to unite even against Germany in this war. The most vocal opposition to the war came from Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Lenin adopted a pro-defeatist stance, hoping that Russia would lose the imperialist war and fall into civil war. Employing Marxist ideology, Lenin declared that the war was merely another example of the wealthy bourgeois upper classes manipulating the toiling masses for their gain. And although the initial national patriotic enthusiasm drowned Lenin's calls for a class war, it did not last.



**SOURCE 4.30** Russian troops march towards the front at the start of World War I, 1914.

## Key military defeats in 1914

Russia's lack of success in World War I has puzzled many historians. It had the largest army in the world, with more soldiers than Germany and Austria-Hungary combined. However, the overwhelming majority of Russia's soldiers were conscripted peasants, often with little training.




**SOURCE 4.31** The Eastern Front, 1914



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Russia suffered two significant defeats in the early stages of the war in 1914. The first was the Battle of Tannenburg on 18 August, where Russian casualties numbered 130 000 and prisoners of war over 100 000. The second was at the Battle of Masurian Lakes on 2 September, where one whole army unit was surrounded and forced to surrender.

Before very long people began to speak of the war as nothing less than a catastrophe, for a number of reasons:

- The conditions of the trenches at the front were horrible.
- The supply situation was critical. The army quickly ran short of rifles, ammunition, uniforms and, increasingly, food. By the middle of 1915 men were being sent out to the front without rifles at all and had to pick them up from dead soldiers.
- The human losses were devastating. By 1914, only five months into the war, nearly 40 000 Russian men had lost their lives and one million were injured. By 1916, three million Russians were dead or wounded, and nearly as many were captured.
- Many soldiers felt that they were treated not as men but simply as raw material to be squandered by the powerful.

However, by 1916 the military situation in some ways had improved. Russian troops ceased retreating as they managed to hold their own. There were even a few modest successes in offences staged in 1916. Though at a great loss of life, these were essentially successes against Austria as well as Turkey, which had joined the **Central Powers**. And, most impressively, Russia was able to hold Germany off at a steady level, forcing it to fight a two-front war, which many have argued is an important reason why Germany ultimately lost.

**Central Powers** the alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I. Later the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria became part of the Central Powers.



**SOURCE 4.32** Russian troops experienced horrible conditions in the trenches of the Eastern front.

Nevertheless, even in 1916, although the military situation had improved, the morale among soldiers continued by all accounts to decline. The facts of war for ordinary soldiers remained, with horrible losses, terrible conditions at the front and at home, and increasing doubts about why they were fighting the war at all.

## What were the internal economic and social impacts of the war?

The political disillusionment about tsarism was exacerbated by Russia's military defeats. However, it was on the home front that suffering was almost as severe and soldiers were well aware of this. By the end of 1915, there were plenty of indications that the economy was breaking down under the heightened strain of wartime mobilisation.



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**TABLE 4.5** Overview of the impacts of World War I on Russia away from the front lines

| SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF THE WAR | |
|---|---|
| **Food shortages** | **Social conditions** |
| The food situation was also made worse by the tendency of peasants – rather typically in the course of the war – to hoard grain. Food shortages were the most visible sign of hardship, creating social problems in the cities. People waiting in long lines outside bakeries and food stores became increasingly desperate and brutal in the Russian winter. | Discontent led to a growing strike movement based on wages and demands for food. Strikes were the most visible sign of this deepening anger among the Russian people. Military defeats, distant leadership and economic disaster resulted in significant social depression. Crime increased and a large number of women turned to prostitution. |
| **Inflation and price increases** | **Fuel shortages** |
| Inflation itself was a major problem, as prices of food and commodities kept rising in the course of the war due to the shortages, and were pressing down wages. Even those wealthy enough to have savings were affected, but were not wealthy enough to survive under any conditions. | Fuel and raw materials were increasingly scarce, which often affected production. Productivity was falling in large numbers of industries, especially non-military industries that were providing the supplies people needed in their everyday lives. |



**SOURCE 4.33** More than 92 000 Russians surrendered after the four-day Battle of Tannenberg. Photographs like this were certainly staged by the Germans, but this picture still reflects the scale of the victory.



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## Poor political decisions made by the Tsar

Adding to the economic and social problems were the political decisions made by the Tsar and his government. At this time of unprecedented national crisis, the Tsar refused repeated appeals by liberals to involve citizens in policy – as participants in government in some way – by choosing officials for his cabinet himself. Instead, fairly typically, Nicholas retreated further into his personalised concept of rulership: that he alone knew best what was right for the people.

A symbol of this overall approach was his decision in the summer of 1915 to take personal command of the army, replacing the respected Nikolaevich as Commander-in-Chief. Most of the Tsar's ministers had advised him that this would not be a good idea and that instead he should stay in the capital. However, Nicholas was convinced that his presence would inspire the troops in a way that no other leader could and would lead to victory. The decision had two very important consequences.



**SOURCE 4.34** The former Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces in the war, Nikolaevich, with Nicholas II

### *Consequence 1: it associated Nicholas personally with Russia's poor performance.*

Firstly, by making this decision he literally abandoned the newly named capital Petrograd to command the troops at the army headquarters in Mogilev at the war front. Secondly he, the Tsar, had symbolically abandoned his people in their desperate time of need. The military defeats and high casualties resulted in a contagious lack of confidence in the Tsar, who now shouldered the blame in the eyes of the Russian people.

### A MATTER OF FACT

The name of the Russian city of St Petersburg was changed to Petrograd in 1914, upon the outbreak of World War I. The Russian government thought the old name sounded too German.

### *Consequence 2: Nicholas left Alexandra in charge of the government.*

Nicholas's decision to leave for the war front left the inexperienced Tsarina responsible for political affairs. Alexandra grew in confidence and began relishing the opportunity to be involved in maintaining autocratic rule. Due to her German descent, rampant conspiracy theories implicated her as favouring pro-German policy. Russians were beginning to refer to her as 'the German empress' because of her birthplace, and to question her loyalty.



**SOURCE 4.35** Tsarina Alexandra



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## The impact of Rasputin

> The growing influence of Rasputin [after 1911], the licentious, hypnotically gifted monk, rendered the Court more and more odious.

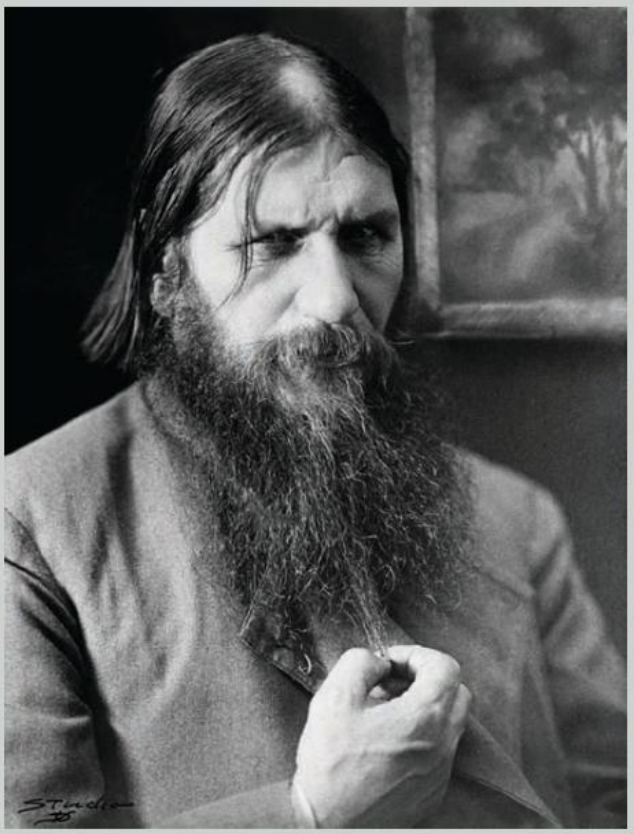
**SOURCE 4.36** L Kochan and A Abraham, *The Making of Modern Russia*, 1983, p. 75

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Grigorii Rasputin (real name Grigorii Efimovich Novykh, 1864–1916)

Born a peasant in Tobolsk Province in Siberia, Rasputin acquired a reputation as a holy man with the ability to heal the sick and predict the future. He also had a dubious reputation as an amoral romantic – which is why he was called Rasputin (from the Russian word for debauchery).

Rasputin gained the confidence of the royal family in St Petersburg in 1905 through his mysterious ability to stop a particularly severe and painful episode of internal bleeding affecting the haemophiliac Tsarevitch Alexei. This began an incredible decade of influence over every member of the royal family. Alexandra especially appreciated Rasputin; haemophilia is passed through the female line, so his healing powers not only gave relief to her son but also eased her guilt. Rasputin was murdered in 1916 due to his perceived negative influence on the royal family and, by extension, the nation.



**SOURCE 4.37** Grigorii Rasputin, sometimes referred to as 'the mad monk'

## Rasputin's social influence

**salon** a gathering of intellectuals at the house of someone famous or important

High society competed for Rasputin's attendance at **salons**, restaurants and tea parties. They were fascinated by this combination of a holy healer, a binge drinker and a womaniser. Despite most of the Tsarina's letters being full of respect for his healing powers, rumours of a sexual relationship between the two consumed the popular imagination. The following controversial letter from the Tsarina to Rasputin, published in St Petersburg in 1912, fuelled such speculation:

> I kiss your hands and lay my head upon your blessed shoulders. I feel so joyed then. Then all I want is to sleep, sleep forever on your shoulder, in your embrace.

**SOURCE 4.38** Letter from Tsarina Alexandra to Rasputin, published in 1912



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**SOURCE 4.39** A widely publicised pornographic postcard titled 'Autocracy'. Rumours of a sexual relationship between Rasputin and the Tsarina consumed the popular imagination.

## Rasputin's political influence

> We are faced with the strangest of human triangles ... Rasputin, the empress and the emperor; set in ascending order of authority and a descending order of influence.

**SOURCE 4.40** Sir Bernard Pares (1939), an English historian who lived in Russia during World War I

Rasputin's social impact was nothing compared to his political impact. In 1915 and 1916 he exerted considerable influence through Alexandra. Nicholas's decision to lead the war effort allowed Rasputin to become active in the court, advising Alexandra while Nicholas was away. Alexandra's desire to maintain the system of autocratic tsarism led her to despise the Duma. The fundamental problem was that men were promoted to high positions if they respected Rasputin and his advice, rather than because they displayed expertise in their new ministerial field. During the 16 months that the Tsarina was in charge in the Tsar's absence, Russia had four different prime ministers, four ministers of agriculture, three ministers of war and three foreign secretaries.

Many eyewitnesses and historians have accused Rasputin of being a symbol of the decay evident in the tsarist regime. For example, Sir Bernard Pares wrote: 'The Russian ministers were selected by an ignorant, blind and hysterical woman on the test of their subservience to an ignorant, fanatical and debauched adventurer.' Rasputin's most significant impact on the decline of the Romanov Dynasty was that he contributed directly to the perception that the royal family and the government were politically in a shambles.



### ANALYSING SOURCES 4.5

1. Analyse the cartoon's key message about the influence of Rasputin on the royal family.
2. Assess what truth there is in such a public impression that the royal family were 'dominated' by Rasputin's influence.

**SOURCE 4.41** A Russian cartoon showing how Rasputin dominated the Royal Court (1916)



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### Rasputin's murder

Some Russian aristocrats decided that the time had come to deal with Rasputin and end his hold over the royal family. On 16 December 1916, Prince Felix Yusupov lured Rasputin to his palace with the promise of romance with Yusupov's own wife, Irina. Although he was warned not to go, Rasputin could not resist. He was fed two glasses of poisoned wine and two cakes, each of which was laced with sufficient cyanide to kill several men instantly. When this did not kill him, Yusupov shot him several times and then dropped his body into Petrograd's River Neva. The assassination did little to improve the political and economic circumstances of Russia, because the fate of the war effort was already sealed and the chaotic nature of the government was deeply embedded.

**EXAMINING THE ISSUES**

| | |
|---|---|
| • What was the response to the outbreak of war? | • Why did the massive Russian army suffer so many defeats? |

As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider the significance of Nicholas becoming commander of the army and the impact Rasputin had on the mounting anti-tsarist crisis.

## 4.6 The transfer of power from the Romanovs to the Provisional Government

### The February 1917 Revolution

The economic unrest in Russia soon resulted in a social revolution, which started with a series of protests. On Saturday 18 February 1917 (which was 3 March in Western Europe), 20 000 workers at the Putilov Steel Works, the largest factory in Petrograd, were locked out by their managers after a disagreement over pay. Political activism resulted in the remaining workers at the factory also striking to support their workmates.

**A MATTER OF FACT**

Russia used the Julian or Old Style calendar until 24 January 1918, when this system was replaced by the Gregorian or New Style calendar. Dates in this chapter are Julian or Old Style before 24 January 1918 and Gregorian or New Style thereafter. To convert Old Style dates to New Style dates, add 13 days. (For example, 26 October 1917 becomes 8 November 1917.)

It was International Women's Day on Thursday 23 February and on this day thousands of female textile workers, especially in Petrograd, shut down their factories and appealed to anybody still working to join them in the streets. The lack of bread had become a powerful issue and was the main focus of the strike. The crowds swelled to 90 000 and as demonstrators made their way to the centre they started to break store windows and knock trams over, continually calling everybody who was still working out onto the streets. By 25 February, Petrograd was virtually shut down. The demands had also expanded. In addition to 'Bread', the banners read 'Down with the War' and 'Down with the Autocracy'. Soon white-collar workers, teachers and others joined the workers on the street.

Nicholas forced a showdown. He was convinced that the people still fundamentally loved him and he commanded the head of the Petrograd garrison to stop the disorder in the capital. The garrison chief obeyed Nicholas's command and they sent soldiers into the streets with orders to shoot the demonstrators.



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**SOURCE 4.42** International Women's Day March 1917 – workers, soldiers, women and children united in protest

On the first day, the soldiers followed orders and shot at the crowds of demonstrators. However, on 27 February, with workers armed and ready to fight with troops, things changed. According to historian Eric Hobsbawm:

> The fragility of the regime was revealed when the Tsar's troops, even the always loyal Cossacks, hesitated, then refused to attack the crowds and began to fraternise with them.

**SOURCE 4.43** E Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991*, 1994, p. 60

Effective civil authority collapsed and the streets became a theatre of revolutionary defiance. Shulgin, a conservative Duma leader, commented: 'These days passed as a nightmare – no beginning, no ending, no middle, all jumbled together.'

**Mikhail Rodzianko** was the head of the Fourth Duma (1912–1917), which formed the Provisional Government after the abdication of Nicholas II

**Mikhail Rodzianko** was one of the key figures of the February Revolution of 1917, during which time he headed the Provisional Committee of the State Duma. He played a role in the events that led to the abdication of Nicholas II and provides a clear explanation about the social and political problems at the time.

> The situation is serious. The capital is in a state of anarchy. The government is paralysed; the transport service has broken down; the food and fuel supplies are completely disorganised. Discontent is general and on the increase. There is wide shooting on the streets; troops are firing at each other. It is urgent that someone enjoying the confidence of the country be entrusted with the formation of a new government. There must be no delay. Hesitation is fatal.

**SOURCE 4.44** Letter from Mikhail Rodzianko, President of the Duma, to the Tsar, 11 March 1917

In the chaos of revolutionary defiance by workers, soldiers and others, the government collapsed. Nicholas continued to call upon the old mechanisms of tsarism to act boldly, but no one even received his telegrams. In the face of this, leading citizens, Duma officials and even the leading generals in the



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army called on Nicholas to abdicate. The only way to restore unity and continue to fight the war, they argued, was for Nicholas to resign as Tsar. On 2 March Nicholas finally acknowledged this fact, even though it took him a few days to accept the inevitable. He abdicated, and wrote a new manifesto in which he explained that he hoped this decision would end the disorder and bring unity to Russia. In his mind, this was the Tsar's last act of service to his people and his nation.

However, the manifesto was not released to the public and the form of Nicholas's abdication was in some ways a fitting symbol of the political situation created by the February Revolution. Formally, Nicholas passed the reins of power not to the Duma, which he had after all dissolved, but to his brother, Grand Duke Michael, who refused the throne. Power, therefore, had not been transferred to any new authority, but had simply been dropped right in the streets. And indeed, for the rest of 1917 the question was who would, and who could, grab this abandoned authority?

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

| | |
|---|---|
| • What were the main outcomes of the February Revolution? | • Why did the February Revolution succeed? |

As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider whether the February Revolution was spontaneous or organised.



FINAL EXTRA

THE SUN

FOR AUSTRALIA

SYDNEY, FRIDAY, MARCH 16, 1917

# THE CZAR HAS ABDICATED

## Coup d'Etat in Russia

## DUMA FORMS PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

### GRAND DUKE MICHAEL APPOINTED REGENT

(From Our Special Representative)

The Czar has abdicated.

(Published in "The Times")

The Duma has appointed the Grand Duke Michael regent.

A committee of 12, headed by M. Rodzianko, sent an ultimatum to the Czar.

All the Ministers have fled from Petrograd, except the War Minister, who has ordered new regiments to come to Petrograd.

It is believed that the army is whole-heartedly for the Duma.

M. Rodzianko has telegraphed the news of the events to every General in the field, and to all Russian Admirals.

Moscow has joined the revolutionaries without bloodshed.

M. Rodzianko is the President of a committee of 12 at the head of the whole movement.

The Ambassadors in Petrograd have acknowledged the Provisional Government.

The Grand Duke Cyril has joined the revolutionary movement.

M. Goryemkin has been arrested.

The Winter Palace has been occupied.

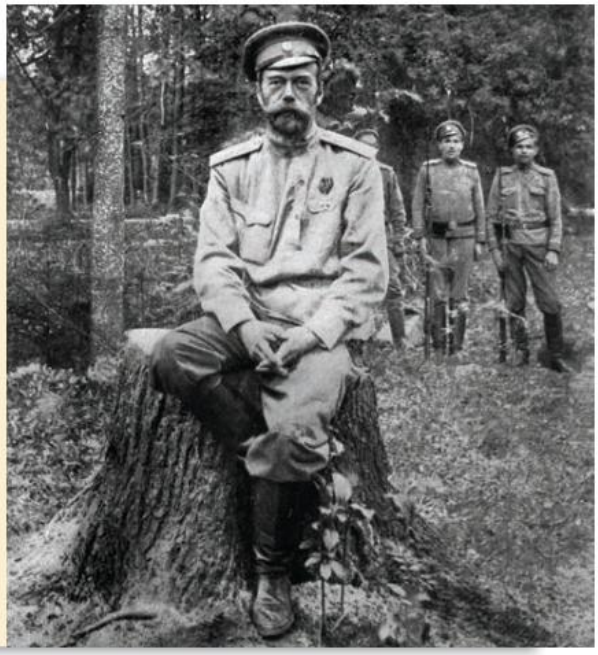
"The Times" correspondent at Petrograd states that the Provisional Government, which is supported by a large section of the troops, holds four-fifths of the city. There has been considerable bloodshed.

**SOURCE 4.45** The Tsar's abdication was front-page news around the world – this is how Sydney's *The Sun* broke the story.

## ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 4.6

### To what extent was Tsar Nicholas II responsible for the collapse of the Romanov dynasty?

When writing history books and articles, historians need to evaluate different interpretations of the past. As a history student, you must learn to analyse historical interpretations throughout your Stage 6 studies in Modern History. As an example of this, on the next page is a selection of typical perspectives from historians on Nicholas II's role in the fall of the Romanov Dynasty.



**SOURCE 4.46** Nicholas II at Tsarskoye Selo after his abdication in March 1917. (Note his guards in the background.) Historian Orlando Figes has argued that he was probably relieved to abdicate.



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### Perspective 1: Tsar Nicholas II was a weak ruler and a narrow-minded tyrant.

> Nicholas was the source of all the problems. If there was a vacuum of power at the centre of the ruling system, then he was the empty space. In a sense, Russia gained in him the worst of both worlds: a Tsar determined to rule from the throne yet quite incapable of exercising power. This was 'autocracy without an autocrat'. Perhaps nobody could have fulfilled the role which Nicholas had set himself: the work of government had become too much, too vast and complex for a single man; autocracy itself was out of date. But Nicholas was mistaken to try in the first place.

**SOURCE 4.47** Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891–1924*, 1997, p. 23

### Perspective 2: Tsar Nicholas made key mistakes during Russian involvement in World War I.

> It was only to be expected that after two years of war and sacrifice, with no apparent result, Russians would be beginning to ask themselves whether the country was being properly led ... [there was a] feeling that there were many in the government who wanted the Germans to win, or who were in German pay ...
>
> ... most Russians did not condemn the war as such, only the way it was being prosecuted.

**SOURCE 4.48** JN Westwood, *Endurance and Endeavour, Russian History 1812–2001*, 2002, pp. 222–23

### Perspective 3: Nicholas II was a product of a political–cultural tradition that formulated his ideas about rule.

> Nicholas II was not stupid. On the contrary, his problem tended to be that he could understand many points of view and wavered between them. The dangers Russia faced were very great ... Nicholas loved his country and served it loyally and to the best of his ability. He had not sought power and he was not by temperament or personality very well equipped to wield it. He was a very kind, sensitive, generous and initially naïve man. These traumatic years required something very different and would probably have destroyed any man who sat on the throne.

**SOURCE 4.49** Dominic Lieven, *Nicholas II Emperor of all the Russias*, 1993, pp. 261–62

1. Identify the evidence that Orlando Figes provides to suggest that Nicholas II was a weak ruler.
2. Explain how JN Westwood links Nicholas II's decision-making to the grievances of the Russian people during the war.
3. Examine what evidence Dominic Lieven provides to suggest that Nicholas II was not directly to blame for the fall of tsarism. How convincing do you find his logic?



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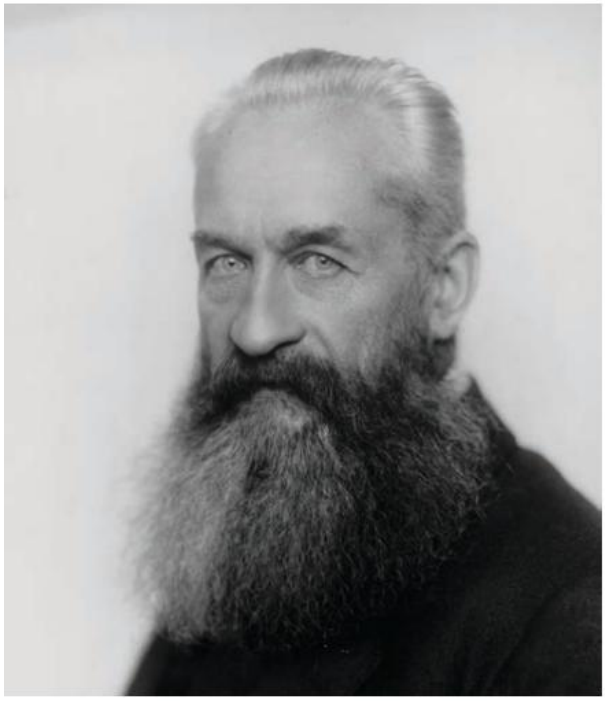
## February to October 1917

The government of Nicholas II was replaced by a rather unusual system of hesitant and divided authority. Middle-class and upper-class liberals formed the **Provisional Government**; although they controlled the machinery of government, their real authority was limited. Some of these limitations were created by their own political reluctance and their sense of doubt about the legitimacy of their position. An external limitation of their authority came from the competing power of the Soviets (councils) of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies – especially the Petrograd Soviet and the Central Executive Committee of Soviets. These organisations sprang up, as they had before in 1905, in almost every city. They were elected by workers in their factories and by soldiers in their barracks, especially in Petrograd where there was a large garrison. At a national level, these Soviets began to look at first to the Petrograd Soviet – the Soviet formed in the capital city – as a national body, a competing body to the Provisional Government. A day after the formation of the Petrograd Soviet, it published a series of demands, known as **Soviet Order No. 1**, that severely limited the power of the Provisional Government.

**Provisional Government** the Liberal-Socialist revolutionary government that ruled Russia from March 1917 until their overthrow by the Bolsheviks in November 1917

**Soviet Order No. 1** the order given by the Petrograd Soviet one day after its formation that no military orders from the Provisional Government were to be obeyed unless also approved by the Soviet

'Dual power' was the term used to describe this coexistence of two competing structures of authority in the capital. The Provisional Government controlled the state, but the Soviets had real civic authority because they were considered the national representatives of the 'people' (workers, peasants, soldiers) and could control their actions in the streets and factories and at the front.





**SOURCE 4.50** Georgy Lvov (left) was made Chairman of the Provisional Government after the abdication of the Tsar. Lvov was in charge from March to July 1917, when he was replaced by Alexander Kerensky (right).

### What did the Provisional Government achieve in its short tenure?

The Provisional Government had authority without power whilst the Soviet had power without authority.

**SOURCE 4.51** Alexander Kerensky, *The Crucifixion of Liberty*, 1934, p. 264



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It is worth recognising that the Provisional Government was deeply committed to thorough democracy in Russia and its accomplishments in this direction were really quite impressive.



**SOURCE 4.52** First session of the Petrograd Soviet in the Tauride Palace

- It declared complete civil liberties, absolute freedom of speech, of press, of assembly, of association, of the right to strike. Everything that was partly declared in 1905, but always filled with limitations in the years following, was now absolute.
- Thousands of political prisoners and exiles were released.
- It abolished the old police and, most importantly, the secret political police of the Tsar, the *Okhrana*.
- It abolished flogging (which was still legal in Russia), exile to Siberia and the death penalty.
- Legal restrictions on individual rights based on nationality or religion were removed.
- Social reforms were enacted, such as an eight-hour day in industry; the Provisional Government promised land reform would come quickly and started preparation for a democratic constitutional political system. It also declared that women would have the right to vote in subsequent elections.

## Why did the Provisional Government fail after less than eight months in power?

### *Reason 1: It refused to withdraw from the war.*

The government refused to withdraw troops from the war because this meant abandoning its democratic allies. The liberals saw themselves as bringing Russia into the mainstream of European democratic civilisation. Liberals, even many socialists in Russia, believed that this was indeed a democratic war of the democratic countries. Russia wasn't democratic at first, but now it was. It was with the rest of its allies against authoritarian states like Germany and Austria.

### *Reason 2: It refused to sanction seizures of land by peasants.*

Peasants weren't waiting. They were already taking the land they believed that by right was theirs, and by need they desperately had to have. The government accepted the principle of land reform; they believed that land should be radically redistributed in Russia. However, they insisted on the rule of law and legality. They demanded that the peasants wait until very complex legal procedures had been worked out and a Constituent Assembly had been established. It was a moral principle for the Provisional Government. They believed it was necessary to balance the interests of all classes, peasants and landlords.

### *Reason 3: It was unable to improve the economic situation.*

The government failed to stop the economic decline of the economy. Partly, this was a liberal government, and was hesitant to use the state compulsion to control prices or assure production. This was their own intellectual belief in the relationship of a government to an economy and therefore they felt that they had to work with employers to find solutions to the economy.



**SOURCE 4.53** Kerensky in 1917

### *Reason 4: The Bolsheviks took advantage of these failures.*

Bolshevik involvement in the February Revolution was limited, with most Bolshevik leaders at the time exiled to Europe or Siberia. However, the Provisional Government's decision to release all



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political prisoners allowed leaders to publicly return to Russia. The Bolsheviks were successful due to their organisation, popularity and ability to capitalise on the flaws and weaknesses of the Provisional Government. When the Bolsheviks eventually came to power, they could draw support from popular attitudes – especially class hatred and a desire for a strong state serving their interests – but they also had to contend with popular conceptions of liberty and morality and a suspicion of the elites.

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Drawing conclusions**

Why did the Provisional Government fail to win support?

**TABLE 4.6** Overview of Kerensky and Lenin's actions between February and October 1917

| Kerensky's key mistakes – February to October 1917 | Lenin's key victories – April to October 1917 |
|---|---|
| • Decision to continue fighting the war<br>• Military failure of the June Offensive that dented his public image<br>• Inability to solve economic problems of rising prices and land redistribution<br>• In August, opening himself up to criticism by moving into the imperial bedroom of the Winter Palace, using the Tsar's desk and study and travelling in the Tsar's train<br>• Inadequate defences that allowed the Provisional Government to be overthrown by the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution | • An exceptional speech delivered at Finland Station criticising cooperation of the Provisional Government<br>• The *April Theses*, which were incredibly powerful in demanding Peace! Bread! Land! and 'All Power to the Soviets'<br>• Effectively dealing with political rival Leon Trotsky by recruiting him to the Bolsheviks in July<br>• Persuading the Bolshevik leaders to participate in the successful takeover of Petrograd in the October Revolution |

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Vladimir Lenin (real name Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov, 1870–1924; leader of the Bolshevik Party 1903–1924)

Revolutionary, political writer, leader of the Bolshevik party and later the Soviet Government. Lenin was born into a middle-class family in Simbirsk, a small town on the Volga River. Following the execution of his older brother for the attempted assassination of Alexander III, Lenin became involved in revolutionary activities. In 1895, he helped establish the St Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. Lenin mainly lived abroad in Munich, London, Geneva and Paris. At a meeting of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1903, when the party split into two factions over questions of organisation and strategy, Lenin led the Bolshevik faction. He successfully led the Bolsheviks to seize power from the Provisional Government in October 1917. He then led Soviet Russia until his death in April 1924.



**SOURCE 4.54** Vladimir Lenin, leader of Soviet Russia after the October Revolution of 1917

## FLASHPOINT!

### October Revolution 1917

The Provisional Government's refusal to end the war effort and failure to improve the country's economic problems, combined with the ability of the Bolsheviks to take advantage of these issues, contributed to the October 1917 Revolution.



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In October 1917 Lenin returned to Petrograd from his hiding place in Finland. The Bolshevik leaders agreed to stage an armed uprising against the Provisional Government. Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, drew up plans to seize power. The leadership of both Lenin and Trotsky proved to be a decisive factor in the success of the Bolshevik Revolution. For example, the army said it would support the Bolsheviks in an armed takeover against the Provisional Government. By the night of 24 October the **Red Guards** were well armed and ready for action. During the night, they began to take control of all the most important locations in Petrograd.

**Red Guards** soldiers under the Bolsheviks

The Provisional Government had its headquarters in the Winter Palace and was guarded only by army cadets and the Women's Battalion of the army. In the evening of 25 October a cruiser ship, the *Aurora*, which Bolshevik sailors had captured, sailed up the river Neva and fired blank shells at the Winter Palace. The Red Guards stormed the Winter Palace and the defenders gave in without a fight. The Bolsheviks overthrew Kerensky's last cabinet of ministers and at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets declared the founding of a new government. It was a defining moment in modern history: the first ever socialist state.



**SOURCE 4.55** A painting of the storming of the Winter Palace by Bolsheviks during the October Revolution of 1917

## 4.7 The execution of the Romanovs

After the February revolution of 1917 and Nicholas's subsequent abdication, the royal family had been imprisoned in different locations across Russia. According to Orlando Figes, after the October Revolution, within the context of a bitter civil war that was unfolding, there was indecision among the high-ranking Bolsheviks about what to do with the Tsar and his family. Trotsky wanted to hold a large show trial to humiliate the former Tsar, while other leading Bolsheviks wanted to remove Nicholas once and for all. There is debate over whether or not Lenin gave the order to execute the ex-Tsar. However, according to Figes, 'Consultations with Lenin took place and this idea was accepted in principle without a firm date being set' (p. 639). Some of Lenin's advisers feared that the Romanovs might be rescued by advancing monarchist forces and used as a banner against communism.



**SOURCE 4.56** One of the last known pictures of Nicholas and his son Alexei, shown here cutting wood while in captivity in late 1917



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On the way to Moscow by train for Trotsky's show trial, the Romanovs were intercepted by a local Bolshevik group and imprisoned in Ipatiev House in Ekaterinburg, near the Ural Mountains.

On 4 July 1918 the Tsar and his family were woken at 10:30 pm, instructed to dress and taken down to the narrow basement of the house, to be greeted by a detachment of armed Bolsheviks. Yakov Yurovsky, the head of the local **Cheka**, recalled what happened next:

**Cheka** the state security organisation under the rule of the Bolsheviks

> Nicholas had put Alexei on the chair and stood in such a way, that he shielded him. Alexei sat in the left corner from the entrance, and so far as I can remember, I said to Nicholas approximately this: His royal and close relatives inside the country and abroad were trying to save him, but the Soviet of Workers' Deputies resolved to shoot them. He asked 'What?' and turned toward Alexei. At that moment I shot him and killed him outright. He did not get time to face us to get an answer. At that moment disorganized, not orderly firing began. The room was small, but everybody could come in and carry out the shooting according to the set order. But many shot through the doorway. Bullets began to ricochet because the wall was brick. Moreover, the firing intensified when the victims' shouts arose. I managed to stop the firing but with great difficulty.

**SOURCE 4.57** 'Yurovsky's Account of the Execution of the Imperial Family', declassified file, Documentation Centre of the Social Organization of the Sverdlosk Region (DCSOSR), written 1 February 1934, pp. 10–22

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Identifying problems and analysing motives**

Evaluate the usefulness and reliability of this source in understanding the execution of the Romanov family. (Hint: consider the date the document was created and who is recounting the event. What are their motives?)

## A MATTER OF FACT

According to historians Greg King and Penny Wilson in their 2003 book *The Fate of the Romanovs*, later in life Yurovsky admitted feeling 'great regret' over his part in the murders (p. 511)

After the Tsar was executed with a revolver at close range came the shooting and bayoneting of the Tsarina, Alexei and his four sisters plus their cook, maid, doctor, valet and dog Jimmy. Before dawn, their bodies were taken by truck to a deserted mine shaft where they were cut into pieces, soaked in petrol and burnt, with the faces dissolved in sulphuric acid to hide their identities. The graves were not discovered until the collapse of Soviet Russia in the early 1990s.

The Bolsheviks murdered another six Romanov family members the following night. The news of the killings sent a shock wave of horror through the ruling classes of Europe, as the murder of the Romanovs was a definitive statement of the permanent rejection of tsarism.

Figes claims that public reaction in Russia to the news of the executions was 'remarkably subdued', even though at first the Bolsheviks only announced the death of the ex-Tsar and not the



**SOURCE 4.58** An image of Yakov Yurovsky, chief executioner of the royal family, who seemed to enjoy a perverse celebrity – this photo originally appeared in a magazine in 1925.



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**SOURCE 4.59** (Left) Ipatiev House in Ekaterinburg, the last place where the Romanov family were held prisoner and the room in which they were apparently executed. Much of the damage to the walls was caused by investigators looking for evidence.

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Hypothesising

Why do you think President Putin has been so keen to rehabilitate Nicholas II when history's verdict on the Tsar is largely negative? (Hint: what type of leader is Putin himself?)

murder of his innocent family members, in case they angered the public (p. 641). By initially announcing just the death of Nicholas, the Bolsheviks accidentally promoted a long-held myth that some of the young Romanov family (such as Anastasia) escaped their fate.

The Romanov royal family continues to fascinate Russians today.

- In 1998, remains of the royal family were buried in the traditional Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul in a controversial ceremony commemorating the 80th anniversary of their deaths.
- In 2000, the Tsar and his family were granted the official title of 'martyrs' by the Russian Orthodox Church, because of the honourable way in which they went to their deaths. Given the location of the 17 bullet holes in the lower wall and floor, it is likely that the family members were shot while kneeling and praying.
- In 2006, Russian President Vladimir Putin allowed Nicholas's mother to be reburied with the rest of the family.
- In 2008, at Ekaterinburg, 44 bone fragments, seven teeth, three bullets and one piece of cloth were found in a second burial grave. Only hours before the ceremony to mark the 90th anniversary of their deaths, Russian police confirmed that DNA testing had proven that these were remains of Alexei and either Anastasia or Maria. The exciting mystery of the 'disappearance' of the royal family was finally closed.

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

| | |
|---|---|
| • Why did the Bolsheviks decide to execute the Romanov family? | • If we believe Yurovsky, what reasons might the Tsar have had for protecting his son in particular? |

As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider whether the February Revolution was spontaneous or organised.



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# CHAPTER 4 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### THE ORIGINS AND NATURE OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH FOREIGN POWERS

- Russia's political system was based on autocracy, whereby the Tsar's powers were not shared or limited.
- The Romanov Dynasty began in 1613 and by the time of Nicholas II Russia's vast multinational empire covered one-sixth of the earth's land surface.

### THE ROLE OF NICHOLAS II AS AUTOCRAT

- Tsar Nicholas II was a reluctant leader who began his rule in 1894 after the unexpected death of his father, Alexander III.
- The Tsar's autocratic powers were believed to have been granted by God, implemented through an intertwined system of government and bureaucracy, enforced by strict police oppression and legitimised by the Orthodox Church.

### THE ROMANOV EMPIRE AT THE TIME OF NICHOLAS II: POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES

- The social system privileged the upper classes and exploited the urban industrial workers and rural peasants.
- Deep internal tensions and crises had developed by the end of 1904 due to economic and social problems. Social discontent was significantly heightened in the overcrowded cities as a result of rapid industrialisation.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF OPPOSITION TO THE ROMANOVS

- Opposition to tsarism was not new in the 1900s. The fortunes of revolutionary ideas and leaders rose and fell throughout the 1800s.
- The key idea that inspired many revolutionaries was Marxism, an economic and political theory proposing that history was a series of class struggles inevitably resulting in the downfall of capitalism and the victory of the workers.
- Social Democrats split into the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions in 1903 due to opposing interpretations of how revolutionary parties should be organised and led.

### THE ROLE OF WORLD WAR I IN THE COLLAPSE OF THE ROMANOV DYNASTY

- Despite having the largest army in the world, Russia suffered a prolonged series of defeats because of lack of ammunition and supplies, poor internal organisation and socialist propaganda – all of which greatly demoralised the troops.
- Military losses resulted in greater government spending on financing the war. This created severe economic and social hardships on the home front.
- Added to these conflicts was the political and social influence of the scandalous Rasputin through Tsarina Alexandra.



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## THE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE ROMANOVS TO THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

- The Tsar's abdication left two political bodies in control of all of Russia: the Provisional Government, which had political authority, and the Petrograd Soviet, which had genuine influence with the popular movements.
- Political support for the Bolshevik Party grew rapidly within the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets as a result of the Provisional Government's inability to resolve the economic problems and continuing Russian involvement in the war.

## THE EXECUTION OF THE ROMANOVS

- The Bolsheviks were determined to ensure that the Romanovs would not be alive to inspire Russian nostalgia to a return to autocracy if they failed to win the civil war.
- The murder of the Romanovs was a definitive statement of the permanent rejection of the old regime.

## Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

1) autocracy
2) Tsar Nicholas II
3) Bloody Sunday
4) October Manifesto
5) the Dumas

## Historical concepts

### 1 Causation

Create a timeline of events charting the decline and fall of the Romanov Dynasty.

| Date | Event |
|---|---|
| | |

### 2 Continuity and change

Suggest how the Romanov Dynasty had maintained power in Russia since 1613.

### 3 Perspectives

- List the major grievances held by Russians, of all classes, against Tsarina Alexandra. Briefly explain whether you believe these criticisms were justified in any way.
- Leon Trotsky wrote that 'war is a great locomotive of history'. Examine evidence that can be drawn from Russia in the years 1901–17 to prove that this is true.

### 4 Significance

For each point below, briefly explain its connection to the growing revolutionary situation in Russia throughout the leadership of Tsar Nicholas II.

- leadership weaknesses of the Tsar
- Bloody Sunday
- failure of the Dumas
- Russian involvement in World War I
- the Tsar's decision to be Commander-in-Chief
- social and economic conditions in Russia

### 5 Contestability

- To what extent was the leadership of Tsar Nicholas II the most significant factor contributing to the fall of the Romanov Dynasty? In your answer, refer to the views of at least two historians mentioned in this chapter.

## Historical skills

### 1 Explanation and communication

In a short paragraph for each point, briefly explain:

- the Tsar's Fundamental Laws and their impact
- the major problems facing the Tsar's government in the period 1914–16



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- how the aims and attitudes of the political groups in the Duma changed between 1914 and late 1916
- why the economic crisis helped create a revolutionary situation by February 1917
- the reasons why Nicholas's government was unwilling or unable to adjust to changing circumstances.

## 2 Historical interpretation

> Thus, the military defeat of 1915 played a major part in all that was to happen afterward. For it was the tragic and bloody defeat of the army which weakened the grip of Grand Duke Nicholas and persuaded the Tsar to take personal command of his troops. By going to the army, hundreds of miles from the seat of government, the Tsar gave up all but a vague, supervisory control over affairs of state. In an autocracy, this arrangement was impossible; a substitute autocrat had to be found. Uncertainly at first, then with growing self-confidence, this role was filled by the Empress Alexandra. At her shoulder, his 'prayers arising day and night', stood her Friend, Rasputin. Together they would finally bring down the Russian Empire.
>
> Robert K Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, 1992, p. 222

- Clarify the political impact of Tsar Nicholas's decision to become Commander-in-Chief of the army. Refer to Massie's interpretation in your answer.
- Examine how the influence of Rasputin on the royal family contributed to the downfall of the Romanov Dynasty. Refer to Massie's interpretation in your answer.

## 3 Analysis and use of sources

- Referring to Source A, identify which group in Russian society played a key role in the 1905 Revolution.
- Examine where the data used in Source A came from. Explain whether or not you think this person could be biased, and why.
- Explain what the *Punch* cartoon in Source B depicts about the political situation in 1905.
- Discuss how well Nicholas II addressed the political and social issues of the 1905 Revolution. Refer to Source B in your answer.

## SOURCE A

**Strikes in Russia 1900–1910**

| Year | Number of strikes | Number of workers | Percentage of workers |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1900 | 125 | 29389 | 1.7 |
| 1901 | 164 | 32218 | 1.9 |
| 1902 | 123 | 36671 | 2.2 |
| 1903 | 550 | 86832 | 5.1 |
| 1904 | 68 | 24904 | 1.5 |
| 1905 | 13995 | 2863173 | 163.8 |
| 1906 | 6114 | 1108406 | 65.8 |
| 1907 | 3573 | 740074 | 41.9 |
| 1908 | 892 | 176101 | 9.7 |
| 1909 | 340 | 64166 | 3.5 |
| 1910 | 222 | 46623 | 2.4 |

Statistics from VI Lenin, *Lenin Collected Works*, 1977, p. 534



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## SOURCE B




'The sands running out', Bernard Partridge of the British magazine *Punch*, 1905

### 4 Historical investigation and research

- 'The tragedy of the Russian Revolution was that Nicholas II could have prevented it.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?

To help you answer this question, conduct historical research in your school or local library or online (from educational websites). In your investigation, be sure to include:

- a list of mini-questions you want to answer in your response (to break down the question into smaller parts)
- a research plan (where will you conduct research; how many different sources of evidence do you want to consider?)
- evidence from a range of sources (try to include some quotes from each source; be sure to use quotation marks)
- acknowledge your sources appropriately (after a quote, list the source's author, title, date published, page number).

Present your research in the form of a page-long essay, including an introduction, at least three body paragraphs and a conclusion.

### 5 Further essay questions

- Evaluate how the tsarist regime survived the 1905 Revolution.
- Explain how the tsarist regime attempted to reassert its authority between 1905 and 1914.
- To what extent had Nicholas II appeased his political opponents at the time of the outbreak of World War I?
- Describe how Russia's involvement in World War I contributed to the downfall of the tsarist government.

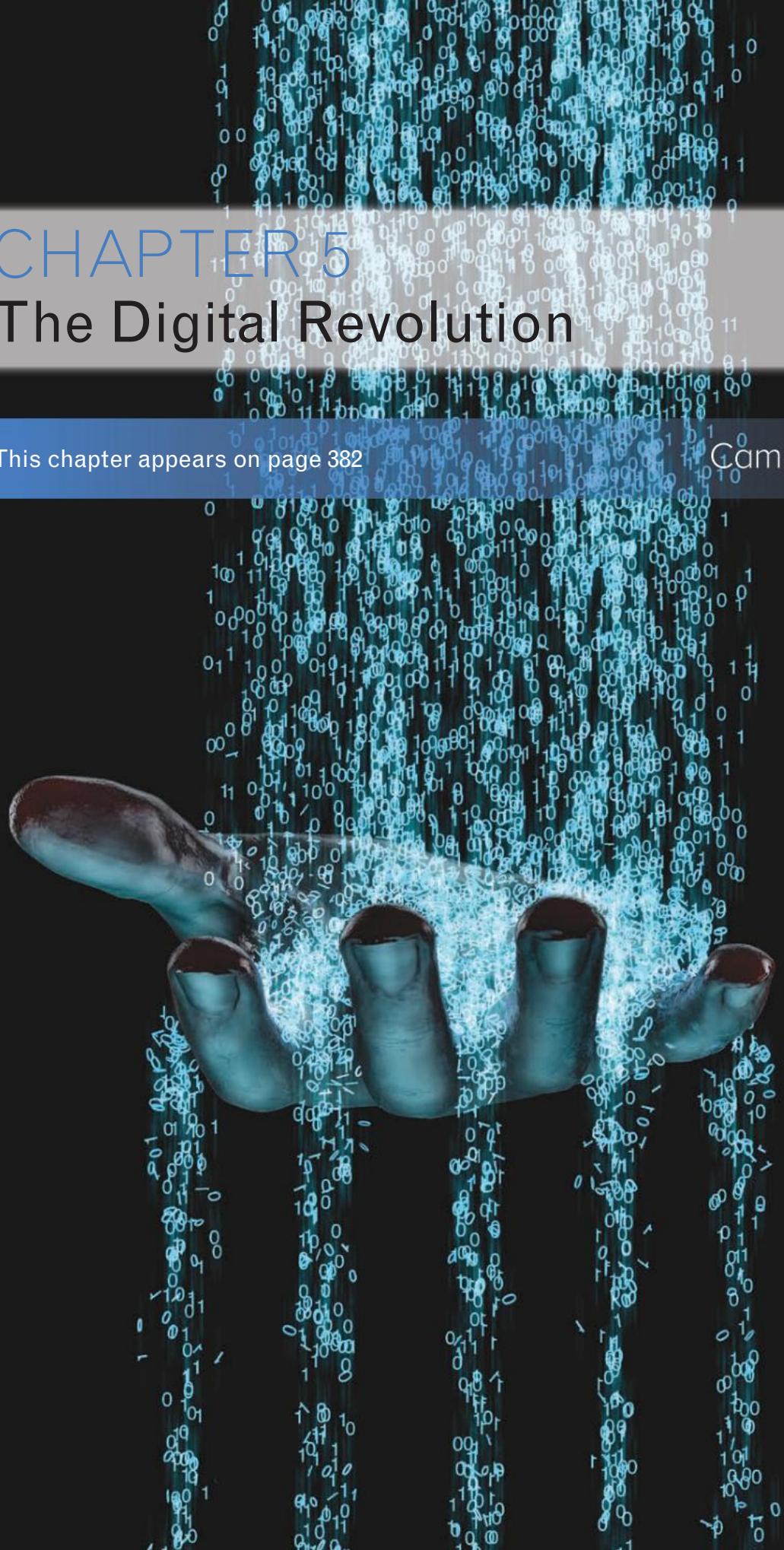


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# CHAPTER 5
# The Digital Revolution

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# CHAPTER 6
# The Meiji Restoration

*The object of the most wholehearted and successful project of 'modernisation', Japan since the Meiji Restoration, was not to Westernise, but on the contrary to make traditional Japan viable.*

Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991*, 1994, p. 203

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

By using a range of historical sources, you will investigate the Meiji Restoration.

**KEY ISSUES**

You will explore:

- the historical context, such as:
  - key developments that led to the modernisation of Japan, eg the decline of the bakufu and the samurai, and the arrival of Commodore Perry and his 'Black Ships'
- the nature of the Meiji Restoration, such as:
  - how and why Japan modernised
  - the role of key individuals and groups in the Meiji Restoration
  - the short and long-term effects of modernisation for Japan, the Asian region and the Emperor
  - the growth of imperialism and militarism in Japan after the Restoration
  - the significance of the Meiji Restoration in Japan and Asia and how the Western powers reacted
- a relevant historical debate:
  - Were the Meiji reforms oppressive and reactionary?

**1591** Tokugawa Shogunate isolates Japan from the West (Seclusion Policy).

**1800** Opposition to the Seclusion Policy by Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen clans

**1839–42** Opium Wars in China between the West and China

**1854** Commodore Perry returns to Japan to negotiate the Treaty with Japan.

**JAPAN** 1530 1830



**1543** First Europeans arrive in Japan: Portuguese traders and Christian missionaries.

**1650** Seclusion Policy restricts Western trade to some contacts with the Dutch at Nagasaki at restricted periods in the year.

**1825** Seclusion Policy under Tokugawa strengthened and all foreign shops expelled from Japan



**1853** Commodore Perry from the USA arrives in Edo Bay and exercises gunboat diplomacy.

**SOURCE 6.1 The Tokyo terminus of the new Tokyo–Yokohama railway, built in 1872 with the aid of foreign engineers. Pictured are a steam engine, a Western-style brick building and people dressed in Western-style clothes. This image was issued only seven years after the Meiji Restoration opened Japan to an influx of foreign trade and ideas.**



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## Japan, mid-nineteenth century




**1865** Allied naval demonstration forces the Emperor of Japan to agree to further concessions.



**1868** Full power restored to the Emperor Meiji; end of 700 years of Shogunate rule in Japan; Charter Oath declared to modernise Japan

**1877** Resistance from samurai and dispersion of the samurai class

**1886** Post and telegraph systems established and unified throughout Japan

**1902** Japan allied to Great Britain; alarmed at Russia's growing interest in the region

**1858** Unequal Treaty with Tokugawa and the USA Failure of the Seclusion Policy



**1867** Shogun Keiki and Emperor Meiji come to power. 7 November: Shogun Keiki relinquishes power.



**1871** Emperor Meiji abolishes feudalism.

**1878** Restoration consolidated; Tokyo declared the national capital; education and the economy codified and a conscript army created.

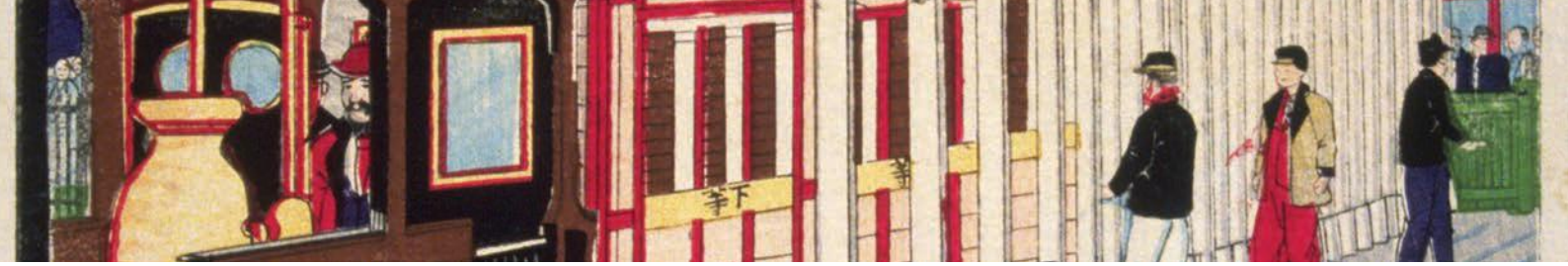
**1899** Revocation of all unequal treaties with the West



**1905** Shipbuilding programs supplement the expansion of the military; defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War.



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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



**SOURCE 6.2** Traditional armour on display in a Japanese museum

| | |
|---|---|
| What can you see? | Who do you think would have worn this? |
| Why would they need this protection? | What evidence about life in feudal Japan can be detected from this source? |



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# CHAPTER 6 Overview

| KEY IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS TODAY | KEY TERMS AND NAMES |
|---|---|---|
| Japan ended its long seclusion to follow the model of Western powers by modernising and expanding its foreign influence. | The consequences of the Meiji Restoration helped shape Japan's history throughout the twentieth century, and into the twenty-first. | • bakufu<br>• Meiji<br>• samurai<br>• bushido<br>• daimyo<br>• Tokugawa<br>• agrarian<br>• Emperor<br>• Charter Oath<br>• Seclusion<br>• extra-territoriality<br>• imperialism |

**INQUIRY QUESTION**

Was the modernisation of Japan inevitable?

## *Painting the picture*

### Tokugawa Japan

The year 1543 saw the arrival of the first Europeans in Japan. Throughout the 1500s Portuguese and Spanish explorers, missionaries and merchants visited the geographically and culturally isolated nation. In particular the coming of Christian missionaries, who tried to spread their religion wherever they went, was a significant cause for concern with many Japanese. The religions of Buddhism and **Shinto** were well

**Shinto** a Japanese religion according to which people worship past members of their families and various gods who represent natural forces

## ANALYSING SOURCES 6.1

1 Japan is the country of gods, but has been receiving false teachings from Christian countries. This cannot be tolerated any further.

2 The [missionaries] approach people in provinces and districts to make them their followers, and let them destroy shrines and temples. This is an unheard-of outrage. When a **vassal** receives a province, a district, a village, or another form of **fief**, he must consider it as a property entrusted to him on a temporary basis. He must follow the laws of this country, and abide by their intent. However, some vassals illegally [commend part of their fiefs to the church]. This is a culpable offence.

3 The **padres**, by their special knowledge [of the sciences and medicine], feel that they can at will entice people to become their believers. In doing so they commit the illegal act of destroying the teachings of Buddha prevailing in Japan. These padres cannot be permitted to remain in Japan. They must prepare to leave the country within twenty days of the issuance of this notice.

**vassal** a person regarded as having an obligation to a lord; in this context it means the Christian missionaries

**fief** area of land

**padre** a Christian priest

**SOURCE 6.3** The Edicts of Toyotomi Hideyoshi: excerpts from *Expulsion of Missionaries*, 1587

**1** According to the Edicts, explain what is not to be tolerated in Japan.

**2** Describe how Hideyoshi views Christian teachings and their effects on the people.

**3** Explain what perspective this source gives us into life in Japan in the late 1500s.



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**edicts** official orders

**Shogun** the military dictator of Japan during the feudal period from 1603 until 1868

**daimyo** powerful landholding magnates in Japan from about the tenth century until the latter half of the nineteenth century

**autocratic** refers to a political system whereby the ruler has complete political power, not limited by a formal constitution or parliament

**Seclusion Edicts** official orders of 1635 isolating Japan from the rest of the world

established and had a major influence on Japan's social and cultural development. In the late 1500s the ruler of Japan at the time, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, had had enough of the foreign missionaries and issued a series of **edicts** forbidding Christianity and trade with foreigners.

After the death of Hideyoshi in 1598 Japan experienced a short period of instability, but from 1600 onwards the powerful Tokugawa Shogunate took the reins. The **Shogun** – a man named Tokugawa Ieyasu – united the warring fiefdoms and factions led by the **daimyo** clans and provided stability by exerting **autocratic** control of all aspects of daily life. The Shogun used this absolute power to regulate trade, currency and religion. Like Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the Shogun rejected early contact with the West and its associated Christian teachings and ideas. Westerners were nearly totally excluded from the Japanese archipelago in 1635 under the promulgation of the 'Sakoku', or **Seclusion Edicts**.




**SOURCE 6.4** A portrait of Tokugawa Ieyasu

## NOTE THIS DOWN

### Analysing causes and recognising effects

Use a chart to list causes and effects of the modernisation of Japan.

| Cause | Effect |
|---|---|
| 1 | |
| 2 | |

**bakufu** the system of military government that operated in Japan from 1192 to 1868. Its powers grew under the Tokugawa Shogunate to extend to all matters of feudal life.

**feudalism** a system that regulated life during the Tokugawa period. The daimyo (lords) provided land to the peasants to work and pay taxes for, and in return the daimyo provided protection to them with their samurai warriors.

**samurai** a member of a military class of high social rank from the eleventh century to the nineteenth century in Japan

## 6.1 Key developments that allowed modernisation to take place in Japan

### The decline of the bakufu

The Emperor of Japan coexisted as a weak marionette, subject to the dominance of the **bakufu** government of the Shogun. The Shogunate had imposed a bakufu form of government to rule over the **feudal** society. This form of government kept strict control over the other classes. Within this feudal society the lords, or daimyo, were protected by their skilled **samurai**. The samurai had been trained to fight and defend both their daimyo and the peasants belonging to each clan group. The samurai were highly skilled in



**SOURCE 6.5** Sankin kotai in action: painting of a daimyo being carried in a palanquin along the Tokaido (Trunk Road) to attend the Shogun's court in Edo



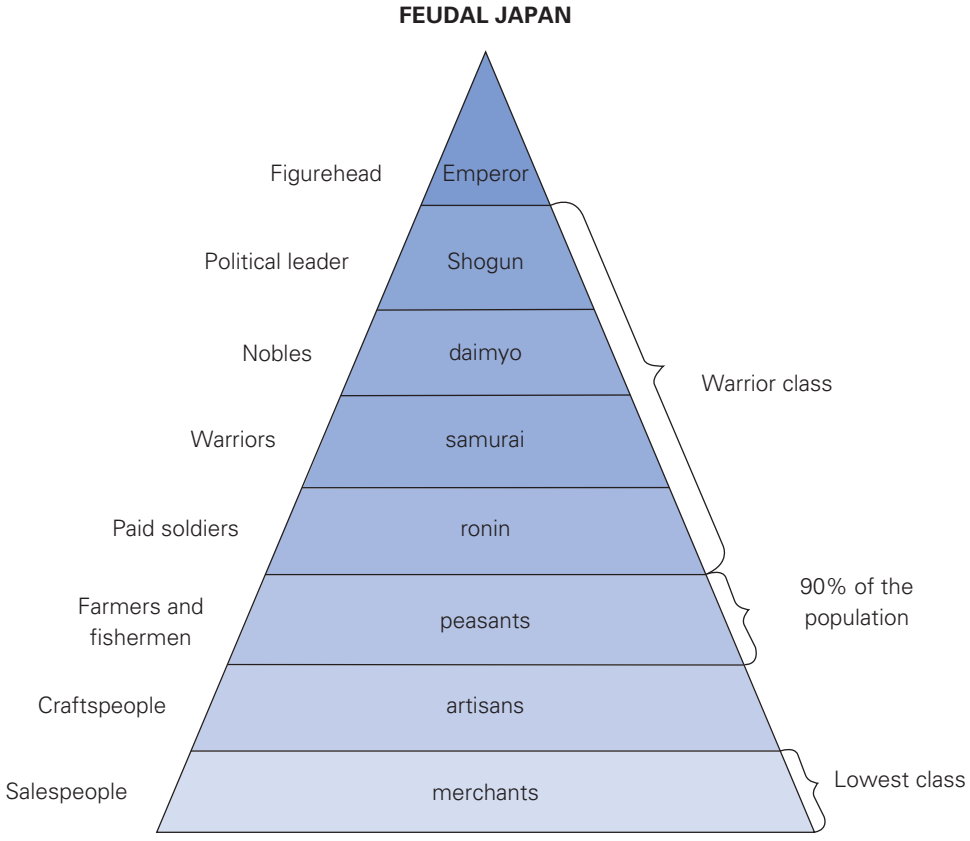
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weaponry, versed in **bushido** (the way of the warrior), literate and capable. However, under the system of alternate attendance the daimyo were expected to spend one full year at the court of the Shogunate in Edo and leave their families and children behind in the province as hostages. This system of alternate residences was called **sankin kotai**. Sankin kotai was a deliberate policy of the Shogun to reduce the financial and military power of the daimyo.

**bushido** the Japanese term for the code of the samurai, somewhat similar to the system of chivalry in medieval Europe

**sankin kotai** a system established by the Shogun to control the daimyo by asking these lords to spend every alternate year at the Shogun's court in Edo and leave their families at home as hostages, to prevent any political coup

Consequently, opportunities for the different clans and daimyo to unite and overthrow the Shogunate were reduced. The Shogunate required the daimyo to fund their own residence at the court. The financial resources of the daimyo were stretched so much that the samurai classes were often poorly paid or given limited rice rations. This created conflict and tension within the traditional feudal structure. In feudal Japanese society, different social classes were expected to adhere to the customs and hierarchy imposed by the Shogun. The following diagram shows the social structure at this time.




**SOURCE 6.6** A diagram showing the structure of power in feudal Japan

## Feudalism in decline and the changed role of the samurai

**stipend** a monthly living allowance paid in kind, usually in rice

The daimyo were the leaders or feudal lords of different clans. The daimyo of the Hizen, Tosa, Satsuma and Choshu clans were opposed to the Tokugawa Shogun. These daimyo resented the bakufu government and the system of sankin kotai. Their residence at the Edo court made it difficult for the daimyo to maintain their domains and pay their **stipends** to the samurai class. This meant that the peasants were often taxed heavily to increase the resources of the daimyo. The samurai class were discontented with their restricted stipends. The stipends were traditionally paid in rice or kind, but over the latter part of the Tokugawa



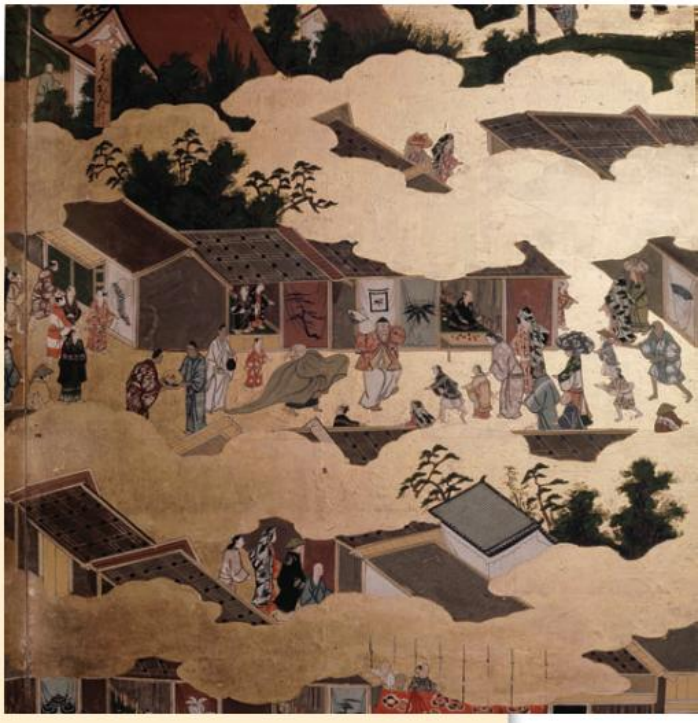
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## ANALYSING SOURCES 6.2

> A great peace is at hand. The Shogun rules firmly and with justice at Edo. No more shall we have to live by the sword. I have seen that great profit can be made honourably. I shall brew sake and soy sauce and we shall prosper.

**SOURCE 6.7** The account of a former samurai

1. According to the source, identify what the Shogun has managed to bring to Japan.
2. Discuss how the stability of the Shogun has changed Japanese society.
3. Explain what sort of activity is encouraged in Tokugawa Japan.
4. How do you think the Tokugawa changed the status of the merchant class in Japan? Explain, with reference to the source.



**SOURCE 6.8** A screen print from the seventeenth century depicting Nijo Castle, the headquarters of the Tokugawa family, Kyoto, Japan

period rice was replaced with money as the main form of currency. The discontent of the samurai and their impoverished state led them to borrow money from the despised **chonin** or merchant class. As Japan became increasingly commercialised and moved from an agrarian system of exchange, the wealth of the chonin class exceeded the resources of the daimyo and the samurai classes. However, the chonin classes lacked social acceptance and status in the Tokugawa period.

**chonin** merchants and shopkeepers of the Tokugawa period

The chonin were also aggrieved about the Shogun's abolition of the guilds, which controlled the production and exchange of goods. These mercantile and industrial guilds were a mechanism of control over the price and supply of commercial goods and products. From 1831 to 1843 the Shogun abolished the monopoly of the guilds on trade, rendering the chonin unable to increase their prices to cover their debts. The frequent practice of the bakufu government of raising capital from the chonin and then refusing to



**SOURCE 6.9** Japanese image, circa 1850, of two samurai warriors in battle



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honour their debts further incited the chonin to support the eventual overthrow of the Shogun.

In the nineteenth century the peasants led a series of revolts over the corruption of local officials, the shortage of food and the exorbitant increases in the price of rice. Their main grievance was the heavy taxation on rice yields, which in some years was as high as 40 to 50 per cent. Adding to the precariousness of the peasants' existence was the common practice by the daimyo of increasing taxation. Many peasants were forced to borrow at high rates from the chonin classes to pay these taxes to avoid losing their tenancy on the land. Many lost their land as a result of these practices.



**SOURCE 6.10** Japanese peasants in the nineteenth century

## Resistance to the Shogun

Throughout Japan under the late Tokugawa period, economic and political decline was apparent. The Shogun responded to this by cancelling all samurai debt, devaluing the currency and extracting loans from the chonin class. However, these temporary measures provided limited relief to the bakufu government. The financial and political demise of the feudal system was imminent.

**Ideologies** that questioned the legitimacy and longevity of the Shogun were also developing. Japan's historical connections to the Empire's founder, Jimmu Tenno, were re-established. Jimmu Tenno and his ancestors were believed to be divine. The Emperor was considered to hold a divine right. Such ideas reasserted the power of the Emperor and cast the Shogun as a corrupt and illegitimate ruler. Shintoism was revived at this time and its connection with the worship of ancient ancestors and traditions resonated with the new Japanese nationalism and reverence for the Emperor. This nationalism manifested in xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners and Western learning (**rangaku**).

**ideology** a set of beliefs or principles, especially those on which a political system, party or organisation is based

**rangaku** a term used to describe Western scientific learning in general

The decline of the bakufu was exacerbated by the weak and vacillating behaviour of the Shoguns in the mid-part of the nineteenth century. Their corruption and extravagance was despised by those who were impoverished and disempowered by the current Tokugawa Shogunate. The financial, social and political weaknesses of the Shogunate were exposed upon the arrival of Commodore Perry from the United States of America in 1853, when he sailed into Edo Bay demanding treaties and trade with Japan.

## Gunboat diplomacy: the arrival of the 'Black Ships' and Commodore Perry

Prior to the arrival of Commodore Perry, Japan had been closed to the learning, ideas, trade and technology of the West. Western powers had attempted to open trade and diplomatic relations with the Shogun since the 1600s, but had been forcibly excluded. In 1852–1853 the Americans led a naval expedition into Edo Bay and with eight 'black' steamships under his command, Commodore Perry stationed the fleet in Edo Bay at Uraga. Under the pretence of rescuing American sailors shipwrecked on Japanese islands, he demanded the opening of Japanese ports to supply coal for American ships and the normalisation



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of foreign relationships with the West. Perry had been sanctioned to use gunboat diplomacy or force to ensure his imperative was delivered.

The arrival of the black steamships caused an uproar in Edo. The threat of naval action was deliberately provocative and intimidating. The Shogun initially refused to respond, but under mounting pressure he appointed two commissioners to negotiate with Perry. Perry maintained this diplomatic and military pressure by coming ashore with a contingent of 300 men to deliver the ultimatum from US President Millard Fillmore. The commissioners negotiated for additional time to meet the American requests and Perry acquiesced to wait till the following year for their response.

**SOURCE 6.11** An 1861 woodblock print by Ando Hiroshige II depicts an American steamship entering the harbour of Yokohama. Note the traditional clothing of the people on the shore.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 6.3




**SOURCE 6.12** Two versions of Commodore Perry. The left shows Commodore Perry through Japanese eyes and the right is a photograph.



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It was not long before the government or mandarin boats were alongside the flagship with a request from the Japanese officers that they might be admitted on board. But as I had caused the extra or Captain's cabin to be removed from the Susquehanna to Powhatan – in view of changing my flag to that ship, preparatory to the return of the former to China – and as I could not consistently with the system of exclusiveness which I still pursued, of not seeing any of the subordinates, admit them into my cabin, I directed Captain Adams to receive them on board Powhatan.

Accordingly, he proceeded to that ship, accompanied by Messrs. Williams and Portman, interpreters, and Mr. Perry, my secretary. Captain Adams had been charged by me with precise and special instructions to hear all the Japanese had to say, but to give them no unnecessary information, nor to promise them anything.

These people, who seemed to be mandarins of middle rank, with their Dutch interpreters, stated that the Emperor in expectation of our arrival had given orders to receive us in the most friendly manner, and had appointed commissioners of high distinction to meet and confer with me upon the propositions of the President presented in July last ...'

**SOURCE 6.13** Matthew Calbraith Perry, *The Japan Expedition, 1852–1854; the personal journal of Commodore Matthew C Perry*

From Millard Fillmore, President of the United States of America, to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Japan November 13, 1852

GREAT and Good Friend: I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting your imperial majesty's dominions. I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your imperial majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings towards your majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other. The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquility of your imperial majesty's dominions. The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean, and our Territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your imperial majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days. Our great State of California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your imperial majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit both of Japan and the United States. We know that the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government do not allow of foreign trade, except with the Chinese and the Dutch; but as the state of the world changes and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise, from time to time, to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government were first made. About the same time America, which is sometimes called the New World, was first discovered and settled by the Europeans. For a long time there were but a few people, and they were poor. They have now become quite numerous; their commerce is very extensive; and they think that if your imperial majesty were so far to change the ancient



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laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries it would be extremely beneficial to both. If your imperial majesty is not satisfied that it would be safe altogether to **abrogate** the ancient laws which forbid foreign trade, they might be suspended for five or ten years, so as to try the experiment. If it does not prove as beneficial as was hoped, the ancient laws can be restored. The United States often limit their treaties with foreign states to a few years, and then renew them or not, as they please. I have directed Commodore Perry to mention another thing to your imperial majesty. Many of our ships pass every year from California to China; and great numbers of our people pursue the whale fishery near the shores of Japan. It sometimes happens, in stormy weather, that one of our ships is wrecked on your imperial majesty's shores. In all such cases we ask, and expect, that our unfortunate people should be treated with kindness, and that their property should be protected, till we can send a vessel and bring them away. We are very much in earnest in this. Commodore Perry is also directed by me to represent to your imperial majesty that we understand there is a great abundance of coal and provisions in the Empire of Japan. Our steamships, in crossing the great ocean, burn a great deal of coal, and it is not convenient to bring it all the way from America. We wish that our steamships and other vessels should be allowed to stop in Japan and supply themselves with coal, provisions, and water. They will pay for them in money, or anything else your imperial majesty's subjects may prefer; and we request your imperial majesty to appoint a convenient port, in the southern part of the empire, where our vessels may stop for this purpose. We are very desirous of this. These are the only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry, with a powerful squadron, to pay a visit to your imperial majesty's renowned city of Edo: friendship, commerce, a supply of coal and provisions, and protection for our shipwrecked people. We have directed Commodore Perry to beg your imperial majesty's acceptance of a few presents. They are of no great value in themselves; but some of them may serve as specimens of the articles manufactured in the United States, and they are intended as tokens of our sincere and respectful friendship. May the Almighty have your imperial majesty in His great and holy keeping! In witness whereof, I have caused the great seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and have subscribed the same with my name, at the city of Washington, in America, the seat of my government, on the thirteenth day of the month of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two. [Seal attached] Your good friend, Millard Fillmore.

**abrogate** archaic term meaning to end a law, agreement or custom formally

**reliability** consideration of the context, purpose, origin and audience of a source, in order to determine how accurately an area of historical study is represented

**SOURCE 6.14** Letter from US President Millard Fillmore to the Emperor of Japan (1852–1853)

1. Contrast the two images of Commodore Perry in Source 6.12.
2. Account for the differences in the images.
3. Interpret what Source 6.13 tells us about the Commodore's arrival in Edo.
4. Propose why you think Commodore Perry refused to greet subordinates.
5. Distinguish how useful this source is in revealing Perry's and America's attitude towards Japan.
6. In Source 6.14, interpret what President Fillmore is demanding from Japan.
7. Describe the tone of this letter.
8. Discuss to what extent this letter is threatening to the Japanese.
9. Explain what perspective this letter gives us of American interests and imperialism at this time.
10. How useful and **reliable** are these sources for a historian trying to understand American interests and the actions of Commodore Perry at this time? Explain.



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**SOURCE 6.15** *The Shaking of Greater Edo*, Japanese artwork circa 1850s depicting the arrival of the American ships. In Japanese mythology, the Namazu or Ōnamazu is a giant catfish who causes earthquakes. This print shows a massive steamship-like Namazu approaching the city. The creature is spouting money, and people on shore beckon for it to come closer.

## Expel the foreigner and revere the Emperor

The Shogunate was in an increasingly difficult position, with foreign powers pressing for unequal treaties and trade with Japan. Despite its precarious financial and diplomatic situation, the Shogun embarked on a program to strengthen Japan's military defence. Dutch ships and guns were imported, the daimyo and samurai were ordered to reinforce coastal defences and the advice of President Fillmore's demands sent to all high-ranking scholars, officials and daimyo clans. Debate raged internally about what position Japan should adopt. Some of the daimyo recognised the extreme threat that the US posed to Japanese sovereignty and stability and advocated that the Shogun accede to the demands. The officials surrounding the Shogun were incensed by the demands of the 'barbarians' and wanted to maintain their seclusion. Many were worried about the potential of Perry to enact a naval blockade around Japan and cut it off from vital food supplies.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Analysing motives**

Why was gunboat diplomacy exerted on the Shogun?

## ANALYSING SOURCES 6.4

> Everyone has pointed out that we are without a navy and that our coasts are undefended. Meanwhile the Americans will be here again next year. Out policy shall be to evade any definite answer to their request, while at the same time maintaining a peaceful demeanour. It may be however, they will have recourse to violence. For that contingency we must be prepared lest the country suffer disgrace. Therefore every possible effort will be made to prepare means of defence.

**SOURCE 6.16** Bakufu Decree 1853

1. Interpret what the source tells us about the Shogun's response to the West's requests.
2. Identify what the Shogun is most concerned with.
3. What does this source reveal about the current state of Japan's military readiness? Explain.

## Treaty of Kanagawa 1854

On 12 February 1854 Commodore Perry sailed back into Edo Bay with even more steamships under his command. The Shogun was faced with mounting pressure to grant concessions to the Americans in case they attacked Edo. As a result, an agreement between the US and Japan was reached. Because of the indelible influence of Commodore Perry, the agreement became informally known as the Perry Treaty. This treaty was negotiated at Kanagawa by 31 March. The Kanagawa or Perry Treaty provided for:



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**extra-territoriality** a system of diplomatic rights whereby a person is subject to the laws and policies of their home nation or birthplace rather than those of the place they are visiting

1 the protection of American sailors
2 the opening of the ports of Shimoda, Izu Peninsula and Hakodate to supply and trade with American ships
3 American representation to Japanese officials at Shimoda, should the need arise in case of disputes
4 a most favoured nation clause (low tariffs for imported goods; **extra-territoriality**, whereby American citizens would not be subject to Japanese laws).

| EXAMINING THE ISSUES | |
|---|---|
| • What was feudal life under the Shogun like for different classes? | • How would a possible end to the Seclusion Policy affect everyday life and Japanese society? |
| As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, consider how effective the system of the Shogunate was in the nineteenth century. What is your evidence for these views? | |

## 6.2 The end of Japan's isolationism

The treaty ended the Seclusion Edicts of the Tokugawa Shogun and opened up Japan's ports and resources to the imperialistic ambitions of other Western nations. Britain, France, Holland and Russia sued for treaty provisions that were similarly unequal to those of the Americans. In October 1854 the British successfully opened up Nagasaki and Hakodate to provide supplies. In February 1855 Russia was granted access to Shimoda, Hakodate and Nagasaki and given extra-territorial rights. The Netherlands followed in November 1855 and gained similar access.

The Emperor had refused to give royal consent for these **unequal treaties** and foreign policy in Japan was preoccupied with revoking such unfair provisions. In 1857 the first American diplomatic appointee to Japan, Townsend Harris, gained a degree of respect and trust within the Shogun's government and was able to broker a Japanese–American convention that opened Nagasaki to American steamships and the right of Americans to have permanent residency at Shimoda and Hakodate. Finally, this agreement fixed the rate of currency exchange for trade between the two countries.




**SOURCE 6.17** An engraving of Commodore Perry in scrimshaw (carving in bone or ivory) from Japan, circa 1850s

**unequal treaties** unfair treaties between Western powers and Japan. These treaties made Japan's sovereignty, economic and military interests subject to impositions of the West and were often negotiated under the threat of military force.

**Opium Wars** armed conflicts between the Chinese Qing Dynasty and combined Western powers in the mid-nineteenth century

Harris has been credited with opening up the Tokugawa to the West. However, his main objective was to negotiate the complete opening of all Japanese ports to the Americans. Given the **Opium Wars** in China and the Middle Kingdom's harsh treaties with the British, the Japanese were convinced that a voluntary treaty would be less punitive. On 29 July 1859 the Harris Treaty or Treaty of Edo opened Japan commercially to American interests. The provisions of the Treaty of Edo were:

1 the opening of additional ports within Japan
2 the opening of important places such as Edo and Osaka to foreigners
3 diplomatic consular representation



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4 granting of extra-territoriality and freedom of religion to Americans
5 the revision of the treaty if desired in 1872
6 America to be considered the most favoured nation.

## The decline of the Shogun

The new relationships with the West and the granting of extra-territoriality resulted in political pressure on the Tokugawa Shogunate. Foreign policy disagreements led to factional dissent from the daimyo clans. The bakufu could not escape its duties to foreign powers and residents. It lost its legitimacy and in this **political vacuum** the nationalist anti-foreign sentiment known as the **Sonno Joi** movement proliferated. The Sonno Joi or 'Revere the Emperor and expel the barbarians' movement was strongly supported by the western clans. From the late 1850s attacks and assaults were perpetrated on foreigners. Harris's own secretary was murdered in 1861. In the following year a British man, CL Richardson, was murdered by the Satsuma samurai, prompting retaliation by the British navy. The British squadron bombarded the Japanese at Kagoshima in 1863, which resulted in the surrender of the daimyo of Satsuma and a large compensation payment.

The situation intensified when the Emperor took the unprecedented step of summoning the Shogun to Kyoto and demanding that the Shogun expel the foreigners by June 1863. This action indicates the sudden reversal of power between



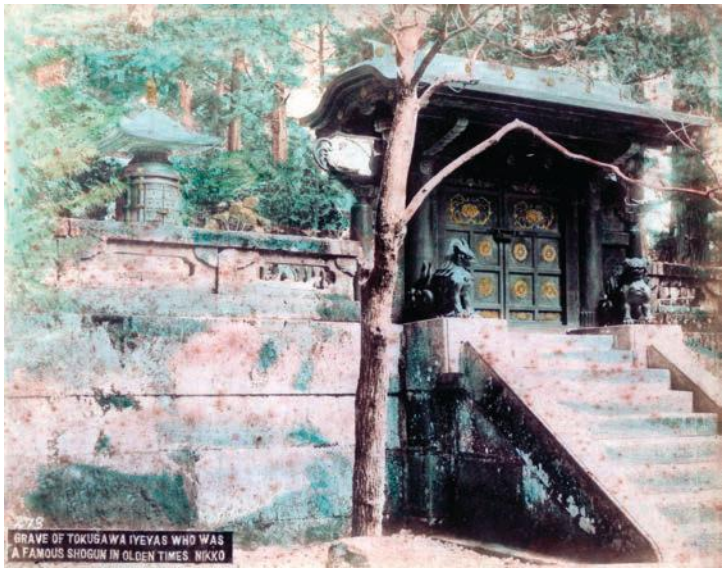
**SOURCE 6.18** Depiction of the 1857 Harris procession to Edo by an unknown Japanese artist (date unknown). Courtesy of City College of New York Archives.

**political vacuum** an analogy in politics or history used to describe a time when someone has lost power and is yet to be replaced

**Sonno Joi** an anti-foreign social movement in Japan in the 1850s and 1860s. Its slogan was 'Revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians'.



**SOURCE 6.19** Sumo wrestler throwing a foreigner at Yokohama. This was a popular theme in Japan at the time. Colour woodblock, 1861.




**SOURCE 6.20** The grave of Tokugawa Ieyasu



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**ronin** masterless, wandering samurai who sought out paid work

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Analysing issues**

How did the samurai clans support or undermine the Shogun?

the Emperor and the once autocratic Shogun. The Shogun, upon returning to his court at Edo, declared that he was not able to expel the barbarians alone. The Choshu clan took the matter into their own hands and acted on the Emperor's request. The Choshu fired on the foreigners from their well-fortified positions across the Shimonoseki Straits. In response, a joint naval operation between the British, Dutch and Americans retaliated, capturing the Choshu fortifications along the straits.

These defeats of two of the most powerful western clans signalled a dramatic decline within the bakufu government. Western powers were quick to demand more commercial treaties and ports to be opened. The Shogun at this stage refused to negotiate with the Western powers and deferred to the Emperor's authority. These symbolic and pragmatic shifts revealed the extent of the Shogun's decline. Additionally, the political influence of the pro-Shogun Choshu clan and their mercenary samurai or **ronin** were contained when the Satsuma samurai drove out Choshu forces to the edges of Kyoto to protect the Emperor.

## FLASHPOINT!

**Meiji** the Emperor of Japan from 1867 to 1912, during whose reign Japan was dramatically transformed from a feudal country into one of the great powers of the modern world

**coup d'état** sudden defeat of a government through illegal force by a small group, often a military one

### The death of the Shogun

The sudden death of the Shogun Iemochi (1858–1866) signalled the end of the Choshu uprising. Emperor Komei, who had come to the throne in 1846, sued for peace among the clans and court of Japan. Iemochi's successor Keiki (1866–1867) saw the precariousness of the bakufu and agreed to relinquish his power to the Emperor Komei's fourteen-year-old son Mutsuhito. Mutsuhito upon his accession to the throne in 1867 assumed the name **Meiji** ('Enlightened Rule'). The Shogun was expected to be included in the council of the daimyo that supported the Emperor; however, the daimyo clans were opposed and conducted a **coup d'état**, overthrowing the Shogun. These powerful clans seized the Shogun's lands and crushed the initial resistance to their plans in a brief civil war that ended with a defeat at Fushimi-Toba. This defeat on 27 January 1869 ended the military power of the Shogun. In March the court of the Shogun at Edo was renamed Tokyo and Meiji moved the imperial court to be housed in the new centre of power. By 1869 the 265-year rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate had ended.

## 6.3 The Meiji Restoration: how and why Japanese modernisation occurred

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Meiji Tennō, 1852–1912, Emperor 1867–1912

Prince Mutsuhito was born in 1852 heir to the Imperial palace at Kyoto. His mother was Nakayama Yoshiko and his father the ruling Emperor Komei. He was educated in traditional ways at the Palace, unaware of the period of intense change his life would necessitate. He was but four years old when Commodore Perry arrived and the unequal treaties were forced on Japan. His father wanted to repel the foreign advances and weaken the position of the Shogun. It is suggested that Komei sanctioned



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the violent attacks on foreigners but then pressed for civil obedience in an attempt to appease foreign unrest. His untimely death at 37 was due to **smallpox**. In the imperial court, traditional processes and medicines were strictly adhered to. The vaccine that existed against smallpox was denied to members of the imperial court. This opposition to modernisation in a sense cost the Emperor his life.

Upon the death of his father, Prince Mutsuhito came to power at fourteen years of age. His influence over the formation of the Charter Oath and the rapid modernisation process is difficult to determine, given the power of the samurai clans and later the **genro**. However, the establishment of reverence for the Emperor and nationalism within Japan was highly successful. Meiji's name 'Enlightened Rule' and his adoption of Western dress were powerful signifiers of the changes taking place. He assumed the command of the new Imperial Army to defeat the supporters of the Shogun and to finally oppose feudalism. This demonstrates the Emperor's strength and pragmatism in accelerating the modernisation program. Perhaps his greatest achievement was the decision to retain Japanese values, religion and traditions while adopting technological and political innovations. This duality was due perhaps in part to Meiji's traditional imperial upbringing and to the opening up of Japan's isolation to Western influence.



**SOURCE 6.21** Prince Mutsuhito, who would become Emperor Meiji

Meiji over time was able to expand Japan's imperialism in parts of China and Russia. The unequal treaties were dissolved and an alliance with Great Britain was in place prior to World War I. He died on 30 July 1912 after a chronic illness leaving behind a wife, three **concubines** and 15 children. Upon his death Japan had indeed been altered forever.

**smallpox** an extremely infectious disease that causes a fever, spots on the skin and often death

**genro** a privy council of men who had played a leading role in the 1868 Meiji Restoration and in the organisation of the new government that followed. They were personal counsellors to the throne, a position that allowed them to virtually run the bureaucracy.

**concubine** a woman who lived and had sexual relations with a man she was not married to. She had a lower social rank than a man's wife or wives, but could also produce male heirs.



**SOURCE 6.22** A painting depicting a train departing Shinbashi Railway Station, showing characteristics of technological advancements, by Utagawa Kuniteru II, 1873

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Analysing causes

What events led to the accession of Emperor Meiji?

The Meiji Restoration was a period of political, social, military, economic and technological reform. During this time Japan progressed on an ambitious industrialisation process, implemented an oligarchic government, modernised its military, created a civil service, introduced compulsory education and eventually ousted the foreigners and assumed its own imperialistic agenda in Europe and China.



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The political vacuum created by the overthrow of the Shogun necessitated the establishment of a new form of government and the abolition of the dysfunctional feudal system. In 1869, with the Emperor exerting divine power, a temporary government was formed with three powerful agents:

- the Supreme Controller
- the Senior Council of State
- the Junior Council of State.

The Supreme Controller was the imperial prince and the two other councils comprised young samurai leaders and daimyo lords and nobles. This structure was refined and the constitution declared in June 1869. This constitution provided a blueprint for the restoration and modernisation program. The Charter Oath publicly declared the aims of the Meiji government. It contained five important articles:

1 the creation of deliberative assemblies to discuss all government decisions
2 the unification of all classes to modernise Japan
3 the abolition of class determination and the freedom of all people to pursue their own vocations
4 laws and policies to be based on the rule of law and the concept of justice
5 the commitment to pursue knowledge and education to strengthen the Empire.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 6.5

### The Charter Oath 1868

By this oath we set up as our aim the establishment of the national wealth on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws.

1 Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion.
2 All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state.
3 The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling so that there may be no discontent.
4 Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature.
5 Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.

**SOURCE 6.23** *Document Excerpts with Questions from Sources of Japanese Tradition*, edited by Wm Theodore de Bary, Ryusaku Tsunoda and Donald Keene, 1st edn, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 137. © 1964 Columbia University Press

**1** Clarify what the Charter Oath is promising the people of Japan.
**2** Discuss which aspects of the Charter Oath are designed to abolish feudalism.
**3** Identify what you think the article about evil customs may refer to.
**4** Explain how useful the Charter Oath is in understanding the goals of the Meiji Restoration.

Although the Charter Oath appears to be an indictment of feudalism and a commitment to abolish it, in reality all classes came under the centralised control of the state. The government used the influential samurai class to persuade the daimyo to relinquish their lands to the imperial state. This led to the 1871 decree abolishing feudalism. The feudal lands were divided into 43 **prefectures** (ken) to be controlled by a governor endorsed by the imperial government. The daimyo, released from their burden of

**prefecture** a political region or local government area in Japan



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supporting the samurai class, were frequently enticed to join the newly burgeoning merchant class.

However, the samurai, despite their skills in the arts of war and words, were not compensated. They were well educated and resented their impoverishment and the option of joining the merchant ranks. The further establishment of a national conscripted army reduced their value as a military power. The samurai were forced to relinquish bushido and found the loss of status and of their noble profession difficult. The pensions they now received were lower than their previous stipends, so financial distress made many disillusioned and willing to resist the new Meiji government. From 1874 there were a series of samurai uprisings that attempted to overthrow the Restoration. A large uprising, the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 led by the Samurai Saigo against the Meiji government, was a final attempt to reestablish the strict class system of feudalism. It was quickly suppressed by the **Yamagata**.

In contrast, the chonin classes were finally released from their debts and were supportive of the new Emperor. However, the peasant farmers were in a precarious situation. Though they no longer had to contend with the taxes of their daimyo lords, they had lost their tenancy on the land. Many were forced to find employment with the newly established labour force in the factories.

The Meiji period dissolved the feudal system and in its place three main social classes emerged: the **kazoku** with court nobles and former daimyo; the **shizoku** class, derived mainly from the old samurai class; and the **heimin** or commoners. The **stratification** was based on occupation rather than ancestry and title. However, all classes shared in the burdens of a nation attempting rapid industrialisation and modernisation.

**Yamagata** Yamagata Aritomo led the newly modernised Imperial Army against the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877

**kazoku** a new social class after the Meiji Restoration including court nobles and former daimyo

**shizoku** a new social class after the Meiji Restoration derived mainly from the old samurai class

**heimin** a new social class after the Meiji Restoration made up of commoners

**stratification** the arrangement of different parts into separate layers or groups



**SOURCE 6.24** A Japanese image of the surrender of the Satsuma Rebels, circa 1880. The rebel samurai are pictured on the left, while the modern army in Western-style uniform is on the right.



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## 6.4 The consequences of modernisation for Japan

### Political changes

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Recognising effects**

What was the impact of the Charter Oath on the power and influence of the Emperor?

For the first decade under the Meiji, representative government was not politically viable. Although the Charter Oath had mandated its importance, the tasks of modernisation and Westernisation consumed the energies of the Emperor. However, by 1881 calls for a truly representative government could not be ignored. Government leaders and dissatisfied shizoku advocated for representation. Representation was needed to curb the monopoly that rapid infrastructure and building developments had led to. A scandal erupted when new government officials conspired to purchase government property in Hokkaido at reduced prices. As a result of these pressures, the Meiji government agreed that it would call a new national assembly in 1890.

The new national assembly would enable representation to be heard from different groups and factions. In response, several political parties organised themselves. The Liberal Party or Jiyuto was led by Itagaki, the Progressive Party or Rikken Kaishinto was under the leadership of Okuma, and the Constitutional Imperial Rule Party or Rikken Teiseito was formed to curb the power of these two extreme parties.

A constitution had to be drafted to include these representative bodies. Ito Hirobumi, a well-respected government official, was given this important challenge. He studied many Western systems abroad to find out how the Japanese Constitution could be both representative and still answerable to the Emperor. The **Prussian** model was adopted under the constitution, placing the assembly responsive to the Emperor with some representation from the nobility. The drafting to strategically interweave these two models began in 1884.

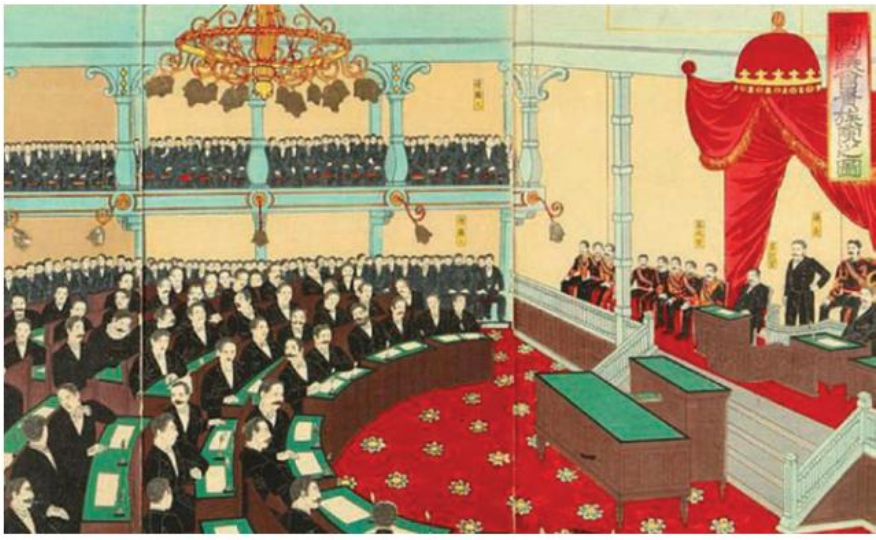
**Prussia** a former European empire that included modern-day Germany and Poland

**Diet** the Imperial Diet was Japan's equivalent of a parliament

On 11 February 1889, on the significant anniversary of the traditional founding date of Japan in 600 BCE, the new constitution was finally endorsed. This constitution provided for three separate bodies to work together. The Emperor was given supreme or executive power. His reign was absolute and divine. His title and reign were hereditary. He was the commander-in-chief of the new Japanese army and could make or negotiate treaties with foreign powers. His parliament or **Diet** comprised two houses: a house of peers or nobles made up from members of the royal family or those nominated by the Emperor, and a lower house made up of 300 members elected with a restricted voting or franchise system.



**SOURCE 6.25** The Meiji Emperor and his family, circa 1880. The adults wear Western-style clothes.



**SOURCE 6.26** Japan's old parliament, the House of Peers



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 6.6

Having, by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors, ascended the Throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal; desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to the moral and intellectual faculties of Our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our Ancestors; and hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State, in concert with Our people and with their support, We hereby promulgate, in pursuance of Our Imperial Rescript of the 12th day of the 10th month of the 14th year of Meiji, a fundamental law of State, to exhibit the principles, by which We are to be guided in Our conduct, and to point out to what Our descendants and Our subjects and their descendants are forever to conform. The rights of sovereignty of the State, We have inherited from Our Ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor they shall in future fail to wield them, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted. We now declare to respect and protect the security of the rights and of the property of Our people, and to secure to them the complete enjoyment of the same, within the extent of the provisions of the present Constitution and of the law. ...

ARTICLE I. The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal.

ARTICLE II. The Imperial Throne shall be succeeded to by Imperial male descendants, according to the provisions of the Imperial House Law.

ARTICLE III. The Emperor is sacred and inviolable.

ARTICLE IV. The Emperor is the head of the Empire, combining in Himself the rights of sovereignty, and exercises them, according to the provisions of the present Constitution.

ARTICLE V. The Emperor exercises the **legislative power** with the consent of the Imperial Diet.

ARTICLE VI. The Emperor gives sanction to laws and orders them to be promulgated and executed.

ARTICLE VII. The Emperor convokes the Imperial Diet, opens, closes and **prorogues** it, and dissolves the House of Representatives.

**legislative power** the ability to make laws

**prorogue** to temporarily halt the processes of a parliament

ARTICLE VIII. The Emperor, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety or to avert public calamities, issues, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial Ordinances in the place of law. Such Imperial Ordinances are to be laid before the Imperial Diet at its next session, and when the Diet does not approve the said Ordinances, the Government shall declare them to be invalid for the future.

ARTICLE IX. The Emperor issues or causes to be issued, the Ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of the public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of the subjects. But no Ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws.

ARTICLE X. The Emperor determines the organisation of the different branches of the administration, and salaries of all civil and military officers, and appoints and dismisses the same. Exceptions especially provided for in the present Constitution or in other laws, shall be in accordance with the respective provisions (bearing thereon).

ARTICLE XI. The Emperor has the supreme command of the Army and Navy.

ARTICLE XII. The Emperor determines the organisation and peace standing of the Army and Navy.

ARTICLE XIII. The Emperor declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties.

ARTICLE XIV. The Emperor declares a state of siege. The conditions and effects of a state of siege shall be determined by law.

ARTICLE XV. The Emperor confers titles of nobility, rank, orders and other marks of honour.

**SOURCE 6.27** Excerpts from the preamble to the Meiji Constitution of 1889



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1 Explain what you think the Meiji Constitution was based on.
2 Clarify how important the needs and rights of the State are.
3 Identify what the Constitution bases its legal power on.
4 Examine why it was important that the Constitution was linked to the 'eternal ages'.
5 Explain how this Constitution supports the absolute right of the Emperor.



**SOURCE 6.28** Woodblock print of the Meiji Constitution promulgation, circa 1890, by T Chikanobu

The Diet had extremely limited legislative powers. All the Cabinet members were appointed by the Emperor and hence the Emperor retained supreme control. If supply for expenditure was blocked by the Diet, the Meiji government was able to continue with the budget from the previous year. This important part of the Constitution effectively blocked the legislative body of the government from being able to exert any leverage on the executive power of the Emperor. The Emperor was able to dissolve the Diet and use the advice of his Privy or Judicial Council to make decisions. This Privy Council was a group of advisers who had direct influence on the Emperor. It was highly influential and strategic. The Privy Council in this new Meiji era very quickly came to be heavily dominated by the genro, or members from the new Japanese military.

The new Constitution did make some concessions to the people under the main terms of the Charter Oath. The people were granted important freedoms that had not existed under the previous Shogunate system. People were granted the right to free speech and freedom to worship. However, these freedoms were at the will of the Emperor and could be revoked arbitrarily.

**oligarchy** government by a small group of powerful people

The Meiji Constitution was a quasi-**oligarchic** system. Real power was concentrated in the hands of the genro or Privy Council, who exerted influence over the supreme power of the Emperor. The genro were given powerful positions within the government and the military and had many of their followers appointed to the House of Peers. The influence of the genro can be detected in the early struggles within the House of Representatives or Commons. The House of Representatives was elected from a limited franchise and the Cabinet was appointed by the Emperor. Typically, these struggles did not affect Japan's modernisation agenda and spending, as the budget could not be frozen and there was cooperation between the Diet and the Cabinet, with ministers allied with particular



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political parties from the House of Representatives. Over time, as ministers became more skilled, the role of the genro diminished to mainly giving advice to the Privy Council rather than taking a direct part in the working of the Cabinet. By 1920 the influence of the genro was not as strong.

One of the main reasons for the introduction of the Constitution was the reform of the judicial system. The judicial system of Japan under the Tokugawa Shogunate was regarded as unjust and arbitrary. This system of justice had been rejected by Western powers and had forced Japan into extra-territoriality agreements. Western powers were unwilling to revise their treaties until the **penal code** and system of law mirrored their own commitment to rule and justice. In 1890 a new penal code was drafted based on the French model. A **commercial and civil code** was introduced based on both French and German models. The civil code still subjected the rights of the individual to the collective right of the state, but nonetheless it was a regulated and principled approach that the British and other Western nations favoured. In 1894 Britain agreed to forgo its extra-territoriality clause and by 1899 many other Western nations followed suit.

**penal code** the system of legal punishment in a country

**commercial and civil code** a systematic collection of laws designed to comprehensively deal with the core areas of private law

The Meiji period had seen the rebuilding of the legal, social and political system of Japan, the abolition of feudalism and the replacement of this antiquated system with a new form of authoritarian government. A new spirit of nationalism had emerged that was deeply connected with a traditional reverence for the Emperor and fostered a right-wing authoritarian society. Diplomatic equality with Western powers had been achieved and unfair treaty obligations reversed. The class system had been dismantled and new civil and penal codes provided for political stability, although it did not necessarily translate into greater liberty for the individual.

## Financial and industrial reform

The massive modernisation program undertaken by the Meiji was funded initially through land tax. With the abolition of feudalism the government allowed land to be sold and assessed for land tax. In 1873 a new tax system was introduced whereby landowners paid a tax determined on the assessed value of the land rather than on the yield of their crops. This ensured that the government had a regular annual tax flow that could not be altered by agrarian yields.

Despite these new efficiencies and improvements, the government's financial obligations to pay the samurai class remained burdensome to the government. This payment had been initiated originally by the government to secure the loyalty of the old daimyo class, who had been indebted to provide the samurai with stipends under the Tokugawa feudal system. The Meiji government had assumed these ongoing financial commitments but now had to make these payments, which were crippling for the new treasury. To honour these obligations the government paid the samurai in government bonds from 1876 onwards. These bonds relieved the government from having to pay the stipends upfront and it could use these funds for other more urgent modernisation programs.

Meanwhile, the government had to reform its currency system, which included both rice and coinage. There was an array of different currencies in circulation from trade with Western nations. In 1871 the Meiji government instituted a decimal currency with the yen as the unit of currency. The yen was backed by the gold held in treasury, a system known as the gold standard which backed international currency at the time.

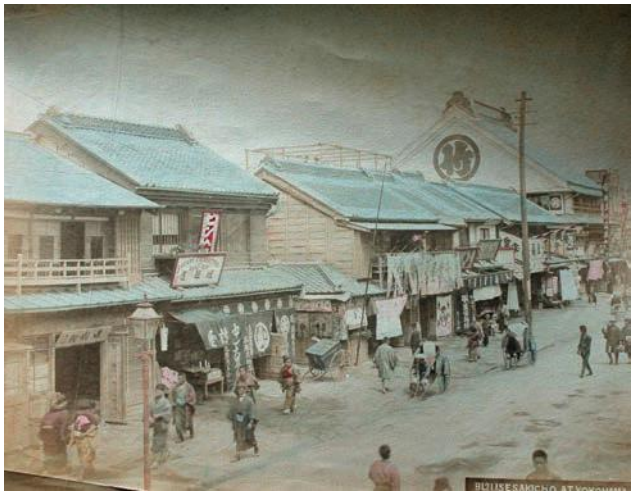
These reforms were critical to the fledgling success of the new Meiji Restoration period. The introduction of an effective taxation and currency system allowed Japan to become self-sufficient and not reliant on Western capital or trade. The large-scale industrialisation and modernisation projects were mostly funded by the land tax and backed by a stable and consistent unit of currency. During this time Japan sought external funding from Britain for only two projects – one for railway construction and the other to pay for their interest on the government bonds that had been issued to the samurai classes.



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## Industrialisation

The technological power of the West had triggered the rapid decline of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Japan believed that industry and commerce would restore the financial and social stability in the Meiji period and provide for the necessary labour and capital needed in a post-feudal context. The heimin flocked to the new town centres to find work driving the industrialisation of Japan. Japan adopted Western technologies and processes to try to compete with the production methods of more advanced economies. Foreigners with technical expertise were encouraged to share their knowledge. Japanese workers were sent overseas to gain the requisite knowledge and improve the efficiency of the new industries.



**SOURCE 6.29** The hustle and bustle of Yokohama Street, 1880. Yokohama was the most cosmopolitan city in Japan.

To avoid reliance on overseas capital to fund the expansion of these new industries, the Meiji government sponsored industries. Using the land tax revenue, the government was able to create productive employment for a number of different classes that had been dissolved with the abolition of feudalism. The disaffected samurai were ideally suited to lead this new industrial age, having both technical skills and high levels of literacy. These industries served to provide a collective purpose for the Meiji Restoration and catapult Japan into becoming a modern economic nation.

Mechanisation of textile, cotton and wool production occurred rapidly with government investment and importation of spinning and mill equipment. To accelerate this process, the heavy machinery was often paid for in full by the government and then sold to private companies in a series of instalments. This meant that industrialisation occurred quickly over a short time frame and private investors were committed to their own profits and state economic goals. The wave of industrialisation established copper, silver and gold mines, opened shipbuilding yards and built munitions factories. In the 1880s the Meiji government provided subsidies to commercial enterprises to fund technical innovations and expertise. Once these new enterprises were self-sufficient and with technical processes well established, the government would sell its interest in these ventures to a small number of influential groups at a reasonable price. These influential groups were wealthy industrialist families known as the **zaibatsu**.

**zaibatsu** a group of industrial and financial companies that controlled a large part of the economy of Japan until World War II

The zaibatsu were powerful families such as the Mitsubishi, Yasuda, Sumitomo and the Mitsui, who were responsible for the manufacture of different products and large-scale infrastructure projects. The zaibatsu built railways, factories, shipyards and transport for Japan. The growth in industrialisation created capital that could be invested or loaned for future projects. The establishment of internal and private capital within Japan allowed its foreign and domestic trade to expand rapidly into China and other parts of Asia. The government encouraged this growth, as it made it less reliant on land taxation as the sole source of revenue and enabled Japanese industry to be internally funded. The towns and cities expanded to provide the labour force for these industries. The creation of the working class transformed Japan from a feudal class-based society to a modern capitalistic economy.

The zaibatsu were politically well connected and interested in providing the heavy machinery and infrastructure that Japan needed to expand. Their interests were centred around Japanese militarism and imperialism. These families provided munitions and capital for the newly formed Japanese navy and army. They supported territorial encroachment into Korea, Russia, Manchuria and China from 1895 to 1905.



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**SOURCE 6.30** Industrialisation in Japan pushed towards the modern workforce.

The expanding markets and trade for Japan opened up investment into consumer goods and light manufacturing. This provided more domestic and later foreign trade for Japan and offered the workers some of the benefits of capitalism. Trade was encouraged by the development of merchant shipping, banking processes and transport and communication systems. In 1869 the telegraph line running from the new capital Tokyo to Yokohama was established. In 1870 Japan commenced construction of its first railway line between Hyogo and Tokyo and later in 1871 postal services began – both significant advances for society.

However, despite the improvement in farming machinery and techniques, the growing town population and the establishment of factories meant that Japan needed to develop mechanisms to sustain their food supply. The fishing industry grew exponentially in response to this. Japan by 1890 needed to rely on foreign trade for food and essential goods. This pattern of foreign trade continued into the twentieth century.

## Education

Compulsory education was critical to the Meiji Restoration. The terms of the Charter Oath required Western education and modernisation. This resulted in many overseas scholarships and the adoption of Western ideas. Education was secularised and made a national priority. Under the Shogun, education had been typically conducted in Chinese and was reserved for daimyos and samurais. With the Restoration, a new National Ministry of Education was established in 1871. It aimed to enlighten the Japanese population by eliminating illiteracy and promoting Western knowledge. The 1872 Education Act established compulsory nationally funded primary education and developed each area into districts with schools for technical and middle years. Education was focused on scientific and technical knowledge that would foster modernisation. The growth of schooling and the importance of education was a significant measure that led to a breakdown in the traditional feudal classes. However, the difficulties of educating so many of the population in a time of such rapid growth and industrialisation created practical problems that had to be quickly overcome.

The education system was to be funded by taxation but would allow for some local council input. This was designed to gain support for the Education Act at a grassroots level. The form of education children received was highly functional and centred around Western knowledge with an emphasis on literacy and skills. However, there was some opposition to the adoption of Western ideas and methods, so in 1890 an Imperial Rescript on Education was declared reinforcing the importance of Japanese tradition, reverence



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**liberalism** a political ideology that promotes equality, liberty, protection from injustice and economic opportunity for all people

for the Emperor and loyalty to the state and to the family. Essentially students were asked to adopt Western scientific and technical knowledge but to disregard **liberalism** and Western ideologies. The result of the mass education campaign was an increased reverence for the Meiji, loyalty to the new modern state and a skilled and literate workforce that could drive the Restoration forward.

## The growth of Japanese militarism and imperialism following the Restoration

The abolition of feudalism and the role of the samurai created an impetus for a national military to defend the new Meiji state. In 1873 conscription was introduced, making military service universal and compulsory for all classes. This elevated the status of the former peasants. The samurai were disappointed by their change in status, yet could not defeat the newly formed peasant armies. In the Satsuma Rebellion the peasant conscripts were able to defeat the well-trained traditional samurai due to their numbers and advanced weaponry. The emergence of the military was a powerful embodiment of the nationalist ideology promoted in the Meiji Restoration.

The army followed the models of Western nations, notably Prussian militarism. The extension of conscription in 1890 made the Japanese Army a sizeable force in numbers and in training. At the turn of the twentieth century, with European imperialism and the scramble to gain new colonies and territories, the Japanese Imperial Army was second only to the extensive German military. A strong navy at this time was also advantageous and Japan followed the organisation of the British naval system and ship acquisition.

The nationalisation of an Imperial Army and Navy was a defining feature of this new militaristic society. As a result of the oligarchic 1889 Constitution the military had a powerful voice and could prosecute a war without Cabinet approval with the endorsement of the Emperor. As the military sphere of influence gained more power in Japan, Cabinet ministers for War and Navy had to be active generals in these forces, making sure that the military interests were upheld.



**SOURCE 6.31** The Emperor Meiji in military attire



**SOURCE 6.32** A group of samurai in traditional armour, circa 1890



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Japanese militarism was a product of both political necessity and nationalist interest. With the shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy, Japan relied increasingly on the import of food and other materials for its growing population. Foreign expansion could alleviate this situation and an effective military was a useful resource. Additionally, colonies could provide much-needed trading partnerships and vital resources such as rubber and metals. Also, while these economic factors played an important part in establishing militarism, the common desire to restore the Japanese Empire to great wealth and prestige and reverse the legacy of unequal treaty impositions made it a virulent force that shaped Japan's entry into the twentieth century.

These motivations may account for Japan's intervention in China's Boxer Rebellion in 1900, its triumph in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and its naval victory against Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 against Tsar Nicholas II. The success and strength of Japanese militarism could also be seen in its alliance with Britain in 1908. By the beginning of the twentieth century Japan was a modern military nation capable of expansion and strong defence.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Clarifying**

How did the unequal treaties affect Japan?

## FLASHPOINT!

### The Russo-Japanese War 1904–1905

The Russo-Japanese War placed Japan on the world stage and culminated in a humiliating defeat for the Russian navy at the Tsushima Straits in May 1905. The war, which had been sparked by Japanese interests in Manchuria and Korea and Russia's desire to extend its influence into these regions and build the Trans-Siberian Railway through Manchuria, was costly. Over 71 000 Japanese and 80 000 Russians were casualties in this war.

The terms of the defeat were negotiated with the input of the American President Theodore Roosevelt, when he met both the Japanese Emperor and Tsar Nicholas II in Portsmouth. The Portsmouth Treaty denied the Japanese considerable territorial concessions. For his efforts, Roosevelt was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.




**SOURCE 6.33** On 24 June 1905 *Harper's Weekly* featured a cartoon referring to President Theodore Roosevelt's mediation to end the Russo-Japanese War.



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 6.7

1 Identify what animal represents the Russian Army.
2 Describe how the Japanese soldier is depicted in the cartoon.
3 Account for the point of the caption.
4 Who do you think are the figures in the background? Explain.




**SOURCE 6.34** Russo-Japanese War cartoon, 'Cruelty to Animals', circa 1905



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## 6.5 The significance of the Meiji Restoration in Japan, Asia and the West

The Meiji Restoration modernised Japan and abolished feudalism. It changed dramatically the economy, daily life, industries, political system, civil and penal codes, class distinctions and foreign policy. By the time of the Emperor's death in 1912 Japan had experienced a rapid growth in population from 35 million in 1873 to 46 million in 1903. Industries controlled by the zaibatsu had built modern railways, telegraph systems, ships and factories for manufactured goods. Japan developed more favourable treaty and trade provisions with Western powers, with all nations terminating their extra-territorial agreements by 1899. Japan's alliance with Britain in 1902 (the Anglo-Japanese Alliance) indicated its rising strength as an imperial power. This dominance was reinforced by its successive victories in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. Japan had extended its empire into Manchuria and defeated the magnitude of the Russian forces.

The feudal system had been replaced by modern quasi-capitalist structures based on the production of goods and the supply of a more urbanised labour force. Reforms in education and land taxation enabled the Japanese population to become more literate, more skilled and less stratified by hereditary title. The Meiji Restoration had revolutionised Japan and made it a modern nation state.

The character of this nation state, while modern and superficially pro-Western, remained mostly anti-democratic and reasserted the traditional power of a hereditary ruler. The Constitution of 1889 based on the Charter Oath was regarded as a gift from the benevolent and powerful Emperor to the people. It bestowed certain privileges, yet retained the supreme powers of the Emperor to govern and influence central decisions about politics, the military, the economy, education, taxation and religion.



**SOURCE 6.35** The great Torii of Itsukushima Shinto Shrine, Hiroshima – a famous icon of the Shinto religion

Under Meiji the traditional religion of Shintoism was promoted with the establishment of the Bureau of Shinto Religion. Shintoism reinforced the divine nature of the Emperor and encouraged people to show their loyalty to him through religious practice and traditional worship. While education made the population, including women, more literate, the needs of the individual were of less importance than the requirements and goals of the national state.

Education that improved national knowledge and contributed to factory production and scientific and technological advancement was delivered. Western ideologies about liberalism and democracy were not promoted. The Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 shows how nationalism was intertwined with educational reform. The model of government, with the initial influence of the genro and the military, was based on an autocratic Prussian system that maintained some of the oligarchic methods of the former Shogunate. Franchise was restricted to men who were paying 15 yen in taxes and the Diet with its two houses had no control over the Cabinet or the Emperor.

So while Japanese society seemed outwardly very Westernised, the Meiji Restoration actually reinforced traditional religious beliefs and political structures, which resulted in a highly militaristic and authoritarian society by the mid-twentieth century. Japan's emergence as a world power with imperial ambitions was a product of both its rapid industrialisation and its desire to restore Japanese historic ideals and its status as an important state impregnable to the West.

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Drawing conclusions**

- What elements of Japanese society remained highly traditional during the Restoration?
- To what extent was the character of the Emperor critical to the success of the modernisation?



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## 6.6 Historical debate: were the Meiji reforms 'oppressive and reactionary'?

### Historical interpretations of the Meiji Restoration

There are a number of different views about the impact of the Meiji Restoration on the modernisation process of Japan. Many would argue that the influence of gunboat diplomacy and the political strategy of the Meiji alone account for this dramatic shift in society. However, more recent scholarship by BR Tomlinson suggests a range of possible theories. The first interpretation suggests that the rise of the chonin class in the late Tokugawa period created the market conditions and necessary capital for Japan to undergo a change to class structures and the movement towards industrialisation. Another interpretation presented by Rosovsky suggests that agricultural surpluses during the Meiji period due to technological advances resulted in the economic opportunity for the government to develop investment through industry.

**Marxist** a supporter of the political and economic theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

**proletariat** the name Karl Marx gave to the industrial workers

However, recent evidence from the Japanese historian James Nakamura shows that agricultural production or yield was less than in the Tokugawa years and had in fact declined. Nakamura suggests that agricultural production was steady with the increases in the population and that it was the land tax system, which removed taxation from a yield-based system to a land-based one, that changed the fabric of the economy. Finally, a **Marxist** interpretation of the period suggests that the rise of the chonin class, who exploited the new working classes, created the conditions that led to the **proletariat** being exploited in favour of the means of production.

### Were the Meiji reforms 'oppressive and reactionary'?

From a left-wing perspective, it could be argued that the Meiji reforms ultimately oppressed the people of Japan. In this view, the Meiji Restoration was a top-down revolution caused by the forces at the top of society; for example, the powerful and elite genro. Groups lower in the social order such as peasants, females and urban workers also wanted more freedoms than the Meiji regime was willing to grant. This led to demands for a more democratic political and social system which, in turn, resulted in the reactionary growth of a strong and repressive militaristic state controlled by the elite ruling group.

| EXAMINING THE ISSUES | |
|---|---|
| • Was the Meiji Restoration 'oppressive and reactionary'? | • Why is democracy important? |
| As a class discuss these questions. During the discussion, assess the quality of life for different classes before and after the Meiji reforms. What is your evidence for these views? | |



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# CHAPTER 6 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### TOKUGAWA JAPAN

- Throughout the 1500s Europeans sailed to Japan to trade goods and spread Christianity.
- The Seclusion Edicts of 1635 forbade foreign visitors and isolated Japan from the rest of the world.

### KEY DEVELOPMENTS THAT ALLOWED MODERNISATION TO TAKE PLACE IN JAPAN

- The decline of the bakufu system: the Shogun's pressure on groups like the daimyo, samurai and chonin (merchant class) created conflict and tension within the traditional feudal structure.
- Gunboat diplomacy was used by the US, forcing Japan to open its doors to trade with Western nations after 200 years of isolation and resulting in the Treaty of Kanagawa in 1854.

### THE END OF JAPAN'S ISOLATIONISM

- The 1854 treaty ended the Seclusion Edicts of the Tokugawa Shogun and opened up Japan's ports and resources to the imperialistic ambitions of Western nations.
- Japan endured a series of unequal treaties and had to give foreigners special treatment under the requirements of extra-territoriality.

### THE MEIJI RESTORATION: HOW AND WHY JAPANESE MODERNISATION OCCURRED

- The daimyo clans conducted a coup d'état overthrowing the Shogun and necessitating the establishment of a new form of government.
- The new Emperor Meiji was progressively minded and looked to the West for ideas, instigating the Charter Oath of 1869 that led to the Meiji Restoration.

### THE CONSEQUENCES OF MODERNISATION FOR JAPAN

- Politically, the Meiji Constitution of 1889 created a Diet (parliament), but placed real power in the hands of the Emperor and his council. Japan adopted Western-style penal, commercial and civic codes.
- Financial reforms gave the government a steady income from land-based taxes, rapid industrialisation transformed Japan's business and military sectors, and compulsory Western-style education was implemented.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEIJI RESTORATION IN JAPAN, ASIA AND THE WEST

- The Meiji Restoration modernised Japan and abolished feudalism. It changed dramatically the economy, daily life, industries, the political system, civil and penal codes, class distinctions and foreign policy.
- Japan's modernised military and navy showed the world it was a power to contend with when it humiliated Russia in the 1905 Russo-Japanese War.



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## WERE THE MEIJI REFORMS 'OPPRESSIVE AND REACTIONARY'?

- There are a number of different views about the impact of the Meiji Restoration on the modernisation process of Japan.
- From a left-wing perspective, it could be argued that the Meiji reforms ultimately oppressed the people of Japan.

## Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

1) feudalism
2) Shogun
3) Tokugawa period
4) Meiji
5) imperialism

## Historical concepts

### 1 Causation

- Account for the decline of the Shogun.
- Why did the samurai and Shogun attempt to expel the foreigners? Discuss.

### 2 Continuity and change

- Compare Japan before and after the Meiji Restoration using a Venn diagram.
- Explain what the differences and the similarities were.

### 3 Perspectives

- Explain the system of bakufu.
- Create a diagram showing the different social classes in feudal Japan.
- Discuss the role of the Emperor and the Shogun during the Tokugawa period.

### 4 Significance

- Outline the changes to industry, the military, the economy, class systems and education during the Meiji period.
- To what extent was the Meiji government different from the military dictatorship of the Shogunate?
- Why do you think the Meiji government was able to restore and modernise Japan?

### 5 Contestability

- To what extent was the Meiji period a restoration or a revolution? In your answer, refer to the views of at least two historians included in this chapter.

## Historical skills

### 1 Explanation and communication

In a short paragraph for each point, briefly:

- Describe the powers of the shogun in feudal Japan.
- Describe the arrival of Commodore Perry into Edo Bay.
- Explain the American interest in Japanese ports and trade.
- Assess to what extent the decline of the Shogun was due to Western imperialism.
- Explain what the achievements of the Meiji Restoration were.

### 2 Historical interpretation

Refer to the historical interpretations mentioned in Section 6.6 to answer the following question in a brief paragraph response.

- Which historian's interpretation best explains the reasons for the Meiji's success? Identify which theory you most agree with, and provide evidence for your choice.

### 3 Analysis and use of sources

- Explain what Source A depicts about Japan's global standing in 1905. Refer to both the image and the caption in your answer.
- Referring to Source A, how would you describe the effectiveness of the Meiji modernisation period?



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## SOURCE A




'Allies', a cartoon from the British magazine *Punch* accompanied by a quote from poet Rudyard Kipling, published 4 October 1905

### 4 Historical investigation and research

- To what extent was Japan a modern Western nation by 1912?

  In order to help you answer this question, conduct historical research in your school or local library or online (from educational websites). In your investigation, be sure to include:
  - a list of mini-questions you want to answer in your response (to break down the question into smaller parts)
  - a research plan (where will you conduct research; how many different sources of evidence do you want to consider?)
  - evidence from a range of sources (try to include some quotes from each source; be sure to use quotation marks)
  - acknowledge your sources appropriately (after a quote, list the source's author, title, date published, page number).

  Present your research in the form of a page-long essay including an introduction, at least three body paragraphs and a conclusion.

### 5 Further essay questions

- Evaluate the evidence of Japan's modernisation and consider how the impact of the West is changing Japan.
- How did the Meiji government change or restore Japanese society by 1912?
- Discuss the methods used by the Meiji government to nationalise and modernise Japan.
- How important was the fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate in creating the conditions for reform?
- Discuss Japan's foreign policy from 1853 to 1905. To what extent was Japan able to respond to Western aggression and imperialism in this period?



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# CHAPTER 7
# The Cuban Revolution and its impact on Latin America

*People of Cuba! The tyrant has fled, as have the other assassins, before the irresistible advance of the rebel army.*

Announcement made on Radio Rebelde (the rebel radio station), 1 January 1959

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

By using a range of historical sources, you will investigate the Cuban Revolution and its impact on Latin America.

**KEY ISSUES**

You will explore:

- the historical context, such as:
  - the causes of the Cuban Revolution
  - political, economic and social conditions in Cuba under the Batista regime
- the nature of the Cuban Revolution, such as:
  - the development of the revolution
  - the ideology of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, and their effect on Latin America
  - the activities of revolutionaries including the use of guerrilla warfare
  - short-term and long-term effects of the revolution
  - the foreign policy of Cuba, international reactions, and relationship with the USA
- a relevant historical debate – the legacy of the Cuban Revolution

**CUBA**

**1895**



**1898** Cuba declares independence after the Spanish–American War.

**1902** Spain recognises Cuban independence; Cuba signs the Platt Amendment.

**1940** Fulgencio Batista becomes the President of Cuba.

**1944** Batista resigns as President.

**1952** Batista returns as President.

**1953** On 26 July Castro and his revolutionaries attack the Moncada Barracks.

**1955**



**1956** The '26th of July Movement' forces under the leadership of Castro return to Cuba.

**1958** Guerrilla warfare campaign in which Castro and his men achieve great successes against the Batista forces.

**1959** Castro comes to power and is declared leader of the government; Batista flees Cuba; Castro makes his first visit to the US as Cuban leader and meets Vice-President Richard Nixon.

**SOURCE 7.1 This photo shows Fidel Castro, centre, in 1959 with fellow revolutionary leader Camilo Cienfuegos travelling to the Cuban capital of Havana after overthrowing the Batista regime.**



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# The Cuban Revolution 1959




**1960**
Soviet Union offers Cuba military aid; US places a trade embargo on Cuba.

**1961**
The Bay of Pigs invasion; the US attempts to overthrow the Batista regime.

**1962**
The Cuban Missile Crisis



**1965**
Che Guevera leaves the Cuban political scene amid growing rumours that he has become disillusioned by Castro's drift towards less radical politics.

**1967**
Che Guevara is captured by Bolivian government troops and executed.

## 1974

**1979**
Cuba supports the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan; Cuba controversially sends military assistance to influence civil wars in Angola and Ethiopia.



**1991**
Soviet Union collapses; Cuba is left economically and politically isolated.

**1992**
US tightens its longstanding embargo on Cuba, extending restrictions on travel and trade; Castro slowly begins to deregulate Cuba's economy.



**2006**
Fidel Castro's health begins to deteriorate after abdominal surgery. He temporarily steps down and hands control of the government to his brother, Raúl. Raúl takes over as President in 2008.

## 2010



**2016**
Fidel Castro dies at the age of 90.



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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



**SOURCE 7.2** A photograph of residents waving as the caravan carrying the ashes of Cuba's late President Fidel Castro arrives in Santiago de Cuba, Cuba, 3 December 2016

| What do you see? | What do you think? | What do you wonder? |
|---|---|---|



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# CHAPTER 7 Overview

| KEY IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS TODAY | KEY TERMS AND NAMES |
|---|---|---|
| Understanding the legacy of Fidel Castro as a twentieth-century leader and the significance of the Cuban Revolution and its impact on Latin America | The death of Fidel Castro has made the world reflect on the dramatic events that have unfolded in Cuba's history and issues such as revolution, communism, tyranny, imperialism and human rights. | • Monroe Doctrine<br>• Spanish–American War<br>• Platt Amendment<br>• 26th of July Movement<br>• blockade<br>• brinkmanship<br>• Guantanamo Bay<br>• revolution<br>• guerrilla warfare<br>• coup d'état<br>• Organization of American States<br>• Organization for Latin American Solidarity<br>• communism<br>• Cold War |

## *Painting the picture*

### Background

The impact of Spanish colonisation on Cuba had been criticised as early as 1823 by the US, when President James Monroe made a speech to Congress declaring that America would not become involved in European affairs and that Europeans should no longer interfere with any part of the Americas. The US believed it had the right to condemn European colonisation over an independent nation in the Americas, as they had the right to protect the region. This statement became known as the **Monroe Doctrine**.

Cuba's long struggle for independence began in October 1868. An army of liberation, consisting of only 38 men, was formed by a 50-year-old plantation owner named Carlos Cespedes. Within two days of a call for independence the rebel army had grown to 4000 men; within a month its ranks had swelled to nearly 12 000. A freed black slave, Antonio Maceo, became the rebels' military commander. A brilliant and daring tactician, Maceo fought the Spanish soldiers to a standstill over a 10-year period but he and his troops were unable to dislodge the Spaniards from power.

On 11 April 1895 Jose Marti, a brilliant Cuban poet and patriot, landed in Oriente Province with a handful of men to continue the fight for independence. Killed in a battle with the Spanish a month later, Marti became Cuba's national hero as the drive for freedom pressed onward.

The US was both sympathetic to the rebels and interested in establishing its own influence on Cuba, which it saw as important to the defence of the Panama Canal. When an American warship, the *Maine*, exploded in Havana Harbor in 1898 the US blamed the Spanish, declared Cuba independent and demanded Spain's withdrawal from the island. The US was victorious in the three-month-long **Spanish–American War** that followed.

**INQUIRY QUESTION**

Would Cuba be better off today if there had never been a revolution?

**Monroe Doctrine** the statement made in 1813 that the US would not become involved in European affairs and that Europeans should no longer interfere with any part of the Americas. Any attempt by a European power to influence or colonise any independent nation in the Americas would be regarded as an attack on the peace and safety of the US.

**Spanish–American War** in 1898 this war ended Spain's colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere and secured the position of the US as a Pacific power. The US victory in the war produced a peace treaty that compelled the Spanish to relinquish claims on Cuba.

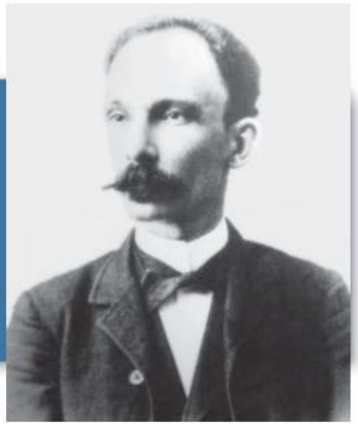


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## A MATTER OF FACT

### Jose Marti (1853–1895), poet and journalist

Marti spent his short life fighting for Cuban independence and has been referred to as the 'Apostle of the Cuban Revolution'. Through his life and writings, Marti served as an inspiration for revolutionaries around the world. Cuban leader Fidel Castro named him as an important influence on his own revolution in Cuba decades later.



**SOURCE 7.3** Jose Marti

**Platt Amendment** an amendment to the 1902 Cuban Constitution that gave the US the legal right to intervene in Cuba to protect 'life, property and individual liberties'

Cuba became an independent nation in 1902, but the US insisted on the new nation's agreeing to a plan known as the **Platt Amendment**. This legislation gave the US the perpetual right to maintain military bases in Cuba, as well as the right to intervene in Cuba's affairs when it thought necessary. The Platt Amendment remained in force for 32 years, a period in which the US frequently claimed its right to intervene.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 7.1

### The Platt Amendment

The President of the US is hereby authorized to 'leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people' so soon as a government shall have been established in said island under a constitution which, either as a part thereof or in an ordinance appended thereto, shall define the future relations of the United States with Cuba, substantially as follows:

Article III. That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba ...

Article V. That the government of Cuba will execute, and, as far as necessary, extend, the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein ...

Article VII. That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its defence, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

**SOURCE 7.4** Extracts from the Platt Amendment

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Forming opinions**

Why do you think Cuba was so strategically important?

1 According to the Platt Amendment, explain why the US had the right to 'intervene' in Cuba and why there should be a naval base on Cuba.

2 Explain why the US became involved in the political affairs of Cuba.



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## 7.1 Political, economic and social conditions in Cuba under President Batista

### The rise of the Batista regime

In August 1933 a wave of strikes and demonstrations swept the country, sparked by both economic distress and the resentment of the corrupt and tyrannical government of General Gerardo Machado. Machado, who had been President since 1925, was driven out of office. At this point a group of young non-commissioned officers, led by a sergeant named Fulgencio Batista, seized control of the army and overthrew Machado's successor. In 1934 the US cancelled the Platt Amendment, making Cuba politically independent. (The US, however, retained its naval base at **Guantanamo Bay**; the base continues to be US-occupied to this day.) Civilian and military presidents came and went over the next seven years but the 'strong man' behind Castro's government was Batista.

During this period social and labour unrest increased in both the cities and the countryside. A nationwide strike was ruthlessly crushed in 1935. The nation's young radicals, now convinced that the 1933 revolution had been betrayed, became even more fixed in their desire for a complete reform of the government. As a result, Batista decided he wanted to be President in name as well as in practice. He directed the writing of a new constitution for Cuba, a document that contained surprisingly liberal provisions concerning labour and social relations. Batista, elected in 1940, served as President for four years. Although his administration was relatively democratic, it was marked by serious corruption.

Throughout the cities, Batista and his hand-picked police force organised an extensive system of extortion and kickbacks. All stores, bars and commercial establishments were forced to contribute regularly to the local police precincts, which were also heavily involved in prostitution, gambling and drugs.

### NOTE THIS DOWN

**Analysing causes**

As you work through this chapter, take notes using an outline like this to identify the various causes for the success of the Cuban Revolution.

Causes for the success of the Cuban Revolution

Political
-
-
-

Social
-
-
-

Economic
-
-
-

**Guantanamo Bay** the Guantanamo Bay detention camp is a US military prison located within Guantanamo Bay Naval Base, which fronts on Guantánamo Bay in Cuba

**coup d'état** sudden defeat of a government through illegal force by a small group, often a military one

### SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

**Fulgencio Batista (1901–1973), President of Cuba 1940–1944 and 1952–1958**

Fulgencio Batista was the Cuban right-wing dictator overthrown by communists led by Fidel Castro. Despite support for Batista from America during his rule, nothing was done by the superpower to stop his fall from power. Batista was regarded as a strong political figure in the Military, which came to prominence when he successfully defeated Ramón Grau Martin in the first presidential election under the new constitution. Four years later Batista decided to step down when Ramón Grau was elected. He decided to escape the political life in Cuba for the next eight years, during which time corruption dominated the political landscape and provided the perfect opportunity for him to return; he assumed power in 1952.

Three candidates dominated the election campaign and once Batista recognised that his chances of winning the election were slim, he staged a **coup d'état**. On 27 March the US recognised the Batista government and it was clear in the early stages of his government that most of his energy would be directed into building his personal empire, as opposed to addressing the social and economic problems that plagued Cuba. Large-scale gambling, prostitution and casinos would dominate the agenda, combined with the establishment of a police state, which would act as an agency of terror and eliminate all political opposition.



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The greatest opposition to Batista's leadership would come in the form of a small band of revolutionaries led by the charismatic Fidel Castro, which was enjoying gradual victories in the Sierra Mountains. By the end of 1958, the US could see that the domestic opposition was growing against the Batista regime and as a result they decided to withdraw their support and distance themselves from the increasing corruption of the government. On New Year's Eve, as the rebels closed in on Havana, Batista took his fortune and fled into exile, and spent the rest of his life in luxury in Spain and Portugal.



**SOURCE 7.5** Fulgencio Batista, the corrupt and brutal dictator of Cuba who was overthrown in the 1959 Cuban Revolution

In 1944, forbidden by the new constitution to take presidential office for consecutive terms, he agreed to free elections. Dr Ramón Grau San Martin, head of the Autentico Party, was elected and Batista left Cuba to take up temporary residency in Miami, Florida.

Unfortunately, subsequent Cuban governments proved to be just as corrupt as the Batista administration. Both the Grau administration (1944–1948) and that of his successor Carlos Prio Socarras (1948–1952), while active in improving education and public health services, were also deeply involved in the corruption that infected every aspect of Cuban society. This prompted a split in the Autentico Party with a group of disillusioned members who formed their own party, the Ortodoxo. Eduardo Chibas, the Ortodoxo's founder, was a charismatic politician who was committed to the legal route to power and looked destined to be elected at the next election. However, in the summer of 1951, the hopes and dreams of creating an honest democratic society were dashed when Chibas committed suicide.

On 10 March 1952, three weeks before the scheduled presidential elections, Batista returned to Cuba and overthrew the constitutional government of Carlos Prio Socarras. Aided by junior army officers, Batista carried out the coup swiftly and with little bloodshed. His motives for the military coup were simple. A legal candidate for the presidency himself, he knew he had no chance of winning the presidential elections as he was running third to the Autentico and Ortodoxo candidates. Batista and his followers feared being displaced economically by the emergence of commercial interests controlled by rival groups. The coup ensured Batista's continued grip on the government, which in turn guaranteed his continued profits from political corruption and gangsterism.

As Ramon Bonachea wrote in *The Cuban Insurrection*: 'From a corrupt democracy, Cuba now shifted to a corrupt dictatorship.' Batista immediately suspended all constitutional guarantees: elections were banned, freedom of speech and freedom of the press were heavily curbed, and activities of the opposition parties were restricted. The US officially recognised the Batista government 17 days after the coup, and Cuba's labour and business leaders quickly demonstrated their own support of the new regime. The opposition parties were in complete disarray, due to ineffective leadership and police repression. The only hint of meaningful opposition to the coup came from Cuba's students.



**SOURCE 7.6** Cuban Colonel Fulgencio Batista is accompanied by US General Malin Craig upon his arrival in Washington, DC.



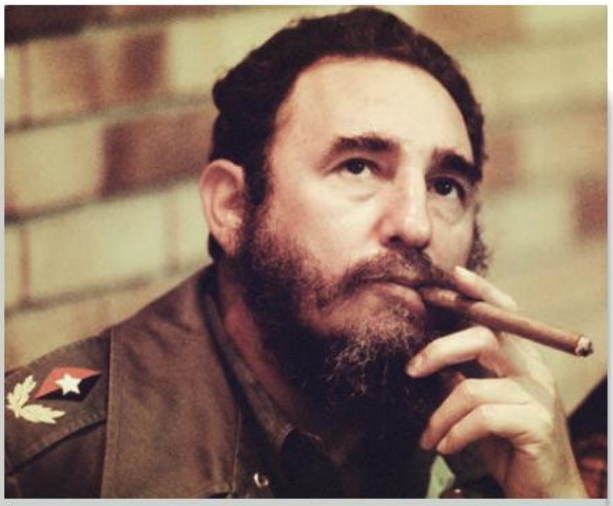
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> The corruption of the Government, the brutality of the police, the regime's indifference to the needs of the people for education, medical care, housing, for social justice and economic justice ... is an open invitation to revolution.

**SOURCE 7.7** Arthur Schlesinger was asked by the US government to write a report on Batista's Cuba.

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Fidel Castro (1926–2016); political leader of Cuba 1959–2008



**SOURCE 7.8** Fidel Castro

Fidel Castro was a charismatic political leader who transformed Cuba into a communist state in the period 1959–2008. He enjoyed significant influence in Latin America and emerged as a symbol of revolution in the region. Castro's leadership of Cuba was defined in his role as Premier until 1976, before his long tenure as President of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers. Due to health reasons, he handed over provisional power in 2006 and then formally surrendered the leadership in February 2008 to his brother Raúl.

Castro's rise to power began on 2 December 1956, when he and 81 men landed on the eastern coast of Cuba in an attempt to overthrow the government in the yacht *Granma*. Most of the men were killed or arrested with the exception of Fidel and Raúl Castro, Che Guevara and nine others, who fled to the Sierra Maestra to wage **guerrilla warfare** against Batista and his men. With the assistance of revolutionary volunteers throughout Cuba, Fidel Castro's men won a series of battles against the poorly led and disheartened Batista forces.

Castro was highly successful in the use of propaganda to persuade Cubans that the revolutionary forces were achieving success in the mountains, which eventually contributed to the flight of Batista on 1 January 1959. Castro's men of among 800 guerrillas had crushed the Batista government's 30 000-man army. In 1959, Castro took control as commander-in-chief of the military in Cuba's new temporary government. Castro seized total power, through the support of the Cuban population, and his political platform was highly popular as he promised to restore the 1940 constitution, reinstate full civil liberties and introduce social reform.

However, once Castro had consolidated power he pursued more radical policies such as nationalising Cuba's private commerce and industry, instituting land reforms and expropriating agricultural estates and American businesses. These antagonistic policies alienated the US and ultimately led to a trade embargo, which would cripple Cuba economically for decades. The breakdown in the relationship with the US facilitated a friendship with the USSR, and events such as the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis highlighted the tension that prevailed during the height of the **Cold War**.

**guerrilla warfare** a form of irregular warfare in which a small group of combatants such as paramilitary personnel, armed civilians or irregulars use military tactics including ambush, sabotage, hit-and-run attacks and mobility to fight a larger and less mobile traditional military

**Cold War** the tensions that existed between the US and the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1991



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**SOURCE 7.9** Fidel Castro and his guerrilla fighters before he came to power in 1959

## Fidel Castro: the early years

Fidel Castro was born on 13 August 1926 on his father's sugar plantation near Biran, on the coast of Cuba's Oriente Province. Fidel led a carefree existence as a child. Tall and athletic, he enjoyed swimming and horseback riding through the fields of his father's huge farm with his brothers and sisters. Workers on his father's sugar plantation can remember him as a wild, unruly youngster with tremendous drive. Fidel became a brilliant student, excellent debater and champion athlete in baseball and track. Most of his schoolmates were the children of poor families in the area and these experiences undoubtedly helped sensitise him to the economic injustices in Cuba and played a role in shaping its political future.

Castro entered the University of Havana in 1945 to study law and his experiences allowed him to develop his political leadership skills for the future. A distinctive feature of university life was the violence of student political activities, and politics in this volatile environment became his consuming passion. Castro was not an ordinary freshman and his dynamic qualities were soon apparent to his fellow students. There he quickly acquired a circle of supporters who admired his speaking skills, extraordinary memory and leadership qualities.

Castro and his generation inherited a stormy political past. Although Cuba had gained independence in 1902, three times in twenty-three years the US had sent troops into Cuba to quell revolts and ensure Cuba's loyalty to American interests. Thus, political parties were completely discredited, elections were a farce, and corruption became a basic part of Cuban political life. During the period of Batista's rule, Castro and his followers were at the centre of protests against the government. When he requested that Havana's court of appeals punish those involved in the 1952 coup, his case was immediately dismissed by the court.

As their attempts at peaceful and legal protests to restore constitutional government repeatedly failed, Castro decided their only choice was armed struggle. In May 1952 Castro found many young people who shared his feelings about Cuba's predicament. He argued that the people had a duty to liberate Cuba and that the task could not wait for the next generation.

Initially Castro wanted to organise action groups among members of the Ortodoxo Party who were willing to fight against Batista; however, he quickly realised that few party members had the ability or the determination to overthrow the government. Consequently, Castro was to develop a new revolutionary strategy on his own to inspire a popular uprising that would be followed by a national **revolution**.

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Clarifying**

1. Account for the reasons for the rise and consolidation of Fulgencio Batista's power.
2. What key qualities did Fidel Castro display in his early years as an effective leader?

**revolution** a fundamental change in the way a country is governed, usually to a different political system and often using violence; it takes place in a relatively short period of time when the population rises up in revolt against the current authorities

**regime** a particular government or system of government

# 7.2 Causes of the Cuban Revolution

## Batista's Cuba: problems with the Batista regime that caused the revolution

Batista's **regime** became increasingly corrupt, dictatorial and brutal. Arrest, imprisonment without trial and torture became commonplace. As their attempts to find peaceful and legal means to restore constitutional government repeatedly failed, Cuban radicals decided their only choice was armed struggle. Advocates of



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violent action were everywhere, including Fidel Castro, who shared his feelings about Cuba's predicament. In May 1952 he told a group of sympathetic students and workers in Havana that a revolt was necessary. 'Revolution', he said, 'opens the way to true merit to those who have sincere courage and ideas, to those who risk their lives and take the battle standard in their hands.' Castro argued that it was their duty to liberate Cuba: the task could not wait for another generation.

In 1955, growing opposition pressure was mounting on Batista to agree to free and open elections; however, these demands were flatly rejected. The Batista regime was using violent measures to quash any opposition to his authority, which created significant social unrest. Ramón Bonachea, in *The Cuban Insurrection*, describes an occasion when the national baseball championship in Havana was interrupted by students who rushed onto the field carrying banners reading 'Abajo Batista' ('Down with Batista!'). Police savagely beat the unarmed youths in the middle of the baseball field as thousands of Cubans watched in horror on television. The protests had coincided with a nationwide strike of more than half a million sugar workers. Deep unrest was stirring in Batista's Cuba.



**SOURCE 7.10** Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista addressing troops with the new Army Chief standing behind him

## ANALYSING SOURCES 7.2

> I was enchanted by Havana – and appalled by the way that lovely city was being debased into a great casino and brothel for American businessmen over for a big weekend from Miami. My fellow countrymen reeled through the streets, picking up fourteen-year-old Cuban girls, and tossing coins to make men scramble in the gutter. One wondered how any Cuban – on this evidence – could regard the United States with anything but hatred.

**SOURCE 7.11** Arthur Schlesinger Jr explaining some of the social problems on his visit to Cuba in 1958. From LA Perez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution*, Oxford University Press, 1988

1 What does the source highlight about the policies of the Batista government and the social problems that existed?
2 How useful is this source in understanding the social and economic conditions in Cuba under Batista?

## Moncada Barracks: 'History will absolve me'

> The combatants of Moncada did not achieve their military objectives, but they did achieve their revolutionary objectives.

**SOURCE 7.12** Faustino Perez, Moncada rebel



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**SOURCE 7.13** Fidel Castro (far right) and followers arrested after the attack on the Moncada Barracks in 1953




**SOURCE 7.14** A huge image of Fidel Castro hangs at the Moncada Barracks during a political act to commemorate the 62nd anniversary of Fidel Castro's attack on the Barracks in Santiago de Cuba on 26 July 2015.

On 25 July 1953, the revolutionaries at the farm outside Santiago listened as Castro outlined his strategy for the attack. It would begin the next day at 5:30 am when Santiago was celebrating its annual carnival, and Castro counted on many of the Moncada's soldiers attending the late-night festivities. Castro, with 79 men, would storm the barracks and attempt to capture the weapons armoury. Raúl Castro, with 10 men, would seize the Palace of Justice, from whose roof he could provide covering fire for his brother's attack. If the immediate objective failed, the rebels would retire to the mountains to begin a guerrilla war against the regime. Although his men were outnumbered ten to one (the barracks held close to 1000 soldiers), Castro counted on the enemy's surprise and confusion to even the odds.

At 5:30 am, 26 carloads of men – rebels dressed as soldiers – arrived in Santiago. Raúl Castro and the force's deputy commander Abel Santamaria easily captured the palace and hospital. However, when Castro had arrived, three machine-gun-equipped soldiers blocked his way. He struck two with his car but a third escaped to sound the alarm. The rebels had lost the advantage of surprise. The soldiers in the barracks, now thoroughly awakened, opened up with a deadly hail of machine-gun fire. Castro gave the order to retreat but Santamaria chose to fight on, giving Castro and the other men the opportunity to escape. 'Fidel' he said to a companion 'is the one who must not die.'

Although only three rebels died in the attack, 80 were captured. Most of those prisoners, including Abel Santamaria, were tortured and subsequently executed. Batista was determined to set an example to other would-be revolutionaries and in the aftermath of the failed raid, thousands of people were ruthlessly detained and questioned. Anyone wounded, even from an innocent accident, was in danger of interrogation and torture.

Meanwhile, Castro and the remaining men separated into groups and began their journey to the mountains. On the evening of 1 August 1953, a patrol under the command of Lieutenant Pedro Sarria found and captured Castro and two companions in the house of a peasant sympathetic to the revolutionaries' cause. The initial order was to kill Castro. However, Lieutenant Sarria, a compassionate officer, insisted that Castro be placed in the safety of a civil prison before being handed to the authorities. By this time it was too late for any more executions and the public outrage against the Batista government over their handling of Moncada ensured that Castro would be subjected to humane treatment.



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Castro was given a special secret trial on 16 October 1953. Nationwide censorship on the trial was imposed and little news of the trial events was leaked out. However, Castro's two-hour speech in his defence later became the text of his famous manifesto 'History will Absolve Me'. His words have since become as famous to Cuban schoolchildren as Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address is to American youth. In his closing statement, Castro said:

> As for me, I know that imprisonment will be ... filled with threats, ruin and cowardly deeds of rage, but I do not fear it, as I do not fear the fury of the wretched tyrant who snuffed out the lives of 70 brothers of mine. Condemn me. It does not matter. History will absolve me.

**SOURCE 7.15** Castro's famous speech in his own defence during his secret trial in 1953

Castro received a 15-year sentence, his brother Raúl got 13 years and the other defendants received shorter terms. After Batista was re-elected President in November 1954, he announced in the following spring an amnesty (pardon) for all political prisoners and Castro was released from prison.

**Main factors leading to the success of the Cuban Revolution**

| Factor | Significance |
|---|---|
| Anti-imperialist sentiment due to America's influence on Cuban economic and political affairs | America's influence on Cuba was closely linked to the political and economic agenda of the nation. Many believed that Havana by 1950 resembled a giant casino and brothel.<br>Economic dependence severely restricted political leadership in Cuba. Politicians for the most part acted in defence of American interests.<br>The increasing American control over the Cuban economy caused a tightening of American political influence over Cuba's affairs and therefore defending those interests became a prime concern for Cuban political parties. |
| The overdependence on sugar production having significant ramifications for Cuban society and its economy | In the 1950s, 85% of Cuba's main export was sugar. This overdependence on sugar caused significant social problems. In 1925, Cuba produced 5.2 million tons of sugar. This fell to 3.6 million tons in 1932 before climbing back up to 7 million tons in 1952.<br>Economic planning also became difficult due to the price swings. Decisions concerning quotas and duties were made in Washington and had damaging effects on the Cuban economy.<br>This dependence caused economic upheaval, which put many sugar plantation farmers out of work from December to August because sugar farming was seasonal. |
| The fragmented and divided nature of Cuban society | Cuba had been a fragmented and divided society throughout its history. During the Batista years there was an upsurge in nationalism with intellectuals and the middle class arguing that American involvement never allowed Cuba to be independent. However, wealthy Cubans enjoyed the relative prosperity that American dominance and ownership provided. |
| The endemic corruption of the Cuban government and the growth in dissent for political reform | The government and political parties failed to represent the needs of the Cuban people and address the social problems.<br>Corruption, poor leadership and electoral fraud were common features of the government. |



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| Main factors leading to the success of the Cuban Revolution | |
|---|---|
| The Batista regime represented oppression, terror and failed policies and methods to work in the best interest of Cuba. | The Batista regime was deeply unpopular for the following reasons: the repressive nature of the new government that used terror to destroy any opposition, abolished Cuba's constitution, dissolved Cuba's congress (parliament) and outlawed the Cuban Communist Party.<br>Many social inequalities and divisions remained. Although Cuba's national wealth was high, it was not equally distributed, and there were extremes of wealth and poverty. The only groups that supported the Batista government were the old politicians, the wealthy and Americans. |
| The appeal of Fidel Castro and guerrilla warfare | Fidel Castro demonstrated strong leadership skills and exceptional appeal for fighting for social justice and democratic reform. He promised an end to the endemic corruption of past governments and a focus on national independent interests.<br>The contribution of the urban resistance to Batista combined with successful guerrilla war in the mountains would enable Castro and his followers to successfully overthrow the Batista government. |

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- What was the significance of the Moncada Barracks attack?
- Explain the problems experienced under Batista's dictatorship.

As a class discuss the following: what were the most important factors that contributed to the growth in the unpopularity of the Batista regime?

## 7.3 The nature and course of the Revolution

### The 26th of July Movement

The group decided to continue their struggle together as the **26th of July Movement**, the name deriving from the attempt to storm the Moncada Barracks on that date in 1953. Castro immediately immersed himself in opposition activities such as writing newspaper articles attacking the regime and speaking at demonstrations. However, his personal safety was at risk; he was always being watched by the police and the fear of assassination by Batista agents convinced him that his options in Cuba for the moment were closed. Like Marti, Castro was determined to launch an invasion of Cuba from foreign soil. He left for Mexico on 7 July 1955 and it would be 17 months before his fateful return to Cuba.

**26th of July Movement**
the group led by Fidel Castro that originally stormed the Moncada Barracks on 26 July 1953, then fought in the Sierra Maestra against Batista to take power in 1959

Life in Mexico was extremely difficult. The 26th of July Movement had no money, were continually harassed by the Mexican authorities and lived under the ever-present threat of expulsion from the country. Therefore Castro embarked on a fundraising tour of the US to improve the group's financial position. He visited Cuban emigres in New York, Philadelphia and Miami holding meetings and making speeches, which culminated in his raising several thousands of dollars.

By March 1956, preparations for the invasion were under way. The men bought weapons and during the day a Cuban veteran of the Spanish Civil War taught them how to clean and reassemble guns and how to make bombs and Molotov cocktails (fire bombs). Castro's militancy was attracting a growing number of supporters in Cuba. Cries supporting the 26th of July Movement were heard at every political rally,



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and the number 26 was found painted on walls across the country. In November 1956 Castro received $40 000 from Prio Socarras, the sympathetic Cuban opposition leader and ex-President. The money was used to buy the weatherbeaten yacht *Granma*.

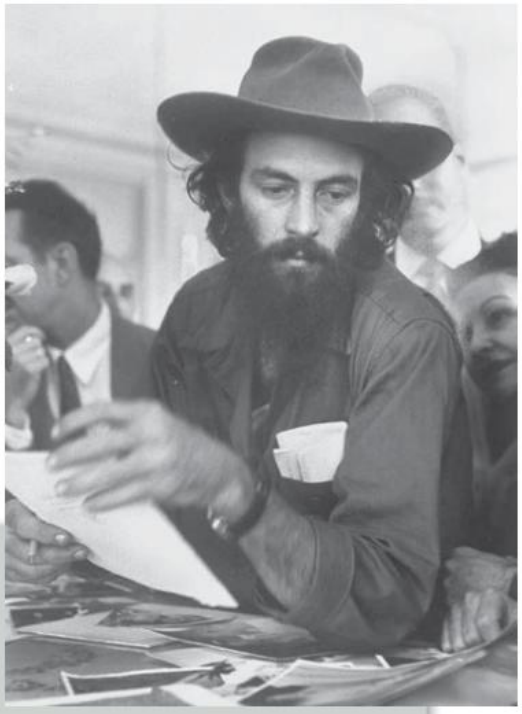
A few weeks later, Castro's headquarters were raided by the Mexican authorities who were collaborating with Batista's secret police. They confiscated arms and arrested more than 25 men. As a result, on a stormy night on 25 November Castro and his men crowded on the *Granma* and began their journey towards Cuba. They were headed for Oriente Province on the southern tip of Cuba and planned to invade at the same time as a group of fellow revolutionaries staged an uprising in the Oriente city of Santiago de Cuba. They were counting on these moves to trigger a national revolt that would topple the Batista regime.

On 2 December the *Granma* landed, several miles off course, in Oriente Province. The 30 November uprising by the 26th of July Movement in Santiago had been crushed and the military had been alerted to Castro's impending arrival. Realising that they had been spotted by a government aeroplane as they waded ashore, Castro and his men quickly moved inland, abandoning most of their remaining supplies on the beach.

On 5 December Castro's men were surrounded by soldiers, who opened fire on the rebels. At least 20 of Castro's men were killed in the ambush; several surrendered and were shot, a few were captured and held for trial and the rest fled in small groups. On 17 December Castro and his two companions reached the isolated farmhouse of Ramon Perez, a peasant whose brother had joined the 26th of July Movement several months earlier. During successive days surviving members of the *Granma* expedition, including Raúl Castro, Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos, straggled in and were met with warm embraces. Their desperation gave way to a renewed conviction that they would succeed. Although only 17 of the original 82 rebels had made it to the Sierra Maestra, Castro spoke of victory: 'We are in the Sierras,' he said. 'The days of the dictatorship are numbered.'



**SOURCE 7.16** Fidel Castro with his brother Raúl Castro (left) and one of the top guerrilla commanders, Camilo Cienfuegos, in the mountains



**SOURCE 7.17** Camilo Cienfuegos

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Camilo Cienfuegos (1932–1959)

Before the downfall of Batista in 1958, four men were said to epitomise the spirit of the revolution to the people of Cuba, one of them being Camilo Cienfuegos. (The others were the Castro brothers and Che Guevara.) Cienfuegos emerged as Castro's most trusted and competent ally during the two-year guerrilla war against the repressive Batista regime in the Sierra Mountains. He rapidly rose to the rank of Commandante and led one of the two legendary columns that successfully occupied the city of Santa Clara on 31 December. In the early stages of the new Castro government Cienfuegos became



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the Army Chief of Staff and soon emerged as Castro's loyal right-hand man. However, just a couple of months after the Revolution his plane, travelling from Camaguey to Havana, vanished during a night flight and he was presumed dead. Cienfuegos is revered in Cuba as a hero of the Revolution with landmarks, monuments and an annual celebration of his role in the Revolution commemorated in his honour.

## 7.4 The nature of guerrilla warfare and the activities of revolutionaries

The triumph of the Cuban population over the Batista regime was not just a victory of courage; it also changed the old authoritarian beliefs concerning the control of the population in Latin America. It indicated the power of the general population to free themselves by methods of guerrilla warfare from a government that abused them.

The Cuban Revolution contributed three important lessons to the process of revolutionary upheaval in Latin America. They are:

1 Popular forces can win a war against an oppressive government through an armed struggle.

2 Population unrest and political drive are enough to create the conditions for revolution.

3 The revolution should take place in rural areas.

Guerrilla warfare was largely dependent on the power and support gained from the people. Castro depended on guerrilla fighting, which was in direct contrast to the customary coup d'état rebellion of Latin American politics. In 1956, the rebels found themselves in the roughest, wildest and poorest area in Cuba. Its residents were largely illiterate and lived in tiny wooden shacks with earth floors. Indoor plumbing was unheard of and electricity was non-existent. Suspicious at first, the peasants slowly began to trust the strangers and support Castro. They sold the rebels supplies and told them where they could find water and other necessities.

Castro and his men lived in Spartan style, with little food or sleep and only the companionship of their fellow guerrillas. Castro shared the hardships of mountain life with everyone else, but he pushed himself even harder than his companions. His ability to march for hours without rest earned him the nickname *el Caballo* ('the horse'). He travelled throughout the mountains, making contacts with peasants and winning over new allies. The relationship between Castro and the peasants proved to be a decisive factor in the effectiveness of guerrilla warfare against Batista's forces.

One of the most significant moments in the guerrilla campaign came in the battle of Santa Clara. The two legendary figures of Fidel Castro's rebel army – Ernesto Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos – were in charge of the two guerrilla columns that attacked the city of Santa Clara, Cuba's third largest city and the capital of Las Villas Province. Fidel Castro described Camilo Cienfuegos and Che Guevara as instrumental to the success of the revolution in the following:

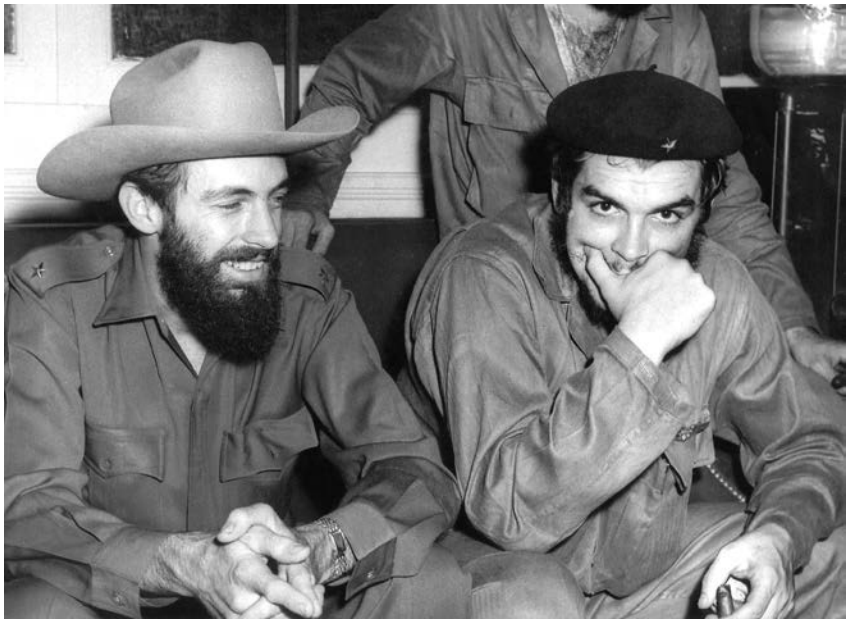
> Camilo wasn't as intellectual as Che but he was very, very brave, an eminent leader, very daring, very humane. They respected each other, and loved each other very much. Camilo has distinguished himself, he'd been commander of the advanced party, in Column I, during the hardest days of those first few months ... Che was exemplary. He had the great moral authority over his troops, great leadership. I believe he was a model for the revolutionary man.

**SOURCE 7.18** Fidel Castro with Ignacio Ramonet, *My Life*, 2007, pp. 192–3



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Che Guevara's tactics comprised three key elements: 'constant mobility, constant distrust, constant vigilance', which are the secrets of guerrilla warfare. The local population proved to be instrumental in restricting the movement of Batista's forces by creating blockades throughout the cities. Along with the blockades, supply trains were halted and looted by locals. The battle of Santa Clara was the final fight in the Cuban Revolution where the rebel forces triumphed over Batista's army.



**SOURCE 7.19** Cuban revolutionary legends Comandante Camilo Cienfuegos and Comandante Ernesto 'Che' Guevara

## WHAT WERE THE KEY EVENTS OF 1958?

| MONTH | EVENT | SIGNIFICANCE |
|---|---|---|
| **March** | The US suspended the supply of arms to Batista's forces; however, President Eisenhower continued to support Batista as he distrusted potential revolutionary governments. | Severely weakened Batista's position as he relied on US military aid to fight the rebels. The Cuban air force rapidly lost its power as planes could not be repaired without spare parts from the US. |
| **May** | Batista launched a new military offensive, Operation Verano. He sent 10000 soldiers supported by Sherman tanks to Oriente Province to crush the rebels. | Although outnumbered, Castro's rebel army defeated Batista's men because of their superior knowledge of guerrilla warfare and the superiority of their intelligence network. |
| **July** | One of the most important battles occurred at El Jigue from 11 July to 21 July. Castro's forces defeated an entire battalion. | A humiliating defeat for Batista. When Castro realised that Batista's forces were commanded by Major Jose Quevedo, a former classmate from his university, he proposed a ceasefire. Quevedo's men had lost the heart to fight and his 146 men surrendered, laying down their arms, and the guerrillas gained a large cache of weapons. |
| **August** | On 7 August a demoralised and confused army retreated to the garrisons, never to return to the Sierra Maestro. | Batista's army was in disarray. They could not handle the torrential rains of the hurricane season and forced the government to end its offensive. This inspired Castro to make plans for a counteroffensive, which he hoped would lead to a victorious drive to the capital city of Havana. |



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| MONTH | EVENT | SIGNIFICANCE |
|---|---|---|
| **October** | By the middle of October, Che Guevara's forces had reached Las Villas after a 40-day campaign. They joined with other revolutionary groups and would deliver one of the most decisive military thrusts of the war. | Together the rebel groups launched an offensive, which included a major effort to cut roads, and linked the province with the rest of the island. |
| **November** | Fidel and Raúl Castro's command stayed in Oriente and moved to capture Santiago.<br>On 20 November, a squad of 180 rebels under Castro's direction moved against the strategic garrison at Guisa de Miranda. | The threat of rebel ambushes had completely stopped traffic along the central highway; the roads were littered with skeletons of army trucks and jeeps. Telephone wires were down and in many provinces cities were out of electricity. |
| **December** | By 6 December the army had suffered over 250 casualties and decided to abandon the garrison.<br>By mid-December, Guevara's forces controlled all of the Las Villas province and on 18 December they attacked the city of Santa Clara.<br>On 31 December, Santa Clara had fallen to Guevara's troops. | These events demonstrated the significance of Castro's psychological warfare and his elaborate set of ambushes, complete with mines and traps.<br>The US realised that the Batista army was crumbling and sent William Pawley, an American businessman with extensive interests in Cuba, to try to persuade Batista to resign. |

## Fidelistas come to power

When Santa Clara had fallen, Batista finally realised the situation was hopeless. At 3:00 am on 1 January 1959, he and a handful of his close associates boarded an aeroplane for the Dominican Republic and left Cuba for good. News of his departure spread quickly as the telephone lines were jammed with people trying to call their friends. In the early dawn, thousands of people walked the streets of Havana in a state of intense excitement. Students gathered at the university and campus buildings with the red and black flags of the 26th of July Movement. By evening, however, the city's mood turned darker. Crowds attacked offices and buildings that symbolised the Batista regime and the houses of Batista officials were looted by angry rioters.

When Castro learned of Batista's flight, he prepared to move on Santiago. The city's military commander, however, surrendered



**SOURCE 7.20** After the success of the Revolution Fidel Castro, surrounded by his closest associates, speaks to huge crowds in Havana in December 1959.



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without a battle and Castro entered the city in peace. From Santiago, Castro broadcast an emergency appeal to the people of Havana, urging them to refrain from violence and vigilante justice. He promised that rebel forces would move into Cuba's cities to restore order and prevent a counter-revolution by the still relatively intact Batista army: 'The dictatorship has collapsed,' he said, 'but that does not mean the revolution has triumphed. Revolution, yes! Military coup, no!'

Castro ordered Guevara and Cienfuegos to march to Havana and on 2 January they occupied the army garrisons. All over Cuba revolutionary troops took possession of government buildings, police and radio stations, and military installations. At the same time, ex-Batista officials and policemen were captured and jailed to await trial and people imprisoned by Batista as political criminals were released. Castro set out from Havana on 2 January, turning Cuba's highway into a 500-mile long parade. Thousands of people lined the streets carrying signs reading *Gracias Fidel* ('Thank you, Fidel'). Castro reached Havana on 8 January and there were more than half a million Cubans waiting to greet him at the Presidential Palace.

As Castro spoke to the crowds two white doves, symbols of peace, were released by the crowd. One flew to Castro's shoulder, where it remained as he said: 'We cannot ever become dictators. Those who do not have the people with them must resort to being dictators. We have the love of the people, and because of that love, we will never turn away from our principles.' It was clear that Castro had won his battle with Batista. Under the circumstances, the rebels remained in remarkable control and they provided the people with a vision of hope and optimism after the Batista dictatorship. A *New York Times* correspondent described the triumphant arrival of Castro in Havana addressing the large crowd of 500 000 cheering Cubans thus: 'He seemed to weave a hypnotic net over his listeners making them believe in his own concept of the functions of government and the destiny of Cuba.'




**SOURCE 7.21** Fidel Castro speaking to large crowds in Havana after the successful revolution



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**SOURCE 7.22** The path of the Cuban revolutionaries to power, 1958–1959

| EXAMINING THE ISSUES | |
|---|---|
| • How important was guerrilla warfare to the success of the rebels during 1958? | • What influence did Camilo Cienfuegos and Che Guevara have on the success of the Cuban Revolution? |
| As a class discuss the following statement in relation to the Cuban Revolution: 'Without Fidel Castro, there would have been no successful revolution in Cuba.' | |

## 7.5 The ideology of Castro and Guevara and their influence on Latin America

> There is no cult of personality with respect to any living figure associated with the Revolution – no statues, official photographs, street names, institutional names. The men and women who lead the country are people, not gods.

**SOURCE 7.23** Fidel Castro with Ignacio Ramonet, *My Life*, 2007, p. 586

### Castro in power and ideology

In 1959 power in Cuba was suddenly placed in the hands of a group of young revolutionaries completely inexperienced in every aspect of government administration. (Fidel Castro was 32 and one of the oldest in the group.) However, compared to the fierce independence struggles against Spain in the late 1880s, there had been relatively little loss of life or destruction of property during the guerrilla conflict of the 1950s. Unlike other twentieth-century revolutionaries, Castro was not faced with the tremendous task of reviving a devastated economy; both business inventories and employment were high.

When Castro entered Havana as a conquering hero, he only had vague ideas about solving Cuba's most pressing problems. Che Guevara later commented, 'We were only a group of combatants with high ideals and little preparation … we had to change the structures and we began the changes without a plan.' Although Castro would later become an ally to the Soviet Union and would become secretary-general (chief executive officer) of the Cuban Communist Party, he was not a party member at the time of the Revolution. He went out of his way, in fact, to emphasise this point, often noting that the Cuban rebels were 'neither capitalists nor communists, but humanists', and that they opposed both 'capitalist freedom without bread' and 'communist



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bread without freedom'. The exact point at which Castro adopted communism as his political creed is difficult to pinpoint, but after he officially embraced communism he indicated that he had long been a **Marxist**.

**Marxist** a supporter of the political and economic theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

## ANALYSING SOURCES 7.3

> This time Cuba is fortunate: the revolution will truly come to power. It will not be as in 1895 when the Americans intervened at the last minute and took over our country ... It will not be as in 1933 when the people believed the revolution was in the making and Batista was in power ... It will not be as in 1944 when the masses were exuberant in the belief that they had come to power but thieves came to power instead. No thieves, no traitors, no interventionists. This time the revolution is for real!

**SOURCE 7.24** Fidel Castro addressing the people on 1 January 1959, quoted in M Perez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course and Legacy*, Oxford University Press, 1994

1 What are the key messages outlined by Fidel Castro in this speech?
2 What does the source reveal about the power of persuasion for the Revolution?
3 What do you think Castro means by the statement 'This time the revolution is for real'?

In those first magical days of 1959, the revolution seemed to be the fulfilment of everyone's dreams: almost anything seemed possible. Key features of the new administration included:

- Portraits of Castro were now prominently displayed alongside those of saints in poor homes and small statues of the revolutionary leader were sold on every street corner.
- School buildings and government institutions were renamed in honour of the heroes of the revolution.
- The first provisional government, which was to run the country until elections were held 18 months later, was largely made up of moderate, middle-class, middle-aged men with anti-Batista records. Manuel Urrutia, a former judge, was appointed as the President.
- Only two members of the 26th of July Movement were in the first cabinet. Castro himself was a member of the government only by virtue of his position as commander-in-chief of the rebel army.

Castro preferred to take part in 'direct government', involving constant contact with the people. Day after day, four to five hours at a time, television and radio stations broadcast his impassioned voice and dramatic image to every city, town and village in Cuba. Castro was a natural orator. He never prepared his speeches in advance, relying only on his eloquence and ebullient personality to hold his audience's attention.



**SOURCE 7.25** Castro with schoolchildren in fake beards in 1959



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The provisional government's earliest measures were more reformist than revolutionary. It lowered rents and set new wage levels. It replaced the executives in government agencies with pro-revolutionary officials, and saw to it that the newspaper *Revolucion* published detailed accounts of corruption in high places during the Batista regime. The new government also vigorously attacked such Batista mainstays as gambling and prostitution. The new government was popular and its members were known for their hard work and scrupulous avoidance of graft. 'For the first time,' said Castro, 'there are worthy men at the head of the country who neither sell themselves nor falter nor are intimidated by any threat.'

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Che Guevara (1928–1967)

Marxist revolutionary allied with Fidel Castro during the Cuban Revolution, Che Guevara was born into an upper-middle-class family in Argentina in 1928 and went on to become a doctor. During a motorcycle trip around South America in 1951 he was moved by the poverty and powerlessness of the masses and dedicated his life to revolution. He met Cuban revolutionaries Fidel and Raúl Castro in Mexico City and joined their campaign to oust Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, proving himself to be a skilled and ruthless guerrilla fighter in the process.



**SOURCE 7.26** Che Guevara

After taking power in 1959, Fidel Castro appointed Guevara to high military and government posts, but Guevara was determined that his contribution to world revolution not end with Cuba. In 1964 he fought an unsuccessful rebel campaign in the Congo. The following year he resigned from posts in the Cuban army and government, renounced his Cuban citizenship and went to raise a guerrilla army in Bolivia. His group had some early successes but was no match for the US-trained and supported Bolivian army. In October 1967 a deserting guerrilla gave away Guevara's position and he was quickly captured and executed. He reportedly cried out before his death at the hands of a Bolivian soldier: 'Shoot coward. You're only going to kill a man.' The iconic image of Guevara still lives on and has been associated with rebellion – specifically the struggle of the exploited poor against the exploiting rich. In a 2007 interview, Fidel Castro described Che Guevara thus:

> He had a gift for people. He was one of those people that everyone immediately cares about – it was his naturalness, his simplicity, his sense of comradeship and all of his virtues.

**SOURCE 7.27** Fidel Castro with Ignacio Ramonet, *My Life*, 2007, p. 586



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## Achievements of the Revolution

Castro wasted no time in establishing social and cultural reform in his first hundred days in office. He passed several new laws addressing the following issues:

- He was passionate about education reform. Before the Revolution, 23.6 per cent of the Cuban population was illiterate. In rural areas over half the population could not read or write and 61 per cent of children did not go to school. By 1970, illiteracy had been reduced to 4 per cent, and there was a significant increase in the number of secondary schools established and an increase in industrial school and university enrolments.
- The new Castro government immediately addressed the problem of health care. He ordered that doctors be redistributed across the country, because over 64 per cent worked in Havana where most of the affluent people lived. Many doctors left Cuba because of this policy, so Castro built three new training schools for doctors.



**SOURCE 7.28** Miss Gladys Feijoo, 19, who was nominated Miss La Prensa of 1959, kisses Castro as he signs an autograph for her collection.

- The death of young children from disease was a major problem in Cuba. Infant mortality was 60 per 1000 live births in 1959. To help deal with this, Castro introduced a free health service and started a massive inoculation program. By 1980 infant mortality had fallen to 15 per 1000.
- Rents were cut by up to 50 per cent for low wage earners; property owned by Batista and his ministers was confiscated; the telephone company was nationalised and rates were reduced by 50 per cent; land was redistributed among the peasants (including land owned by the Castro family); separate facilities for blacks and whites (swimming pools, cemeteries, beaches, hotels) were abolished.
- Castro had strong views on morality. He viewed gambling, alcohol, drugs, homosexuality and prostitution as major evils. He saw the casinos and night-clubs as sources of temptation and corruption that had to be closed down. This led to the elimination of Mafia involvement in Cuba.

However, in early February 1959, there were signs that the operation of the government was chaotic and as a result the provisional prime minister resigned and Castro assumed the post. It soon became apparent that there were two governments in Cuba: one located in the offices of the President and the cabinet, the other wherever Castro happened to be at the time. Castro would often arrive late for cabinet meetings, having already made most of the important policy decisions beforehand after behind-the-scenes discussions with his closest advisers.

## Dealing with Batista's men

After Batista's departure, most of his regime's leading police and military officers fled, went into hiding or were arrested. Police stations and provincial **army garrisons** were put under the command of trusted members of the rebel army. The horror of the Batista regime now became fully apparent for the first time. As torture chambers, mutilated skeletons and unmarked cemeteries were discovered, demands for retribution rose. The nation demonstrated a collective desire for justice.

**army garrison** the collective term for a body of troops stationed in a particular location, originally to guard it, but now often simply using it as a home base

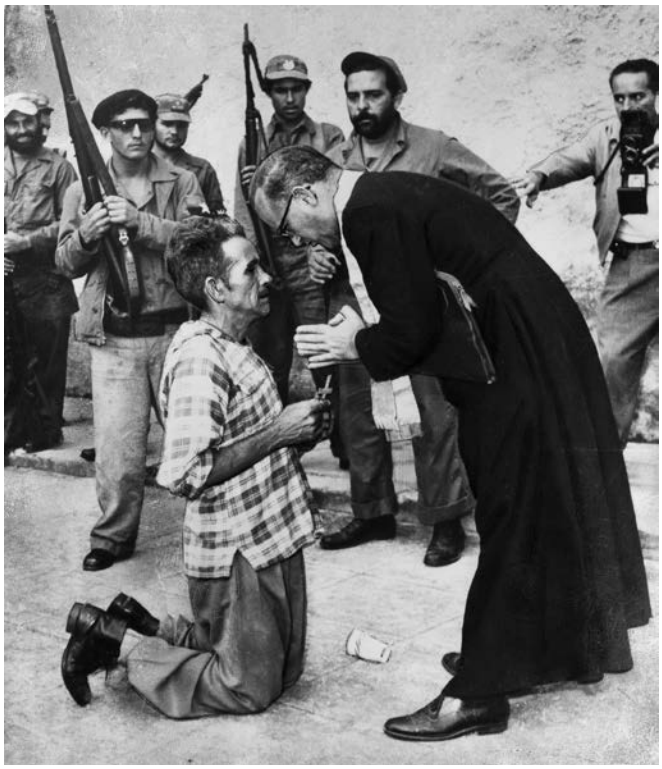
There were some hasty court-martials in the weeks that followed the Revolution. Raúl Castro, for example, ordered the execution of a number of military prisoners in Santiago. Responding to charges that the revolutionary government was conducting a bloodbath, Raúl replied that each of the 100 men in question had received a trial; 25 had been acquitted and the rest sentenced to death. After the early wave



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of quick military trials, those accused of war crimes were tried by courts made up of rebel army officers and local civilians; prosecutors and defence counsels were appointed by the government. By most accounts, the trials were fair; genuine efforts were made to determine guilt or innocence.

However, there was one notable exception to this in March 1959 when 44 Batista air force pilots, accused of deliberately bombing civilians, were tried and acquitted in Santiago. Following public protests, Castro ordered a retrial with a specially chosen prosecutor and judges. This time the pilots were found guilty and sentenced to 20 to 30 years of imprisonment. Castro argued that 'revolutionary justice is not based on legal precepts, but on moral conviction.' The introduction of the 'show trials' and executions of Batista supporters proved to be an effective way of exposing the brutality and corruption of the previous regime and presenting the new government as representing the interests of the people in achieving justice.



**SOURCE 7.29** A priest is giving an officer of the Batista government, who has been sentenced to death, last rites before he is executed in 1960.

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- Outline the achievements of the Revolution in the early years.
- Assess the methods and strategies Castro developed to consolidate his position.

As a class discuss the following statement made about the influence of Fidel Castro: 'He seemed to weave a hypnotic net over his listeners, making them believe in his own concept of the functions of government and the destiny of Cuba.'

## Impact in Latin America

Given that the Cuban Revolution had achieved major advances in health and education, nationalised foreign companies and successfully defied the US, Castro's Cuba was looked to as a model throughout Latin America – not only by established leftist parties but also by disaffected students and intellectuals of mainly middle-class origin. Throughout the 1960s, much of Latin America saw an upsurge of rural guerrilla conflict and urban terrorism in response to the persistence of stark social inequality and political repression.

From 1962, Cuban foreign policy provided moral and material support to guerrilla movements throughout Latin America in countries like Guatemala, Bolivia, Peru and Venezuela. The establishment of further communist governments in Latin America would break Cuba's isolation in the region as a sole communist country. These actions also reflected the principle of internationalism, a key part of Marxism, which means that intimately no revolution can stand on its own. 'Full' communism can only be achieved when all countries become communist. The ultimate aim is world revolution, not just revolution of one country.

Che Guevara spearheaded this and believed that most Latin American countries were ripe for revolutionary change, leaving Cuba to work with guerrilla movements. In April 1959 Che, talking about Cuba's foreign policy, said, 'in the chess game of power politics, you will never find us playing the part of a



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docile pawn' and linked Cuba with Latin America and underdeveloped nations of the Third World.

To combat Cuba's impact on Latin America, the American-backed **Organization of American States** swiftly imposed economic sanctions on Cuba in 1964. The Organization was initially established to achieve among its member states 'an order of peace and justice, to promote their solidarity, to strengthen their collaboration, and to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity, and their independence.' The Organization used a four-pronged approach to effectively implement its essential purposes, based on its main pillars: democracy, human rights, security and development.



**SOURCE 7.30** Hugo Chavez, President of Venezuela, embraces Fidel Castro after Chavez spoke in Havana in February 2006.

In 1967, the **Organization of Latin American Solidarity** was established in Havana with the aim of encouraging similar revolutions in Latin America. However, guerrilla movements were in decline. During the 1960s, Cuba failed to trigger off revolutionary activities in other Latin American countries. The major reasons for this were poor military and tactical preparations as well as a lack of popular support for revolution within these countries.

Cuba's impact in Latin America is outlined in the following nations:

- In 1967, Guevara entered Bolivia under a false identity and formed a guerrilla force. Guevara thought Bolivia provided good physical terrain for guerrilla warfare, and if he was successful, it could serve as a base of operations for similar efforts in several countries it bordered. However, many Bolivian peasants were unsupportive of Che's guerrillas. After a few months, Bolivian rangers trained by the CIA wounded, captured and executed Che Guevara.
- In 1968, Chile established economic relations with Cuba. The election of a Marxist government led by Salvatore Allende in 1970 gave Cuba an ally in South America until he was overthrown in a bloody CIA-backed coup led by General Pinochet in 1973.
- The Marxist Sandinista government in Nicaragua (1979–1990) was supported by Cuba and provided an ally in Central America. Cuba gave particular support in the war against the American-backed Contra Army, who fought to overthrow the Sandinistas.
- In the 1970s and 1980s, Cuba provided training and weapons to leftist rebels in El Salvador. Cuban support of Argentina during the Falklands War (1983) strengthened relations between the two countries.
- In 1999 the **bilateral relations** were enhanced during the time of the presidency of Hugo Chávez. Chávez and Castro became strong allies and economic partners, developing a significant trade partnership since the 1999 election. The relationship grew in strength through joint business ventures, expansive money exchanges, trade of information technology and innovation, and a shared cooperation in the military and intelligence services. The Cuba–Venezuela partnership was highly beneficial, especially in terms of trade. Both leaders emerged as symbols against US domination over the Caribbean and this notion was affirmed when Chavez described Castro as his mentor and that Cuba was a 'revolutionary democracy'.

**Organization of American States** an American-led coalition of countries within the American continent

**Organization of Latin American Solidarity** established in Havana in 1967, with the aim of encouraging Cuban-style revolutions in other Latin American countries

**bilateral relations** the conduct of political, economic or cultural relations between two sovereign states



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 7.4

> In this new geo-political context, the Cuban Revolution is still, thanks to its successes and despite its not inconsiderable shortcomings (economic difficulties, colossal bureaucratic incompetence, the harshness of daily life, food and other shortages, power cuts etc.), an important reference for millions of disinherited on the planet. Although Cuba in no way intends to 'export' its socio-political model, in many places in the world women and men protest, struggle and sometimes die trying to attain social objectives such as those achieved by the Cuban Revolution. This is particularly true in Latin America, where solidarity with Cuba and vindication of the figure of Fidel Castro have never been so strong.

**SOURCE 7.31** Fidel Castro with Ignacio Ramonet, *My Life*, 2007, p. 7

1. Outline the strengths of Castro's influence on Latin America.
2. With reference to the source, what countries in Latin America could be used to support the arguments outlined in the source?
3. Using the source and your own knowledge, evaluate the impact that Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution had on Latin America.

## RESEARCH TASK 7.5

Research ONE revolutionary movement the Cubans supported in Latin America. You will need to find out:

- when the revolutionary activity began
- why it began
- what assistance Cuba offered in this revolutionary insurrection
- outcome of the revolutionary activities.

## 7.6 The aftermath of the Revolution

> Revolution opens the way to true merit – to those who have valour and sincere ideals, to those who carry their breast uncovered, and who take up the battle standard in their hands. To a revolutionary party there must correspond a young and revolutionary leadership, of popular origin, which will save Cuba.

**SOURCE 7.32** Fidel Castro

The Castro administration soon faced significant challenges in the aftermath of the Revolution. As more radical measures began to increase, such as land reform and a growing relationship with the Cuban Communist party, the rift between the US and Cuba grew. Combined with the decision to nationalise industries, which included the confiscation of American-owned businesses, these moves antagonised the US and would ultimately lead to the friendship between the Soviet Union and Cuba.



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### Land reform

From the beginning of the 26th of July Movement, Castro had listed land reform as one of the principal objectives of the Revolution. He had promised that the new government would give land to the landless peasants, or more land to those with very small farms. He also promised to pay the previous owners for the land expropriated, or taken over, by the government. On 17 May 1959 at La Plata, the site of one of the rebel army's earliest victories, Castro unveiled a new farmland reform law. Almost all farms were now limited to a maximum size of 1000 acres. All properties over the 1000-acre limit were to be expropriated by the government and its owners compensated by 20-year guaranteed bonds. The cooperatives, or state farms, would be operated by a new agency, the Institute of **Agrarian** reform (INRA). INRA quickly became one of the most important institutions in revolutionary Cuba as it organised the construction of roads, schools and housing.

Agrarian reform, however, directly threatened the interests of powerful sections of Cuban society and triggered the first substantial open opposition to the Castro regime. In early June, 131 large cattle ranches in the city of Camaguey were seized. Among them were several estates owned by US firms and by wealthy Cuban families. Reacting to the expropriation, the cattle ranchers purchased radio and television time to attack the government. They resorted to **economic sabotage** through excessive slaughter of livestock, overharvesting of crops, poor maintenance and underinvestment of production.

## 7.7 The creation of the communist state

Along with these protests, Castro was confronted by the spectre of **communism** now raised by his opponents. On 29 June Pedro Diaz Lanz, the chief of the Cuban air force, gave a press conference about the dangers of communism, gathered his family and departed to Florida. On 13 July President Urrutia publicly attacked the Cuban Communist Party for 'inflicting terrible harm on Cuba'. Castro used these events as opportunities to denounce strong anti-communist views that indicated sympathy with the US and therefore opposition to the Revolution.

From this point, Castro would no longer make any anti-communist statements in his speeches. Castro believed that he needed the support of Cuba's well-organised Communist Party to maintain power and to achieve his land reforms. He realised that he had rushed into agrarian reform without experienced, trained personnel to administer the new system. While he could count on the loyalty of his close associates, they were a small, youthful group of inexperienced administrators. On the other hand, the Cuban Communist Party had over 15 000 members, many of them older people with years of political and administrative experience.

Soon after Urrutia's resignation, a new President was sworn in. He was Osvaldo Dorticos, a well-respected lawyer who had quietly supported the Revolution. Castro decided that he would allow the public to decide his own future and a public rally was organised in Havana on 26 July. Thousands of people attended, including many peasants from the countryside who unanimously proclaimed they wanted Castro to return to be Prime Minister. Castro's popularity was unquestionable, but rumblings of dissatisfaction continued. Small counter-revolutionary guerrilla groups began to spring up in the Sierra del Escambray, and in mid-August a plot against the government by cattle ranchers in Las Villas was uncovered.

As members of the government continued their violent debate about the degree of authority that should be allowed to Cuba's communists, Castro chose to intensify the revolutionary process by targeting medium-sized agricultural estates for **expropriation**. More cattle ranches were seized, and new laws provided firmer controls and higher taxes for foreign-owned businesses. Also, a number of Cuban and North American

**agrarian** relating to the production of foodstuffs in the countryside

**economic sabotage** a deliberate action aimed at weakening a corporation economically through subversion, obstruction, disruption or destruction

**communism** the belief in a society without different social classes in which the methods of production are owned and controlled by all its members and everyone works as much as they can and receives what they need

**expropriation** the action by the state or an authority of taking property from its owner for public use or benefit



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## FLASHPOINT!

### Hubert Matos's resignation

In mid-October 1959 Hubert Matos, the military Governor of Camaguey and Castro's old comrade-in-arms, resigned from office. He made it clear that his move was prompted by his dismay over the increasing influence of communists on the government. A vital area of the country appeared to be defecting and the threat of a military uprising seemed possible. Convinced that the Revolution was endangered, and enraged by his former ally's defection, Castro denounced Matos as 'a traitor who had obstructed agrarian reform'. Castro personally arrested Matos, who was later tried for 'anti-revolutionary conduct', found guilty and sentenced to 20 years in prison.

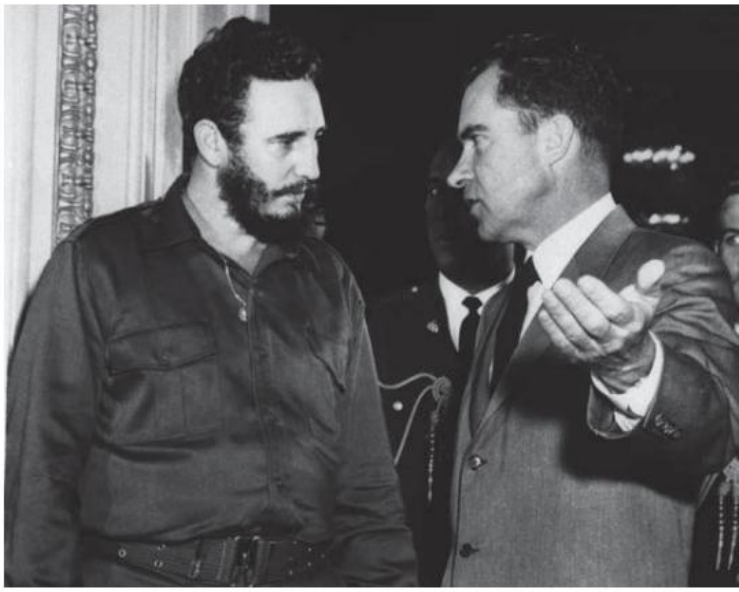


**SOURCE 7.33** Hubert Matos

'counter-revolutionaries' were given stiff sentences after trials that some observers regarded as unfair. With reports of heightened activity of anti-Castro guerrilla warfare, he began to organise a students' and workers' militia to meet the threat.

## 7.8 International reactions and foreign policy, including relations with the US

President Eisenhower and the US never supported revolutionary groups coming into power. However, in light of the corruption within the Batista regime, they were interested to investigate the true nature of Castro's victory. The Eisenhower administration and the American press were quick to vigorously condemn the war criminal trials held in Cuba against leading police and military officials in the Batista government. The American criticism, which was deeply resented in Cuba, inspired Castro's first verbal attack on the US. On 22 January 1959, thousands of Cubans gathered in front of the Presidential Palace to demonstrate their support for the government's policy on war crimes. Castro denounced the US for criticising the war trials when it had remained silent about the atrocities committed by the Batista regime.



**SOURCE 7.34** Fidel Castro with US Vice-President Richard Nixon

However, Castro's displeasure with the US did not keep him from accepting an invitation to address the Washington Press Club. On 15 April he was greeted by a large, cheerful crowd and American observers believed Castro's visit would include traditional speeches of praise for American democracy and generosity, followed by a request for massive aid. When reporters asked Castro if he came to seek foreign aid, he said, 'No, we are proud to be independent and have no intention of asking anyone for anything.' Castro had instructed his finance ministers to refrain from asking for money, believing that the US officials were more likely to offer aid if none were requested.



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President Eisenhower was conspicuously absent during Castro's visit, but the Cuban leader did meet Vice-President Richard Nixon. Nixon presented Castro with files, compiled by the **Central Intelligence Agency** (CIA), purporting to show that some of Castro's supporters were communists. Castro's apparent lack of interest in the files displeased the Vice-President. Castro, who had publicly announced that he was not a communist, was annoyed by the constant questions on the subject. It seemed to him and his delegation that the US was not really concerned with what Cuba was so long as it was not communist.

**Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** a civilian foreign intelligence service of the US federal government, tasked with gathering, processing and analysing national security information from around the world, primarily through the use of human intelligence

**US-based Cuban exiles** refers to the many Cubans who fled from or left the island of Cuba

Adding to the revolutionary government's unease with its relationship with the Communist Party was the deteriorating relationship with the US. The island's main source of revenue was sugar, virtually its only exportable product. The US had traditionally purchased almost all of Cuba's sugar, buying a regular quota, or fixed amount, at guaranteed high prices. Ever since the Cuban Revolution the US had been growing increasingly apprehensive about the political situation with the expropriation of American property, the high tariffs (taxes) Castro had placed on goods imported from America and reports of mushrooming communist influence in Cuba.

Although Castro was concerned about the US sugar market, he continued to make speeches attacking the US and accusing them of trying to destroy the Cuban Revolution. He made no effort to deny the strength of the communist movement in Cuba and told his associates he believed that North American fears of communism in Cuba gave Cuba additional leverage in dealings with the US. Eisenhower made an effort to re-establish cordial relations with Cuba by suggesting that if Castro stopped his campaign of verbal warfare against the US then they would offer financial assistance. However, these talks soon broke down when **US-based Cuban exiles** in Florida made small-scale bombing runs over Cuba, which Castro accused the US of supporting.

From this point on, the downslide of US-Cuban relations began to gather speed:

- The US was displeased when in February 1960 the Soviet Union agreed to buy substantial amounts of Cuban sugar over the next five years and to provide Cuba with needed supplies and technical aid.
- On 4 March, a French freighter delivering rifles and grenades from Belgium to Cuba blew up in Havana Harbor, killing 75 Cuban dockworkers and injuring 200. The cause of the explosion was never discovered, but Castro blamed the US.
- By late March, bombings of Cuban sugar-cane fields and government installations were occurring on an almost daily basis, with all flights originating from the US.
- In May 1960, the Cuban government requested the three largest US-owned oil refineries in Cuba to process a shipment of crude oil from the Soviet Union. In late June the US House of Representatives passed a bill sharply reducing the imports of Cuban sugar. Castro called this a 'declaration of economic war' and responded with an ultimatum that if the American refineries continued in their refusal to process the Soviet oil, Cuba would seize them. When the oil arrived, the American refinery managers fled, and the companies were expropriated by the Cuban government.



**SOURCE 7.35** Fidel Castro and Khrushchev share a hug at the United Nations 15th anniversary celebration in New York in 1960.



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**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Making inferences**

How did the US foreign policy towards Cuba influence Castro's move into the sphere of the USSR?

The Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev quickly reacted to this breakdown in US–Cuban relations by announcing that the Soviet Union would buy the sugar rejected by the US and also indicated giving Cuba military assistance if necessary. In the following weeks most US companies in Cuba – along with many enterprises privately owned by Cubans – were nationalised. In mid-September 1960 Castro flew to New York to attend the 15th-anniversary celebration of the United Nations and it was here that Khrushchev greeted Castro with a 'bear hug'. The photograph of the two leaders' laughing embrace would later appear on walls all over Cuba as a symbol of Soviet–Cuban friendship. When a reporter asked Khrushchev about US policy towards Cuba, the Soviet leader said, 'Fidel Castro is not a communist now, but the United States will make him one within two years.' One year later, Castro indeed proclaimed himself a communist. By late 1960, Cuba for all practical purposes had become a socialist state.

## Cold War tensions: growing opposition to the USA

The Cuban Revolution cast a large shadow over American politics. Cuba became a central topic during the 1960 presidential election. The Democrat candidate John F Kennedy accused President Eisenhower of allowing a 'communist menace' to enter the Western hemisphere. He believed that America needed to enforce the Monroe Doctrine and said, 'We will not be content until democracy is restored in Cuba. The forces fighting for freedom in exile and in the mountains of Cuba should be sustained and assisted.' As the campaign began to wind down, both Democrats and Republicans loudly pledged support for anti-Castro forces.

In October 1960, towards the end of his presidency, Eisenhower halted all US exports to Cuba in October. Castro in turn seized the remaining US-owned companies in Cuba. Convinced that the US would invade Cuba before Eisenhower left office on 21 January, Castro ordered all but a few members of the American embassy staff to leave Cuba. On 3 January 1961, the US broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba. Castro warned the US that an invasion would be a fight to the death.

Kennedy was successful in winning the 1960 Presidential Election and was immediately informed about secret invasion plans. The new President saw Castro as a figure who had defied the might of the US, which refused to be intimidated and was an affront to American pride. However, the new President also feared that, successful or not, a military intervention in Cuba could result in a moral and political setback for the US in Latin America and other Third World nations.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Drawing conclusions**

Why was the US so concerned that Cuba was moving towards a communist state?

The new administration, including secretaries of state and defence Dean Rusk and Robert McNamara, supported the invasion and CIA Chief Allen Dulles assured Kennedy it would be greeted by a popular uprising against Castro. To a large extent, Kennedy had been trapped by his own hard-line rhetoric during the presidential campaign. Cancelling an invasion that had been so wholeheartedly endorsed would have opened the administration to severe criticism from Congress and the press. With all these factors in mind; Kennedy ordered the CIA to continue its preparations for the invasion and unveiled his plan for the Alliance for Progress shortly before the invasion, which was a new multimillion-dollar aid package to Latin American countries to build up goodwill in the region.

## The Bay of Pigs invasion

On 15 April 1961 several aeroplanes, piloted by Cuban exiles, bombed Cuban airfields and military quarters. Because Castro had hidden his small fleet of military aircraft and placed decoy planes in full view, damage to the air force was slight, although seven people were killed and 44 wounded in the attack. Throughout Cuba, the police began to round up everyone suspected of having anti-government sentiments.

The destination for the invasion was the Bay of Pigs, located on the south coast of Cuba, alongside vast stretches of treacherous swampland. The CIA assumed that, once a beachhead was established,



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the invaders would be hard to dislodge. Between the beach and the swamp, a small strip of land contained an airfield and adequate space for a command post. Artillery and tanks would be used to seal off the area. The invasion's planners, confident that the Cuban air force had been destroyed, believed that the landing site would be immune from air attack. It would prove to be a devastatingly wrong assumption.

The invaders met with heavy resistance as soon as the first landing craft reached shore on the morning of 17 April. The local militia had been alerted by sentries and went immediately into action. Although their landing site did have several strategic advantages, the invaders overlooked a crucial factor: the Revolution had markedly improved the lives of much of the Cuban population which was, therefore, intensely loyal to the Castro regime. The Cuban air force delivered a crushing blow to the invading forces, sinking several ships and forcing the survivors to retreat far off the coast. By the following day, 18 April, the invaders were surrounded. Realising that the invasion had failed completely, Kennedy refused to commit American marines to the battle or to allow US planes to make air strikes against the Cuban forces. Castro's forces eventually captured 1180 prisoners; 129 invaders had been killed. Although Castro announced that 87 of his men died in the fighting, other estimates place Cuba's losses as high as 1200 dead and 2000 wounded. In *Castro's Revolution*, Theodore Draper writes that 'The ill-fated invasion of Cuba in April 1961 was one of those rare politico-military events – a perfect failure.'




**SOURCE 7.36** Map showing the Bay of Pigs



**SOURCE 7.37** Fidel Castro after the landing at the Bay of Pigs in 1961

## Outcomes

The US seriously miscalculated not only the strength of Castro's popular support but also the military capability and leadership of the revolutionary government.

- The Bay of Pigs fiasco was a personal triumph for Fidel Castro and a political watershed for the Cuban Revolution. The **counter-revolution** had received a heavy blow and both Cuba's national pride and popularity were greater than ever. Castro announced, 'The invaders have been annihilated. The Revolution has emerged victorious.'
- For the first time, the Cuban Revolution was publicly proclaimed as a socialist revolution. On 1 May 1961, Castro announced that Cuba was a 'Marxist-Leninist state'. He added that there would be no more formal elections since the revolutionary government expressed the will of the people. Every day, he said, was an election.
- The invasion could not have come at a more opportune time for the Castro regime. In 1961 Cuba was facing grave economic difficulties such as food shortages

**counter-revolution** a revolution opposing a former one or reversing its results



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**blockade** the action of stopping supplies reaching an enemy force

and a shortage of expertise in economic management due to most of the nation's top administrative personnel leaving the country. The surge in Castro's popularity following the Bay of Pigs invasion kept public dissatisfaction to a minimum.

- It was a shattering blow to Kennedy, who had to face international ridicule for the fiasco. However, it also meant that Cuba would now face the undying hostility of the US.
- In October 1961, Kennedy imposed a total **blockade** on Cuba.



**SOURCE 7.38** Pictured are a group of Cuban counter-revolutionaries, members of the Assault Brigade 2506, after their capture in the Bay of Pigs in 1961.

## FLASHPOINT!

### Four bizarre ways in which America tried to topple Castro

According to an ABC Australia news story after the death of Fidel Castro, the former head of Cuban intelligence, Fabian Escalante, once told a British documentary team the CIA had tried to kill Castro more than 600 times over a period of about 40 years.

#### Who couldn't kill Castro?

**Escalante's list of assassination attempts per US administration:**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eisenhower: 38 | Johnson: 72 | Carter: 64 | Bush Sr: 16 |
| Kennedy: 42 | Nixon: 184 | Reagan: 197 | Clinton: 21 |

Four of the more bizarre alleged attempts on Castro's life included the following:

**Exploding cigars**

It is believed that the US developed a number of assassination plots, with many of them focusing on Castro's love of cigars. A double agent was going to lace a box of Castro's Cuban cigars with bacteria that would cause death and paralysis, but the agent changed his mind. Another plot was to pack his cigar with explosives.

**A hairy problem**

A bizarre strategy the US tried with Castro was to target his facial hair by putting chemicals into his shoes so that they would seep into his skin and make his beard fall off. This was documented in a 1975 US Senate Committee report. The US government believed Castro's appeal and power came from his facial hair.

**The painted seashell**

The CIA tried an even more elaborate plan in 1963. Intelligence officials thought they could use Castro's love of scuba-diving to topple him. They planned to hide explosives inside a large seashell and paint it with exotic colours to lure the attention of the ocean-loving communist. Like many others, this idea was 'discarded as impractical,' according to the committee's report.



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**The deadly lover**

Marita Lorenz was Castro's femme fatale. She told *Vanity Fair* in 1993 that, while she was Castro's lover in late 1959, she was recruited as a contract-agent for the CIA and tasked with assassinating the Cuban leader. She was given two botulism-toxin pills to drop in Castro's drink, so her story goes. Just one would kill him in 30 seconds, but she got cold feet. She said to *Vanity Fair*: 'I knew the minute I saw the outline of Havana I couldn't do it,' describing her emotions on landing in the Cuban capital. Even if she had wanted to kill him, she had botched the job. She said she stashed the pills in a cold-cream jar that made them gunky and unusable. In any case, Castro had her rumbled. 'He leaned over, pulled out his .45, and handed it to me,' she recounted. 'He didn't even flinch. And he said, "You can't kill me. Nobody can kill me." And he kind of smiled and chewed on his cigar ... I felt deflated. He was so sure of me. He just grabbed me. We made love.'




**SOURCE 7.39** Castro, seemingly amused, holding up a newspaper headlining the discovery of a plot to kill him on 23 April 1959

## A MATTER OF FACT

The disaster at the Bay of Pigs had a lasting impact on the Kennedy administration. Determined to make up for the failed invasion, the administration initiated Operation Mongoose – a plan to sabotage and destabilise the Cuban government and economy, which included the possibility of assassinating Castro and other initiatives:

- the extension of the economic blockade of Cuba to ban an importation of all Cuban products into the US and all travel by US citizens to Cuba
- the sabotage of oil sites in Cuba
- invasion exercises by 40 000 US military personnel on the neighbouring island of Puerto Rico.

## The Cuban Missile Crisis

Tensions between Cuba and the US intensified in 1962. In January the Organization of American States, responding to an American request, expelled Cuba as a member, citing its 'revolutionary belligerency' in the region. On 26 July, in a ceremony celebrating the ninth anniversary of the attack on Moncada, Castro spoke fervently about an impending US invasion to maintain Cuba in a state of anxiety.

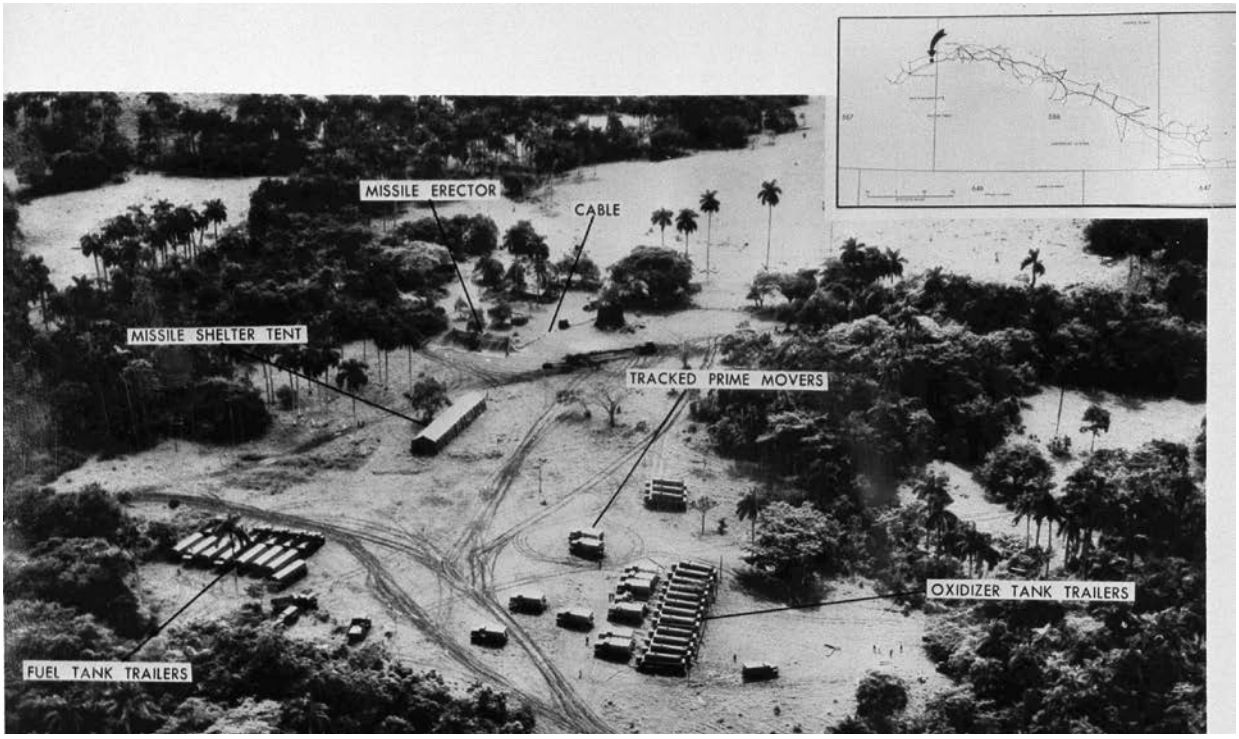
The hostility between Cuba and the US emphasised the importance of Cuba's new relationship with the Soviet Union. Cuba's ties with the Soviet Union expanded. The Soviets, now Cuba's main trading partner, also began to supply the Caribbean nation with massive economic and military aid. In July 1962, Raúl Castro visited the Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and the Soviet Union promised to supply Cuba with increased defence weapons, including a number of medium- and long-range, nuclear-armed missiles. Khrushchev knew his position was in danger if he allowed the US to dislodge Cuba's now openly socialist leader. He believed that once Soviet missiles were securely based in Cuba, the US would not risk triggering a nuclear war with another invasion. Castro accepted the missiles because he did not want to offend Russia, but at the same time thought the weapons – some of which had a range as high as 1200 miles – would help defend Cuba.



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| The Cuban Missile Crisis: American options and considerations | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Option** | **Advantages** | **Disadvantages** |
| Do nothing and allow missiles to be placed in Cuba | Gives time to prepare response | Unpopular in America<br>Major success for USSR<br>Threat to US security |
| Attack Cuba/USSR with nuclear weapons | Strike first – before USSR attacks USA in the same way | Full-scale nuclear war, millions killed – the end of humanity? |
| Air strike against the Cuban missile bases | Destroy missiles and sites already in Cuba | War with Cuba and perhaps the USSR<br>No guarantee all sites in Cuba would be destroyed |
| Blockade Cuba with US Navy – no Russian ships allowed through | Limited pressure – could be increased later<br>USSR would be forced to fire first shot to break blockade | Missiles and sites in Cuba would not be affected<br>Conflict with USSR rather than Cuba<br>USSR might do the same to West Berlin |
| Air attack against all military sites in Cuba | Destroy missiles and sites already in Cuba | Direct conflict with Cuba and perhaps USSR?<br>US casualties |
| Invasion of Cuba by US Armed Forces | Destroy missiles and sites | War with Cuba and perhaps USSR<br>US casualties (estimated 25 000)<br>USSR might invade West Berlin |

The ensuing Cuban Missile Crisis was largely compressed into a period of six tense and suspenseful days. President Kennedy, who had received clear proof (from spy plane photographs) of the missiles' existence a week earlier, made a television speech on Monday 22 October. He revealed the 'unacceptable' presence




**SOURCE 7.40** A US Defense Department photograph, taken in October 1962, reveals a Soviet missile site in Cuba. Soviet Premier Khrushchev claimed the missiles were intended solely for Cuba's self-defence, but the US considered their installation a hostile act.



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of the Soviet-supplied missiles in Cuba and announced that the US was setting up a 'quarantine', or naval blockade, of Cuba to prevent further shipment of Soviet arms into the country. Kennedy demanded that the Soviets remove all the missiles that had already been assembled.

The day after Kennedy's address, Castro ordered a state of nationwide mobilisation, in which thousands of soldiers and militia men and women were sent to coastal defence stations. Addressing the nation on television, Castro argued 'This has happened simply because, up to now, all attempts by the United States to destroy our revolution have ended in failure … What have we done? We have defended ourselves. That is all!'

## ANALYSING SOURCES 7.6

1 Who are the two personalities in the cartoon?
2 Assess the point the cartoon makes about the Cuban Missile Crisis. (Hint: focus explicitly on the iconography.)
3 Interpret what the cartoon suggests about the political and international tension of the event.



**SOURCE 7.41** *The Daily Post*, published by British cartoonist Leslie Gilbert Illingworth, 1962

Four days later, on 26 October, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles if the US pledged not to invade Cuba and to remove its missiles in Turkey. The US quickly accepted, and on 28 October Khrushchev announced that the missiles would be removed. Castro had not been consulted by Khrushchev during negotiations, and he was furious when he learned of the Soviet capitulation. The immediate response from most Cubans was that the Soviets had betrayed Castro and the Revolution. The opinion among many Third World nations was that revolutionary Cuba, instead of achieving independence, had merely traded masters.

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Making inferences

To what extent did the USSR stop a potential invasion of Cuba by the US through the arming of Cuba with missiles?

## Outcomes

The Cuban Missile Crisis was a turning point in the careers of the three leaders involved:

- Kennedy had restored his reputation from the Bay of Pigs debacle and was revered as a symbol of strength at a time of crisis.
- Khrushchev was perceived by his colleagues as weak for failing to stand strongly against Kennedy. The humiliation he suffered proved to be the catalyst for his political demise in October 1964.
- Both Khrushchev and Kennedy demonstrated incredible restraint and responsible leadership in stopping what would have been the most dangerous and direct conflict in the Cold War.
- Khrushchev might even be said to have shown greater courage in making what was publicly seen as the larger concessions.
- Fidel Castro suffered no loss in popularity for his role in the crisis, but he was now alert to the dangers of becoming embroiled in international power politics.



**SOURCE 7.42** People watching President John F Kennedy's television announcement of the Cuban blockade during the Cuban Missile Crisis in a department store



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**brinkmanship** the art or practice of pursuing a dangerous policy to the limits of safety before stopping, especially in politics

- The US and the Soviet Union understood that **brinkmanship** was too deadly a game to play and that they needed to work closer and have more direct contact. In 1963 a 'Hot Line' teleprinter link was set up. Nuclear arms control talks started – in August 1963 a Test Ban was signed between America, Russia and Britain.

For historical interpretations and analysis activities on the Cuban Missile Crisis, please see the digital version of this textbook.

## 7.9 The legacy of the Cuban Revolution

### Fidel Castro: romantic revolutionary or power-driven tyrant?

On 26 November 2016, President Raúl Castro delivered the sombre news to his nation that his brother Fidel Castro had died, nearly 58 years after he had created a socialist state defined by revolutionary spirit and defiance of the US. The reaction was sombre in Havana itself, in a society rated by Human Rights Watch as among the world's most repressive, but the Cuban refugee population of the US left no doubt about their feelings, dancing and singing in the streets and chanting 'Cuba Libre!'

Thousands of Cubans lined the streets for hours to pay their respects to Castro with mixed emotions in a hushed procession carefully choreographed by the government. Castro's death has aroused double standards on both sides of mainstream politics, perhaps highlighting a truth about humankind: we may believe we are in favour of good; however, we also have a tendency to overlook injustice when it suits us.

Conservatives have been quick to criticise leftists who have long exalted Castro's achievements in overthrowing the corrupt Batista regime and ending American imperialism over Cuba, yet conveniently ignoring the death squads and human rights violations. The focus has been on the romanticism of the Revolution, which has overlooked the fact that Castro never truly carried out his promises of political reform – to the detriment of his own people.

However, Western conservatives who observe Castro's legacy as an oppressive entity cannot disregard their own part in human rights abuses. Upon hearing of the demise of the Cuban dictator, President Obama commented, 'America will always stand for human rights around the world.' The comment was ridiculed by the British comedian Frankie Boyd, who responded, 'You've got a torture camp in Cuba.'

Social media reflects the view that Fidel Castro was both loved and hated by Cubans. This is hardly surprising, considering that perspectives and interpretations about significant political figures are often determined by the personal advantage or disadvantage experienced by the public.

| Romantic revolutionary | Power-driven tyrant |
|---|---|
| Despite their crushing poverty, Cubans have one of the world's most egalitarian health systems, with life expectancy and infant mortality on a par with the world's richest nations. Life expectancy has increased and Cuba has the highest number of doctors per capita (in the world). | Castro went on a bloody rampage after seizing power, executing hundreds of government officials, persecuting homosexual Cubans, historians, journalists and activists and creating a regime of extrajudicial executions, show trials and repression. |
| Cuba had been able to significantly reduce illiteracy and increase school retention rates. | Castro cemented his reputation as a hardhead prepared to gamble with the lives of people by provoking the terrifying Cuban Missile Crisis. |
| Castro initiated the 'Solidarity Aid' program to East Timor in 2006, sending 300 doctors to the country and receiving almost 1000 young East Timorese on medical exchange programs in Havana. | Castro was described by the *New York Times* as 'the master of image and myth'. In the first 15 years of his reign, more than a million Cubans left the country, often risking their lives in rickety rafts to cross the Straits of Florida. |



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| Romantic revolutionary | Power-driven tyrant |
|---|---|
| Castro went on to export revolution to Latin America, dispatching Cuban troops to fight Western-backed regimes and doctors to treat the world's poor. | The legacy of Cuba is a reminder of the worst of the 20th century. The average monthly income of government is $20; collectivisation has ruined agriculture; food rations are sparse; Castro owned 20 homes and a private island. |
| Castro's greatest successes were in Africa. Starting in 1975, after Angola gained its independence from Portugal and continuing for more than a decade, more than 200 000 Cuban soldiers rotated through the former Portuguese colony, where they successfully fought in support of a Moscow-backed faction's bid to control the country against factions backed by South Africa. Nelson Mandela credited Castro's military support for helping end apartheid in South Africa. | Fidel Castro will be regarded as one of the most oppressive leaders in 20th-century history. He appointed himself President-for-life, abolished Christmas as an official holiday and banned freedom of speech and the free press. The people of Havana were prisoners in their own city and lacked many of the basic needs, such as plumbing and sanitation. Despite sending Cuban-educated doctors and Cuban-developed medicines and vaccines to different regions of Latin America, he failed to provide Cubans in central Havana with the same basic needs or protect civil liberties. |

## ANALYSING SOURCES 7.7



**SOURCE 7.43** Castro had a strong friendship with Nelson Mandela. Mandela remarked that 'Cuban internationalists have done so much for African independence, freedom, and justice.'

Cuba today is a reminder of the worst of the 20th century. The average monthly income of government employees is $20. When Mr Castro took over in 1959 it had one of the strongest economies in Latin America. Its export growth has been lower than Haiti over the past 50 years. Mr Castro's free health system has broken down. From being dependent on Soviet handouts, Cuba now depends for its survival on Venezuelan oil. Yet, in the tradition of corrupt dictators, Mr Castro's net worth based on his control of state-owned companies, was $900 million in 2006. The latest Amnesty International report noted 8600 arbitrary arrests and detentions of dissidents. Human Rights Watch reports an increase in the detention of journalists and other regime critics. Those are the realities, as opposed to the fantasies imagined by the Left.

**SOURCE 7.44** *The Australian*, 3 December 2016

1 Outline some of the criticisms of the leadership of Fidel Castro.
2 Using the source and your own knowledge, assess whether Fidel Castro was a power-driven tyrant or not.



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# CHAPTER 7 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN CUBA UNDER PRESIDENT BATISTA

- From 1933, Fulgencio Batista controlled the presidency. Batista was President from 1940 to 1944 and again in 1952. The repressive nature of his new government was opposed by many Cubans.
- During the 1950s gambling and corruption flourished in Cuba.

### CAUSES OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- The attack led by Fidel Castro on the Moncada Barracks in 1952 brought him to prominence as a leader of resistance.
- Anti-American sentiment, provoked in Cuba by economic and political dependence on America since independence combined with the economic, social and political problems, gave rise to the idea of revolution.

### THE NATURE AND COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION

- Batista finally fell out of favour with the US as they withdrew their support.
- Castro ensured support through popular reforms and a call to improving basic living conditions.

### THE NATURE OF GUERRILLA WARFARE AND THE ACTIVITIES OF REVOLUTIONARIES

- It is important to recognise that guerrilla warfare is a war of the masses, a war of the people. The guerrilla band is an armed nucleus, the fighting vanguard of the people. It draws its great force from the mass of the people themselves.
- The secret of guerrilla warfare was based on 'constant mobility, constant distrust, constant vigilance'.

### SHORT TERM AND LONG EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION

- Castro made a number of significant social reforms in relation to land, health and addressing literacy rates in Cuba.
- The regime was brutal against all political enemies and officers of the Batista Government. Castro's promise of free elections would not be realised as Cuba would emerge as a Communist state.

### THE IDEOLOGY OF CASTRO AND GUEVARA AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON LATIN AMERICA

- The Castro government made a number of significant reforms in regard to education, land and health. It also executed and imprisoned a number of individuals linked to the Batista government.
- Castro and the Cuban Revolution emerged as a symbol and model for further reform across Latin America.



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## THE AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTION

- The Castro administration soon faced significant challenges in the aftermath of the Revolution, largely due to the increasing movement towards communism.
- Castro chose to intensify the revolutionary process by targeting medium-sized agricultural estates for expropriation. More cattle ranches were seized and new laws provided firmer controls and higher taxes for foreign-owned businesses.

## INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY, INCLUDING RELATIONS WITH THE US

- Cuba became a Cold War flashpoint as a result of Castro's relationship with the Soviet Union.
- Cuba's relationship with the US deteriorated, leading to an ongoing trade embargo and involvement in the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis.

## THE LEGACY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- Castro is celebrated by many for his reforms in health and education, as well as his role in 'internationalism' regarding Africa, the Third World and Latin America.
- Many historians argue that Castro went on a bloody rampage after seizing power, executing hundreds of government officials, persecuting homosexual Cubans, historians, journalists and activists and creating a regime of extra-judicial executions, show trials and repression.

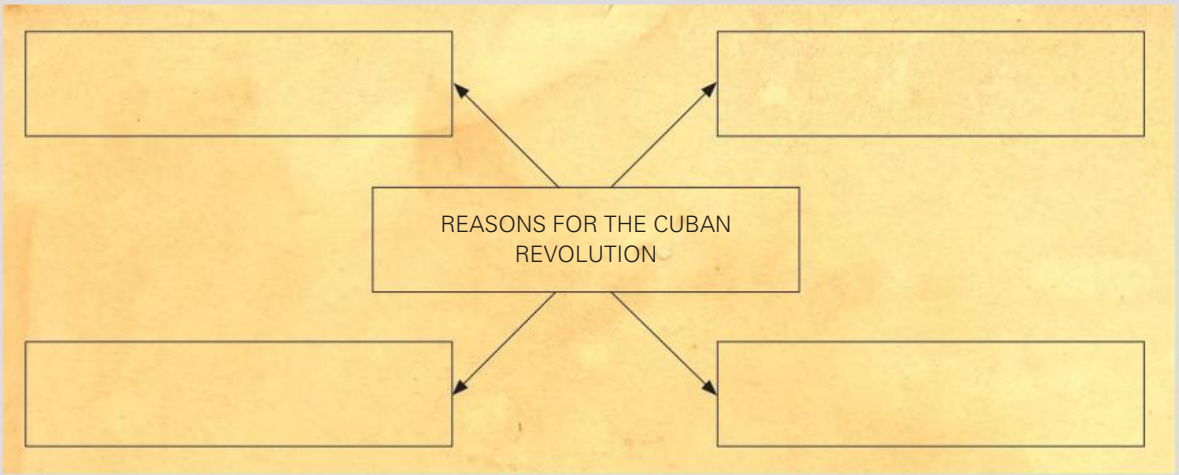
## Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

1) revolution
2) Fidel Castro
3) guerrilla warfare
4) Fidelistas
5) The 26th of July Movement

## Historical concepts

### 1 Causation




### 2 Continuity and change

Suggest how the Cuban Revolution was able to survive in light of its hostile relationship with the US.

### 3 Perspectives

- List the major grievances held by Cubans, of all classes, against the Batista government. Do you believe the Cuban Revolution effectively addressed the social, political and economic problems of the previous administration?
- Fidel Castro argued 'Revolutions are not exported; they are made by the people.'



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Examine evidence that can be drawn from Cuba in the years 1898–1962 to prove that this is true.

### 4 Significance

For each point below, briefly explain its connection to the growing revolutionary situation in Cuba culminating in the successful Cuban Revolution in 1959.

- Spanish–American War
- Batista presidency
- The attack on the Moncada Barracks
- The *Granma* incident
- The fall of Santa Clara

### 5 Contestability

To what extent was Fidel Castro a power-hungry person, completely unprincipled, who would associate himself with any group he felt could help his political career? In your answer, refer to the views of at least two historians included in this chapter.

## Historical skills

### 1 Explanation and communication

In a short paragraph for each point, briefly explain:

- The impact and significance of the Monroe Doctrine
- The major problems facing the Castro regime in the early years after the Revolution
- Was America justified in its treatment of Cuba after 1959 and its fear of communism spreading in Latin America?
- Why was Castro able to survive the number of attacks on his personal safety and his nation?
- Should Khrushchev have involved Castro more closely in discussions during the Cuban Missile Crisis?

### 2 Historical interpretation

Many quotes from Castro's autobiography *My Life* are used throughout this chapter. With reference to some of the quotes as evidence and your own knowledge, write a short analysis of Castro's book in the form of a book report. How reliable a source is *My Life*?

### 3 Analysis and use of sources

- Referring to Source A, identify some of the arguments Fidel Castro addresses in highlighting the struggles Cuba has faced over the past decades.
- Do you think Source A is a useful and reliable source in understanding the aftermath of the Cuban Revolution?
- Explain what the cartoon in Source B depicts about the political situation during the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- Discuss how well John F Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev dealt with the Cuban Missile Crisis. Refer to Source B in your answer.
- With reference to Source C, assess both the positive and negative impacts Fidel Castro had on Cuba and the world during his time as leader of Cuba.
- Using your own knowledge and Source C, evaluate the complexity and difficulty for a historian in defining the nature and influence of Fidel Castro's leadership in meeting his political, social and economic agenda.

## SOURCE A

We have unity, a political culture, cohesion and strength. Nothing can even affect our brilliant future. In the battle of ideas no one can go up against our intelligent and ever more cultured people. We have been able to withstand the blockade for more than 40 years. We have just waged a sound struggle against lies, infamy, political subversion and the attempt to impose the fickle will of the masters of the most powerful empire that has ever existed on our people. We did so with such impressive strength and popular support that nobody should have any doubts that there is no way to break our invincible will to win or to die defending our socialism, which we think is the most just, humane and decent society that can be conceived of. And with every minute that passes the lies, the ignorance, the lack of culture and the threats will crash up against the invincible spirit of our people.

Extract from Fidel Castro's speech to mark the occasion of the 49th anniversary of the attacks on the Moncada Barracks, 26 July 2002



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## SOURCE B

'Let's get a lock on this thing'




## SOURCE C

From there came a series of human rights abuses and restrictive policies that can never be excused or simply explained away as 'a product of their time' or a 'strategic necessity'. Sham trials saw hundreds of summary executions of political opponents. Despite studying law, the Cuban leader defended such actions claiming 'revolutionary justice is not based on legal precepts, but on moral conviction.' Power flowed from the gun and a repressive state pointed weapons inward. Perceived cultural subversion was punished. Even in the 1970s Cuba was imprisoning homosexuals and long-haired hippies. But there also emerged a remarkable system of health care and education, producing life expectancies and literacy rates only found in far richer nations. Castro's international reputation was built partly on a foreign policy of supporting other third world struggles that, while not perfect, has certainly been far more impressive than most of the west. In 2010 Havana sent 1,200 medics to fight cholera in Haiti after an earthquake when everyone else had left. As Ebola ravaged west Africa, Cuba led aid efforts while the west fretted. Cuba gave shelter to those wanted by Washington. He visited Vietnam in 1973 – two years before the north drove out the US army. Castro never lost his touch for the dramatic: sending an expeditionary force across the Atlantic in 1975 to help save the communist regime of newly independent Angola from a South African invasion. None of this was forgotten. In Africa Castro's fight against apartheid cast him as a liberation icon. In dealing with US criticism of his relations with Cuba, Nelson Mandela noted the counsel came from 'people who supported the apartheid regime these last 40 years. No honourable man or woman could ever accept advice from people who never cared for us at the most difficult times.'

Extract from *The Guardian*, 'View on Fidel Castro: Man of History', 27 November 2016

### 4 Historical investigation and research

- 'Cuba is one of the most diplomatically active countries in the world, which had a positive impact on Latin America and the Third World.'

  To what extent do you agree with this statement?

To help you answer this question, conduct historical research in your school or local library or online (from educational websites). In your investigation, be sure to include:

  - a list of mini-questions you want to answer in your response (to break down the question into smaller parts)
  - a research plan (where will you conduct research; how many different sources of evidence do you want to consider?)
  - evidence from a range of sources (try to include some quotes from each source; be sure to use quotation marks)
  - acknowledge your sources appropriately (after a quote, list the source's author, title, date published, page number).

Present your research in the form of a page-long essay, including an introduction, at least three body paragraphs and a conclusion.

### 5 Further essay questions

- What role did Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos play in the success of the Cuban Revolution? Evaluate, using evidence.
- To what extent did Fidel Castro use violence and fear in his consolidation of power from 1959 to 1962? Explain, using evidence.



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# PART 3
# Historical inquiry skills

## CHAPTER



**Chapter 8** The historical investigation project



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*The facts are available to the historian in documents, inscriptions and so on, like fish in the fishmonger's slab. The historian collects them, takes them home, and cooks and serves them in whatever style appeals to him.*

**EH Carr**, *What Is History?* **1961**

## PREVIEWING KEY IDEAS

**Historical inquiry skills**

Providing learning opportunities to develop investigative, research and presentation skills in assessing sources of evidence in an area of historical interest and developing a strong independent judgement



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# CHAPTER 8
# The historical investigation project

*History with its flickering lamp stumbles along the trail of the past, trying to reconstruct its scenes, to revive its echoes, and kindle with pale gleams the passion of former days.*

Winston Churchill

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

The historical investigation will provide you with the opportunity to further develop your investigative, research and presentation skills that are at the core of the historical inquiry process.

**KEY ISSUES**

You will explore:

- how to plan and conduct historical investigations
  - formulating historical questions and hypotheses relevant to your investigation
- locating and judging a range of sources
  - recognising different perspectives in sources
  - analysing sources for their reliability and usefulness
- synthesising evidence from multiple sources to help develop a reasoned historical account or argument
  - using sources to foster a view about a historical issue
- how to present and communicate the findings of a historical investigation:
  - using suitable and well-structured written, oral and/or multimedia forms, including ICT



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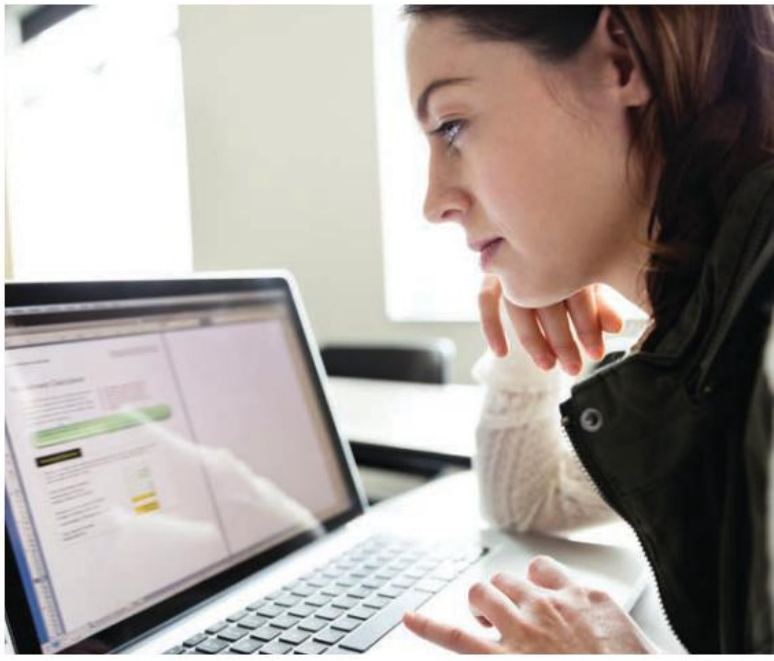
# CHAPTER 8 Overview

| KEY IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS TODAY | KEY TERMS AND NAMES |
|---|---|---|
| Providing learning opportunities to develop investigative, research and presentation skills in assessing sources in an area of historical interest and developing a strong independent judgement | The twenty-first-century skills and abilities that students need to develop in order to succeed in the information age include collaboration, critical thinking, problem solving, creativity and information literacy. | • investigation<br>• perspectives<br>• interpretations<br>• research<br>• hypothesis<br>• evidence<br>• proposal<br>• primary source<br>• secondary source<br>• reliability<br>• usefulness<br>• iconography<br>• critical thinking<br>• plagiarism |

## 8.1 Planning and conducting historical investigations

The purpose of the historical **investigation** project is to provide students with the opportunity to develop into critical thinkers and make informed relevant judgements in a rapidly changing world. Students are able to explore a variety of historical source material such as extracts from primary and secondary sources, letters, diary entries, paintings and photographs in order to understand the changing perspectives in history and factors that have influenced key personalities and events. The process of historical inquiry allows students to question and examine the validity of source material; acknowledge how history has been represented; use evidence effectively to construct and support their judgements; and communicate their arguments in a coherent and logical format.

**investigation** the action of investigating something or someone; formal or systematic examination or research



### Formulating historical questions and hypotheses relevant to the investigation

Writing a good historical investigation project can be a time-consuming process that will require thought and effort. However, the process does allow students to think intellectually about an area of history that they have a passion for and to manage the challenges with effective planning and organisation. Students will construct a thoughtful, well-sequenced and sophisticated research process by focusing on one step at a time throughout the research process.

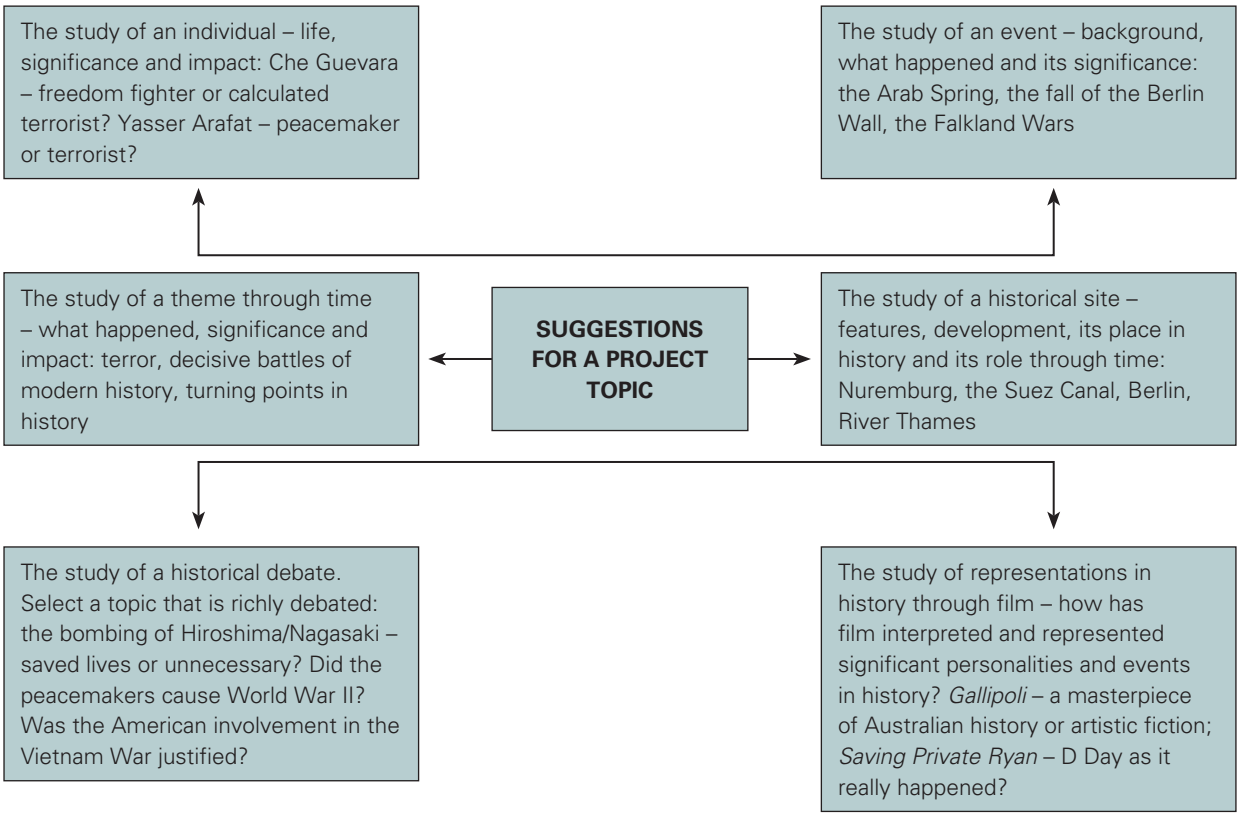
To begin, students need to choose a topic of interest and develop a series of research questions, a central thesis argument and a written research proposal. Fully exploring the nature of your chosen interest area and designating appropriate time to this stage of the process will help you to establish a positive foundation for your research.



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Careful planning and initial research will ensure that you are comfortable with the focus for your historical investigation process and that you will enjoy the research experience. A common mistake during this process is to be too quick in deciding what topic to research, which then creates greater difficulties throughout the process. Through meticulous planning and organisation, you will ensure that the construction of your historical investigation process is both enjoyable and challenging.

Topics that you should consider are outlined below:




**perspective** a point of view from which events and issues in history can be analysed, such as the perspective of an individual or group in the past

**interpretation** a way of understanding and explaining what has happened in the past. Historians acknowledge that there is often more than one view of what has happened in the past.

It's important to choose a topic that incorporates an issue that will allow you to explore differing historical **perspectives** and **interpretations** from historians. The syllabus also clearly indicates that the 'investigation must not overlap with or duplicate significantly any topic to be attempted in the Year 12 Modern History or History Extension courses.'

### Clarifying

After identifying potential topic ideas, you will need to evaluate your ideas and consider the following:

- Will there be enough historical information for you to examine about the topic?
- Can you construct a research project that will allow you to examine a variety of historical perspectives and then make a clear historical judgement based on the evidence?
- Is the scope of the research topic manageable? Is the topic too narrow or too broad?

You will ask these questions during this preliminary phase of the research process.



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## How to frame a research question

Developing a good research question is an essential first step of every research project, because a **good research question will focus your work** and provide direction for your next steps. You may have an interest in a broad area of history such as World War I or World War II; however, you will need to identify a specific area of research so you can develop a strong **hypothesis** on that research area.

**A good research question defines the focus of your research project.** Your research question helps your teacher know the specific subject matter you will be addressing within the broad topic you have chosen. **A research question can set boundaries to help you figure out where to go next.** It will define what **evidence** you need to collect and which methods you will use to access and analyse your documents.

A good historical investigation project demands that you will create a research question where you will take on an analytical approach to the research opposed to simply providing **narrative**. Most essay questions include an **instructional term** in the question that suggests what the student is required to do when answering the questions. You should consider using one of the following instructional terms to phrase your focus question:

- To what extent …?
- Evaluate the significance …
- Analyse …
- Evaluate …
- Assess …

Another way of framing your research question is to engage in a challenging debate about an event or a personality as the focus for your historical investigation project. For example:

- Yasser Arafat – peacemaker or terrorist?
- Albert Speer – technocrat or ideologue?
- The atomic bombs – saved lives or unnecessary?

**hypothesis** a proposed explanation made on the basis of limited evidence as a starting point for further investigation

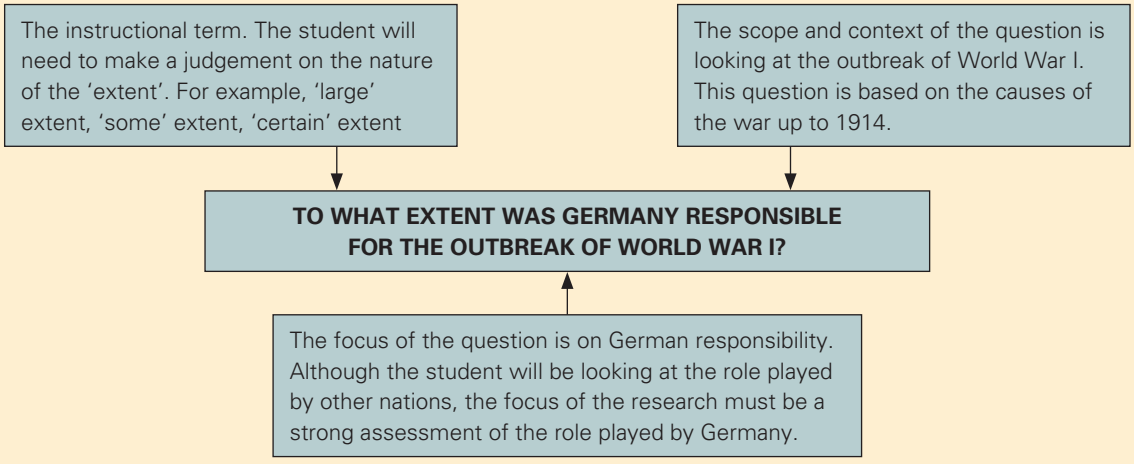
**evidence** the information elicited and interpreted from a source that is used to support a historical argument or inform a specific historical inquiry

**narrative** a written account of connected events; a story

**instructional term** the key word that outlines what a student is required to do to answer the question

### Analysing meaning

The following research question is a good example of developing a historical investigation project that has a specific and attention-grabbing title as the focus of the research. The question requires the student to analyse the 'extent' of German responsibility for the outbreak of World War I and make a strong judgement on this area of history with reference to differing perspectives and interpretations.






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## Developing a proposal

A research **proposal** is a one-page document that outlines the preliminary research you have completed for your project. The objective of the proposal is to clearly articulate to your teacher the main research question, related sub-questions, the evidence that you will be evaluating and the working thesis. You will also include some discussion on the benefits of researching this historical area and how you plan to organise your research. Your teacher will then provide you with valuable feedback highlighting the strengths and limitations of your preliminary research to ensure you have the best opportunity in producing a coherent project.

**proposal** a plan or suggestion that is presented to a person or group of people to consider

**Historical investigation – my proposal**

| Name: | Class |
|---|---|
| **Research topic:** | |
| **Research question:** | |
| **Initial inquiry questions:**<br>Once you have done some preliminary research on your chosen topic, some of these relevant inquiry questions will have arisen, which you believe will need to be addressed. | |
| **What sources have I identified so far?**<br>Books:<br>Journal articles:<br>Internet: | |
| **What are the opposing historical viewpoints of my research?** | |
| **Position A:** | **Position B:** |
| | |



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The research proposal helps you to plan and organise your research from the beginning.

The sample pro-forma has space for you to identify your research topic and research question, as well as initial inquiry questions that will help you to organise your research. These questions will provide you with the detail to develop a strong response to your research question. It's also important to highlight to your teacher the **sources** that you have investigated so far and that will assist you in the evidence that will be used to support your historical arguments. These sources will allow you to then document some of the key arguments in the historical debate you will be examining and your teacher should be able to provide you with feedback on your preliminary research.

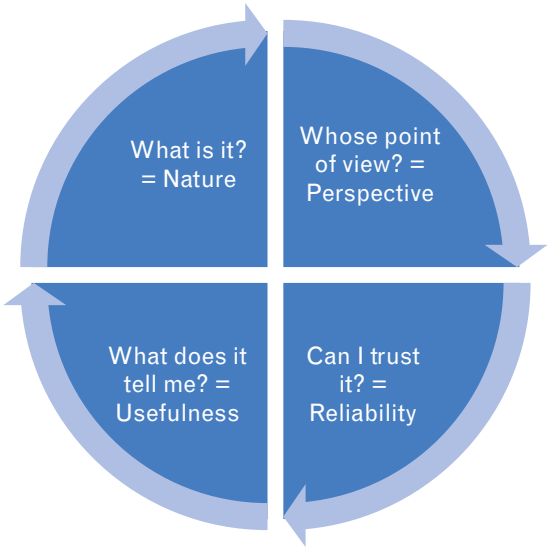
**source** any written or non-written material (such as a political cartoon) that can be used to investigate the past. Historians use sources to elicit 'evidence' to answer a specific historical question, inform a historical inquiry, or support or refute an interpretation.

### Key tips for an effective research proposal

- A strong research proposal should include the following steps: selecting a key historical idea that will form the basis for the project; narrowing the topic to ensure you can provide detailed analysis; developing a research question and a working thesis.
- A great topic for a historical investigation project should be focused on an area that the writer is passionate about and meets the syllabus requirements of the project.
- A clear definition and focus of the topic will help the writer to conduct an in-depth and well-argued research project.
- A key outcome of the preliminary research is to outline important research questions and considerations in developing a working thesis.
- A good research question should be focused on a thought-provoking historical debate, in which there may be a variety of different perspectives and interpretations that have been influenced by their historical context.
- A strong working thesis needs to be supported and argued with evidence demonstrating extensive research throughout the process.
- Students create a research proposal that clearly outlines the historical topic, research questions that will be explored and a working thesis for their teacher to provide feedback, guidance and approval.

## 8.2 Locating and interrogating a range of sources

### Analysing sources for their perspective, usefulness and reliability






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**primary source** an aretefact, autobiography, diary, document, manuscript, recording or any other source of information that was created at the time

**secondary source** one that was created later by someone who did not experience at first hand or participate in the events or conditions you are researching

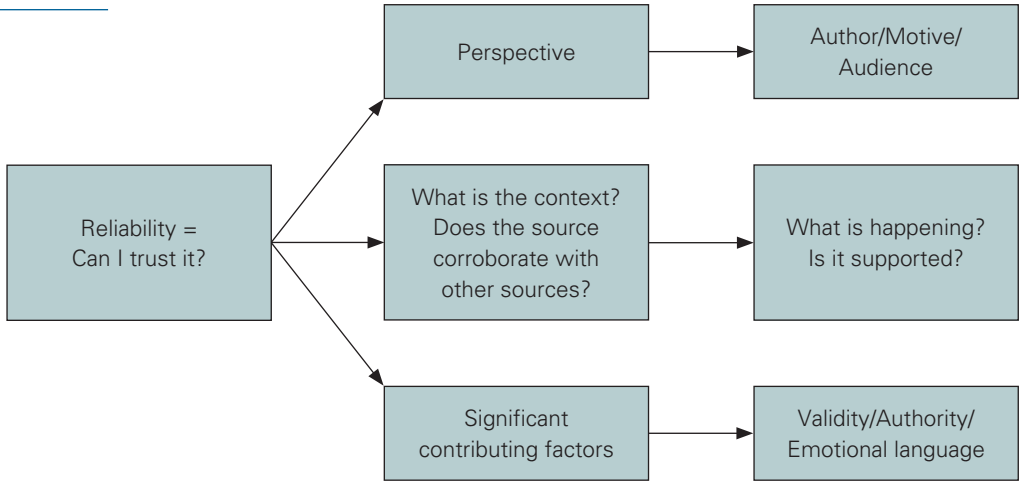
**reliability** consideration of the context, purpose, origin and audience of a source, in order to judge how accurately an area of historical study is represented

There are FOUR key components to analysing sources. These include: the nature of the source, perspective, reliability and usefulness.

The nature of source: is it a **primary source** or a **secondary source**? You will also need to acknowledge the provenance of the source – where is it from?

In determining the perspective of the source, students should ask the following questions: Who wrote the source? What is the nature of the source? What is the intended audience? Is it an example of propaganda? What is the nationality of the author?

**Reliability** is closely connected to the perspective of the source. It is the most difficult aspect of source analysis, because the student is determining whether the source can be trusted by a historian. Students need to ask themselves the following questions in determining the reliability of a source: Can I trust the source? What is the context? Can the source be corroborated with other sources? What is the audience/motive of the source? Is there evidence of emotive language?




It can sometimes be difficult to make a judgement on reliability. It's important to consider one of the following judgements when dealing with the reliability of sources:

1 The source is reliable because …

2 The source is somewhat reliable because …

3 The source is unreliable because …

Very rarely is a source unreliable. However, the source may be 'somewhat reliable', which means that there are some elements of the source that can be trusted, while there are other components that may be misleading. An example of this may be a wartime propaganda poster encouraging British men to join World War I against Germany. The reliability of the source may be compromised because of the nature of the visual representations and the use of emotive language, but reliable as a source demonstrating the nature of propaganda posters during World War I in Britain.

The **usefulness** of the source refers to the specific information the source presents: what does it tell me? Students need to consider how the particular source would be valuable to a historian in understanding a particular area of history. It's important to be explicit when arguing the usefulness of a source.

How useful would Sources A and B be for a historian studying responsibility for the outbreak of war in 1914? In your answer, consider the perspectives provided by the TWO sources, and the reliability of each one.



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**RELIABILITY**
Extract from a larger work

Benefit of research and with access to a range of primary and secondary sources

Easily referenced against other material of the time

Even-handed treatment suggests a lack of bias

Emotional detachment from subject matter

Benefit of hindsight

**PERSPECTIVE**
Prominent historian

Specialised book on the war

Secondary source written more than 80 years after the war

European relations were marked by suspicion and rivalry. The worst of the rivalries had been provoked by Germany, through its decision in 1900 to build a fleet capable of engaging the Royal Navy in battle. The British rightly decided to regard this as an unjustified threat to its century-old command of the seas and reacted accordingly. By 1908, the race to out build Germany in modern battleships was the most important popular element of British public policy.

… Military policy was indeed, in the opening years of the twentieth century, guided not by the search for a secure means of averting conflict but by the age-old quest for security in military superiority. This meant … the creation of ever larger armies and navies, the acquisition of more and heavier guns and the building of stronger and wider belts of frontier fortification.

**SOURCE A** An extract from *The First World War*, by John Keegan, published in 2001

**USEFULNESS**
Provides overview of underlying causes of the war and the nations involved, e.g. naval rivalry between Britain and Germany; creation of ever larger armies and navies

Deals with tension caused by arms build-up

Easily referenced against other material of the time

**PERSPECTIVE**
German source by Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor

High-ranking German politician up to 1917

Written from a German perspective

Primary source

**RELIABILITY**
Extract from a larger work and was a letter to an important German official

Reliability could be compromised as Bethmann-Hollweg was writing from only a German perspective

Letters are personal reflections and not necessarily those of the German Government

He was possibly not emotionally detached from the subject matter. It should be remembered he was dismissed as Chancellor in 1917.

… All efforts to reduce the danger of war by disarmament and courts of arbitration failed, as did the special effort to secure the peace by means of an Anglo-German understanding.

… At the same time the realisation is spreading that despite Imperialism and Nationalism the great majority of the people did not want war at all – or would not have wanted it, had they known its full horror, as it now stands revealed. It is taken for granted, therefore, that the governments alone were responsible for the war breaking out, against the will of the masses. Imperialism in all its forms had attained such power that Germany had drawn distrust and even hatred upon itself throughout the world. It was the fault of the governments that no peaceful way out was found in July 1914. In whatever measure these beliefs and convictions may be justified, they lead with inescapable logic to the conclusion that there should be better government and that government should be in greater agreement with the will of the people.

**SOURCE B** An extract from a letter written by Theobald Bethmann-Hollweg (German Chancellor 1907–1917) to Prince Max of Baden, 17 January 1918

**USEFULNESS**
Highly useful opinion of an important German politician of the time

Bethmann-Hollweg had an intimate knowledge of the government, foreign affairs and the war effort

Focuses on the impact of the failure of disarmament efforts and courts of arbitration

Stresses that most people did not want war

Believed governments failed the people



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## Analysing iconography

Examining and interpreting visual sources is an important skill in history. Every **historian** must be able to extract evidence and information from visual sources. The process is not always easy, because historical visual sources can be difficult to understand. They may depict or represent people or events you are unfamiliar with. They may use symbols or icons whose meanings are obscure or have changed over time. Some visual sources may use humour, caricature or satire in a way that confuses or clouds their meaning. The historian must wrestle with these problems and others when analysing visual sources.

**historian** an expert in or student of history, especially that of a particular period, geographical region or social phenomenon

**iconography** the visual images and symbols used in a work of art or the study or interpretation of these

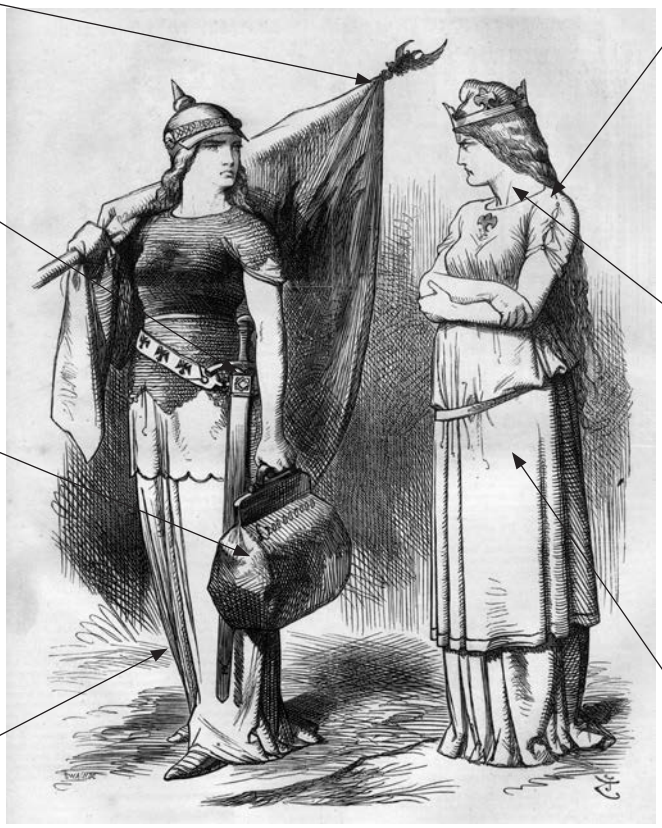
You will find working with visual sources difficult at first – but your skills will develop with time and practice. As with other analytical tasks, the best approach for working with images is to break down the key components and to develop an understanding of the perspective and message of the visual source. Provided is an example of a useful framework for analysing visual evidence and developing an understanding on the representations of **iconography**.

The flag draped over Germany's shoulder shows her physical strength and power as a nation.

By drawing Germany in military dress the artist is showing her to be the strong victor. Her sword is secure, as the conquest of France is over.

The bulging bag shows that Germany is walking away from the war with reparations in the amount of 200 000 000 pounds.

Germany is facing away from France, showing that she is moving on in victory. Yet, as she is still looking over her shoulder with an aggressive facial expression, Germany is still informing France that they are watching them. The two countries still view each other with hostility and as a threat.



France's pose is defensive – her arms are crossed. Her stance suggests that after the war she is powerless.

Her facial expression is one of anger and resentment. The furrowed brow shows her determination to seek revenge on Germany.

France has been stripped of her military attire/clothing. Pictured with a crown, as opposed to Germany's military head dress/helmet, she is more like a princess/maiden than a military power. Hence, her standing in the international community has been lowered and she has no military to support her threats of revenge. She no longer has credibility.

**AU REVOIR!**
GERMANY: 'Farewell, Madam, and if …'
FRANCE: 'Ha! We shall meet again!'
*Punch*, 27 September 1873



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## 8.3 Synthesising evidence from a range of sources to develop and support a reasoned account or argument

**Critical thinking** refers to the ability to think clearly and construct arguments that demonstrate a strong understanding of the subject matter. It involves the ability to be reflective and independent in examining the key issues surrounding the research. The historical investigative project provides students with a unique opportunity to develop their critical thinking skills in the following ways:

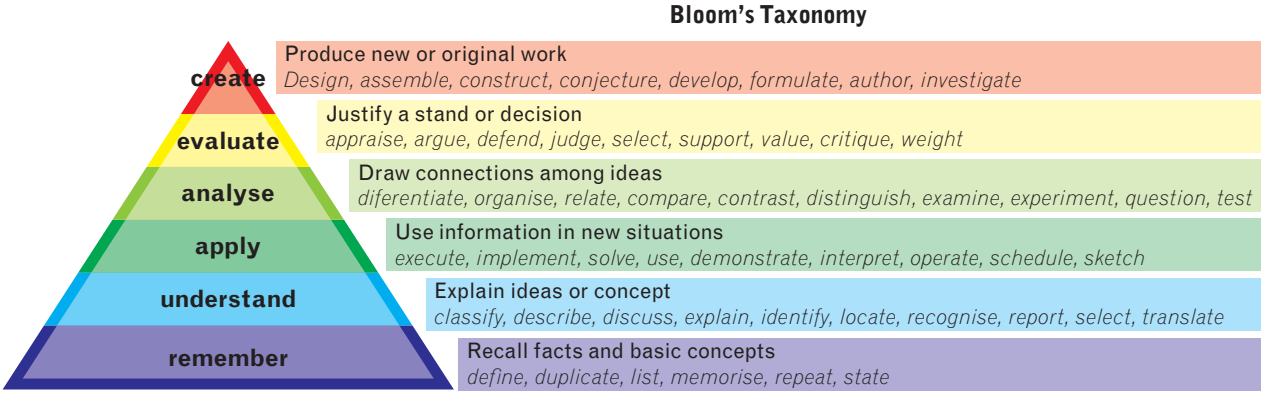
- understanding the logical connections between historical ideas
- identifying, constructing and evaluating arguments
- solving problems systematically
- identifying the relevance and importance of ideas
- reflecting on the justification of one's own beliefs and values.

Critical thinking offers a clear distinction between memory and understanding. Having a good memory and accumulating information will only allow a student to identify or describe key historical issues. However, critical thinking allows students to have a deep understanding of the content matter so they can evaluate and analyse the information, thus constructing strong historical arguments. Critical thinking allows students to develop their own judgements by developing a deeper understanding of the issues and the differing perspectives that exist within historical debates.

**critical thinking** the objective analysis and evaluation of an issue in order to form a judgement

**Bloom's Taxonomy** a theory created by educational psychologist Dr Benjamin Bloom to promote higher forms of thinking in education, rather than just remembering facts (rote learning)

Provided is an outline on **Bloom's Taxonomy** of thinking, which highlights some of the higher-order learning skills you will need to aspire to when completing your historical investigation project. Sophisticated researchers will evaluate their historical research topic rather than simply provide narrative on what happened. They will also create new ideas in their investigation by demonstrating that they have an excellent understanding of the topic and can therefore establish their own judgement based on the differing interpretations and perspectives of other historians.




### Reading for understanding

Reading is an important skill to develop to ensure you are meeting the requirements of the historical investigation project. Students need to have a purpose in mind and an idea about what they are specifically looking for when reading historical texts. The skill is to be explicit in locating information that will be beneficial to your research project. Reading needs to be focused on developing a stronger understanding of your research issue, thereby recognising the most important elements discovered in the reading process.

Reading for understanding requires the student to focus on the research question so that the information extracted is both relevant and meaningful.



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- Be clear on what material and ideas you're looking for. Always refer to your research question to ensure that the information gathered relates to answering the question.
- Look for key historical terminology and evidence.
- Ensure that the information you gather from your reading will be relevant to developing a strong understanding of the research project.

## Effective note-taking

The result of reading for understanding should be an ability to take relevant notes that are beneficial for your research. The process of effective note-taking begins by making notes in the margins of your reading and highlighting important information so you can easily return to that section. Once this has been completed, you should summarise those notes so you have all the relevant information in one section.

Good note-taking entails keeping an organised record of the important information you have read, making it easier for you to locate as you complete your project. Reading is a time-consuming exercise and you need to ensure that the result of your reading is establishing notes that you can rely on for your research.

## Referencing your research

**referencing** a way of acknowledging the sources of information that you use to research your assignments

**plagiarism** the 'wrongful appropriation' and 'stealing and publication' of another author's 'language, thoughts, ideas, or expressions' and the representation of them as one's own original work

**Referencing** is the process of acknowledging the sources of information that you will use in your historical investigation project. Whenever you refer to someone else's words, ideas or research, you need to provide a reference. Acknowledgements are required for both written and visual information referred to in the project.

Effective referencing will demonstrate to your teacher the extensive reading and research you have conducted. It will allow them to locate the sources referred to in your paper so they can appreciate the historical perspectives and interpretations you have examined. Referencing strengthens the presentation of your historical arguments and demonstrates academic integrity. It will also ensure that you have done your best to avoid committing **plagiarism** if you acknowledge the sources you have applied to support your historical arguments.

## Creating a bibliography

A bibliography provides a brief account of the available research on a given topic. It is an acknowledgement of the sources of your information that were presented as evidence and it provides your teacher with an opportunity to consult your sources of information. Developing skills in presenting a bibliography is essential preparation for meeting university requirements when completing assignment work. Your teacher will be very interested to see the nature and diversity of sources you have used throughout your project.

### *Sample bibliography*




**ABOVE:** A sample bibliography showing its key features and layout



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## 8.4 Presenting and communicating the findings of a historical investigation

Every successful historical investigation must have a thesis statement that forms the judgement of the research. A good thesis statement makes the difference between a thoughtful research project and a simple retelling of facts. The thesis statement will be the product of the extensive reading, note-taking and examination of source material conducted throughout the process.

**A strong thesis statement …**

- takes a stand or position on the research topic; it is provocative
- justifies further discussion
- clearly expresses one main idea
- is specific and focused
- is original, not formulaic or generic
- provides the reader with a map to guide him/her through the work
- does not simply restate the question – it goes beyond this
- clearly asserts your own conclusion based on evidence.

### Using appropriate and well-structured written and oral forms

#### Writing an essay

The key component in constructing a sophisticated historical investigation project is to answer the question clearly with a strong judgement based on the evidence presented. Therefore, when writing a historical investigation project as an essay, you need to structure your ideas in a well-sequenced and logical format.

**Research essay question: To what extent was Germany responsible for the outbreak of World War I?**

#### Introduction

The introduction is your opening paragraph of the essay and should address the following features: answers the question with a strong thesis statement; defines key terms in the question; briefly explains your line of argument; and refers to some of the ideas and debates that will be analysed throughout the response. An example of a strong introduction is provided below:

To a large extent, Germany was responsible for the outbreak of World War I. Germany bears the main responsibility for the war, as it was willing to risk general war, though it did not aim for it. Germany had caused the war in a bid for superpower status and had vast expansionist aims in Europe. The leadership of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the aggressive policy of Weltpolitik had created enormous tension in Europe in the lead-up to the outbreak of war through the Moroccan crisis and the problems in the Balkans. However, even though Germany was largely responsible, some degree of responsibility is shared by other European nations, as well as the escalation of tension that resulted through imperialism and the alliance system.

Clear judgement and answer to the question

The introduction highlights the arguments that will be addressed to support the historical judgement.

The focus is on German responsibility; however, the question will address other reasons that contributed to the outbreak of war.

#### Body paragraphs

The number of body paragraphs you have in your historical investigation project will be determined by the number of arguments you have developed. A body paragraph should only focus on one key argument with engagement to the key **historiography** and debates relevant to that argument.



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To ensure that your body paragraphs are well structured, students should follow the PEEL scaffold for effective body paragraphs:

**P** Point – The opening sentence of each paragraph should introduce your argument by making a judgement to your research question.

**E** Explanation – This is where you explain the historical detail of your paragraph argument with reference to historical terms and concepts.

**E** Evidence – To support your argument, you need to refer to historians and debates to justify your judgement and demonstrate an extensive understanding of the research topic.

**L** Link – Your concluding sentence is a summation of your argument and reinforces your historical judgement.

Clear opening topic statement addressing the question and introducing the argument

Furthermore, Germany's role in endeavouring to break up the alliances between Britain and France was a significant factor in encouraging war in Europe. The policy of Weltpolitik had serious ramifications for Germany as it had created a situation that had Germany encircled by enemy powers. In response, Germany sought to provoke colonial crises that would fragment the alliances that they saw coalescing against them. The colonial crisis over Morocco in 1905 and again in 1911 did just the opposite by cementing British and French cooperation and increasing general suspicion of Germany and its ambitions. German historian Fritz Fischer published a book, *Grab for World Power*, which argued that Germany had launched the war to become a superpower and had developed war aims which, in many cases, resembled those of the Nazis in World War II (although many of Fischer's critics have argued that, while Germany had played a very important role in starting the war, it had miscalculated the situation rather than intending to cause a world war). Thus German aggression during the colonial crises, to a large extent, contributed to the outbreak of World War I.

Detail and explanation on the focus topic for the argument. Key historical terminology used.

Engages with historical debates and perspectives.

Concluding judgement to sum up the paragraph. The word 'thus' neatly indicates the final judgement.

## Conclusion

The conclusion is your final paragraph. It should sum up the key arguments presented and your judgement to the research question. It should be short and concise in highlighting to the examiner that you have established a strong, consistent argument throughout the project.

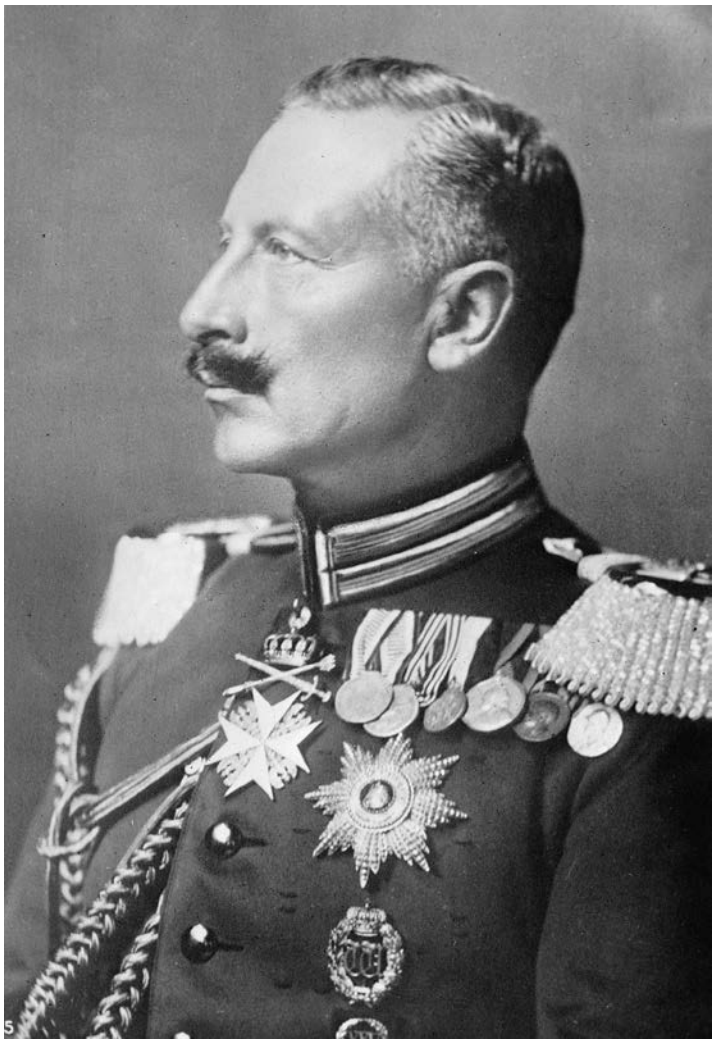
The historical judgement is argued and reinforced.

In closing, it is clear that Germany was to a large extent responsible for the outbreak of World War I. The shift in leadership from Bismarck to Kaiser Wilhelm II had led to a new German approach to foreign affairs through Weltpolitik, which subsequently created enormous tension and division in Europe. Germany had created for itself an environment of encirclement and as a result was aggressive and belligerent in asserting its rightful place in Europe, encouraging a situation that could lead to war. However, there were other European powers that engaged in conflict during this period and factors such as the development of the alliance system and imperialism contributed to the outbreak of war.

The conclusion is a summation of the key arguments argued throughout the essay.



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Kaiser Wilhelm II was the German Emperor and King of Prussia from 1888 to 1918, and one of the most recognisable public figures of World War I.

## Sample historical investigation project

A clear judgement is made in answering the question.

**To what extent was *JFK* more concerned with making an entertaining film rather than presenting a historically accurate depiction of events?**

To a large extent, Oliver Stone's *JFK* (1991) was more concerned with making an entertaining film rather than presenting a historically accurate depiction of events. Oliver Stone's film chronicles the historical investigation into the *JFK* assassination by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison and the subsequent conspiracy case brought against the accused Clay Shaw. Stone's film polarises critical backlash, with some historians criticising his false depictions, created for the purpose of instigating political paranoia, and others praising his accurate portrayal of historical context. However, through examination of the portrayal of the Warren Commission, Garrison's investigation and Stone's conclusions, it is clear that *JFK* is ultimately a film that sacrifices historical accuracy for entertainment.

Counter arguments are introduced that will be explored in greater detail throughout the essay.

Provides an overview of the main topic being analysed.



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Topic sentence to introduce the focus of the paragraph, which is the findings of the Warren Commission.

The historical arguments communicated need to be supported by evidence that reflects the differing perspectives in the debate based on the quality.

Notice the linkage terms throughout the next few paragraph topic sentences. This is to demonstrate the flow of argument such as the use of 'Furthermore', 'In addition' and 'Finally'.

Reference to 'however' is a technique to shift to alternative perspectives in the debate.

The concluding sentence of the paragraph should sum up the argument and reinforce the thesis statement.

Oliver Stone's presentation of the findings of the Warren Commission are more concerned with the making of an entertaining film to a large extent. The depiction of the Warren Commission as a group of conspirators is crucial, as it reveals a dramatisation at the cost of historical accuracy. Kennedy's successor, Lyndon Johnson, established a commission in 1963 led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, who concluded that the alleged gunman Lee Harvey Oswald had acted alone in assassinating John F. Kennedy. However, public reception of the report was mixed, with historian Richard Mosk reflecting that it 'divides and will continue to divide public opinion'. Though many aspects of the film were debated, Edward Epstein, an initial critic of the Warren Commission, believed that the film accurately reflects the mixed feelings that were aroused following the main events of the assassination with a public consensus that is contentious regarding Oswald's guilt. Despite this, it is important to reflect that the findings of the Warren Commission were ultimately supported by definitive evidence and not purely speculation. Conversely, Stone's interpretation is accused of manipulating evidence for entertainment at the cost of historical manipulation. Political scientist Robert S. Robins discusses the idea that the film was 'more concerned about political paranoia' than a true historical portrayal. A primary example that supports this is Stone's portrayal of Oswald following his arrest, in which Garrison claims Oswald was 'interrogated for 12 hours and nobody made a record of it'. This contradicts evidence that reports from each of Oswald's interrogators are clearly documented within the Warren Report, and this manipulation can be seen to push the idea of Oswald's innocence. Furthermore, Time Magazine editor Steve Haines suggested that 'everybody but Lee Harvey Oswald' was portrayed as a suspect within the assassination. This reflects Stone's mischaracterisation of the Warren Commission to throw doubt upon Oswald's role in the assassination. Hence, while Stone does reflect some aspects of the historical context correctly, ultimately he manipulates historical evidence to purport the existence of a conspiracy, and consequently instigates paranoia to engage audiences.

Furthermore, the portrayal of Jim Garrison's controversial investigation is central to its legitimacy as a historical tool. Garrison's investigation was known to have drawn intense public disrepute as a result of his questionable methods, with Garrison admitting his use of 'polygraph examination, truth serum and hypnosis'. This would prove crucial as one important witness, Perry Russo, claimed he had overheard Oswald discussing the proposed assassination of Kennedy with other conspirators. However, under cross-examination Russo instead testified that he had had no conscious memory of his own conspiracy story before he was drugged and hypnotised by Garrison. The resulting polarisation of opinion that ensued was reflected through the words of political writer Sylvia Meagher, who suggested



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in 1969 that, as the Garrison investigation continued to unfold, 'it gave cause for misgivings about the scrupulousness of his methods'. However, in relation to the film, analyst Aubrey Rike believed that Stone 'legitimises his investigation' into Kennedy's murder for melodramatic purpose. This is supported by the representation of Russo, who is adapted into a composite character named Willie O'Keefe. Though many aspects of O'Keefe are consistent with Russo, including his initial claims, Stone notably omits Garrison's questionable methods and his controversial testimony. Rike therefore concludes that, through 'the omission and marring' of historical detail, Stone attempts to legitimise his conclusions on the assassination and engage an audience. Despite this, historian George Evica conversely suggests the inherent controversy of his investigation is reflected, citing the prominent scenes of media frenzy against Garrison. However, though the film portrays some aspect of debate around the investigation, the omission of crucial aspects is consequential as it adds false legitimacy to his investigation in order to engage an audience. Thus, Stone's portrayal of Garrison's investigation is to a large extent distorted to substantiate and dramatise his proposed conclusions for entertainment purposes.

Evidence is incorporated throughout the response and supported by strong, clear judgement.

In addition, examination of Stone's conclusions is essential when examining the extent to which the film's historical accuracy is limited due to the focus on entertainment. Through the character of 'X' and the trial of Clay Shaw, Stone suggests a conspiracy at the highest levels of government and distinctly insists that Kennedy was killed because he wanted to pull the United States out of the Vietnam War and dismantle the CIA. These particular deductions sparked intense historical debate with such a large impact that it led to the formation of the US Assassination Records Review Board. Roger Ebert argues that the film 'weaves a persuasive tapestry' supported by the overwhelming testimony presented throughout the film. Conversely, David Belin, a counsel to the Warren Commission, particularly criticised Stone's use of 'sinister connections' that serve to imply a high-level plot, as reflected through the film's prominent depiction of Jack Ruby. The circumstances of Ruby's murder of Oswald were not suggestive of extensive pre-planning, yet Stone's characterisation of him suggests that Ruby 'rubbed out Oswald' on orders. This serves to further dramatise the circumstances and support a government assassination, with Belin further articulating that in naming the government, Stone 'crosses the threshold of slander and character assassination'. This is further supported by critic Roger Ebert, who reflected the conclusions 'made it grip and disturb us', further revealing the changes that exist for drama. Hence, to a large extent the film was more concerned with making an entertaining film rather than presenting a historically accurate depiction of events.

An excellent response needs to be detailed and written in a coherent format. The paragraph demonstrates extensive research to justify historical arguments.



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Finally, the criticism of the film *JFK* has been based to a large extent on its blurring of the line between truth and fiction. The criticism was based on the film's various inventions created for entertainment purposes. These included scenes such as the bullet left by a co-conspirator on a hospital gurney, described by Owen Gleiberman as 'just an overheated act of conjecture' and dialogue such as the debates within the military introduced by X. They also included a number of fictional characters, the most crucial being Willie O'Keefe and X. O'Keefe, a male prostitute, who is apparently a composite of several gay witnesses. This prompted much criticism that the film was homophobic and there was an apparent bias against gays, thus limiting the historical accuracy of the film. However, Stone has refused to accept that he has distorted history because he was not a historian, but argued that he was a 'dramatist' making use of artistic licence. His aim, he declared, was not to rewrite history but to shape a 'new counter myth to the conventional myth presented by the Warren Commission'. The power of film is that it establishes difference of opinion around matters of historical interpretation. Robert Brent Toplin in 'Hollywood's interpretations of American history' argues, 'film can make a significant impact on the public's thinking about the past. Historical dramas often stimulate wide-ranging debates about their interpretations and lead to the publications of books and articles that wish to address the historical accuracy of the film.' Thus, film can have a negative impact on its audience by presenting a view of history that has been designed with greater attention to entertainment opposed to historical accuracy.

In closing, Stone presents a well-characterised, cohesive case that logically proposes the existence of a conspiracy. But when the shifting and omission of historical events is noted, Stone's conclusions fall apart and leave us with a film that, while entertaining, is of little use to a historian and ultimately supports the statement.

Concluding paragraph is focused on truth and fiction.

Strong references to scenes in the film linked to the historical debate on truth through film.

The sophistication of the response is highlighted by its ability to analyse the nature of historical interpretation of historical film and its impact on the audience.

The conclusion is concise and reinforces the hypothesis of the essay.

## Creating an oral presentation

The historical investigation project can be assessed as an oral presentation or as a group presentation. In this case, students will need to deliver a short talk to their class and present their research on the historical topic they have chosen based on their readings and research.

The assessment guidelines will provide a clear overview of the requirements for a successful oral presentation. However, you would benefit by considering the following factors that will contribute favourably in enhancing your presentation:

- preparing a handout that summarises the key arguments of your project
- using effective visual aids to highlight key concepts and research
- constructing relevant and thought-provoking questions that will get the class to think about your historical arguments
- submitting a written component based on the research presentation topic that evaluates the central arguments in your research.

There is normally a time limit designated to your oral presentation and it is essential that you present within those parameters. A key skill when delivering an oral presentation is to demonstrate careful planning combined with a clear focus on the essential points to ensure that you deliver your presentation within the



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time frame. You also need to consider the visuals that you may use including slides, video or whiteboard to help you cover the ground in less time.

### Rehearsal and delivery

Great speakers ensure they establish a positive rapport with their audience. This will be achieved through the effective application of good eye contact, variation in voice and effective body language. It is invaluable to rehearse at home to ensure that you know your speech well, rather than reading off your palm cards. Practice makes perfect and a powerful presentation is one that the audience finds informative, entertaining and thought-provoking. The delivery of your presentation plays a significant role in the way you communicate your thoughts and ideas. Always remember that effective presentations are engaging and captivate their audience. Some important tips to achieve this outcome include:

- Never read your presentation from your palm cards or from PowerPoint slides. Address the audience, otherwise they will find your presentation boring and stop listening.
- The pace of the presentation is very important and rushing is often a sign of nervousness. Try to slow down to emphasise key points so they are clearly articulated to your audience.
- Short pauses can be very powerful and provide opportunities for the audience to think carefully about the arguments you are making.
- Good eye contact will allow the speaker to make a positive connection with their audience. Try to sweep your eyes across the room so that everyone is engaged.
- Body language needs to be open and friendly to invite the audience to follow your arguments and key ideas.

## FLASHPOINT!

### Group work presentations

Collaboration is an important skill that students need to develop at school, as the modern workplace requires people to have the capacity to work well in teams. Group work provides students with the opportunity to develop their learning by working in a team or group environment. Group projects can be a rewarding experience if everybody shares the goal of working well together to achieve a successful presentation. However, for many students it can be a frustrating experience because most of the work can be left to some members of the group while others don't contribute to the presentation.

To ensure a successful group work presentation, students should establish a 'Contract of Expectations' at the beginning of the research project that clearly defines the roles and responsibilities of each member of the group. Once each member of the group has agreed to the terms of the contract, it is clear to maintain accountability within the group. Some of the golden considerations in developing effective collaboration skills and establishing clear expectations include:

1. Have clear objectives.
2. Set ground rules.
3. Communicate efficiently.
4. Build consensus.
5. Clearly define roles.
6. Clarify decisions.
7. Keep good records of discussions and responsibilities.
8. Stick to the plan.
9. Monitor progress and stick to the deadline.
10. Support and encourage equal involvement.



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# PART 4

# The shaping of the modern world

## CHAPTER




**Chapter 9** Overview – *Digital version only*



**Chapter 10** World War I: the historical context



**Chapter 11** World War I: the nature of the war



**Chapter 12** World War I: the legacy of the war and its influence on modernity




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*Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe.*

HG Wells, *The Outline of History*, 1920

## PREVIEWING KEY IDEAS

**The shaping of the modern world**
Key events and developments shaped the Modern World with ideologies, revolutions, economic changes and social advances.

**The complex background of the Great War**
There were complex and dynamic forces at work in the century before the outbreak of war in 1914. There were forces for war and forces for peace. In the end, decisions by a very small group of men in the political and diplomatic elites of Europe made decisions for war.

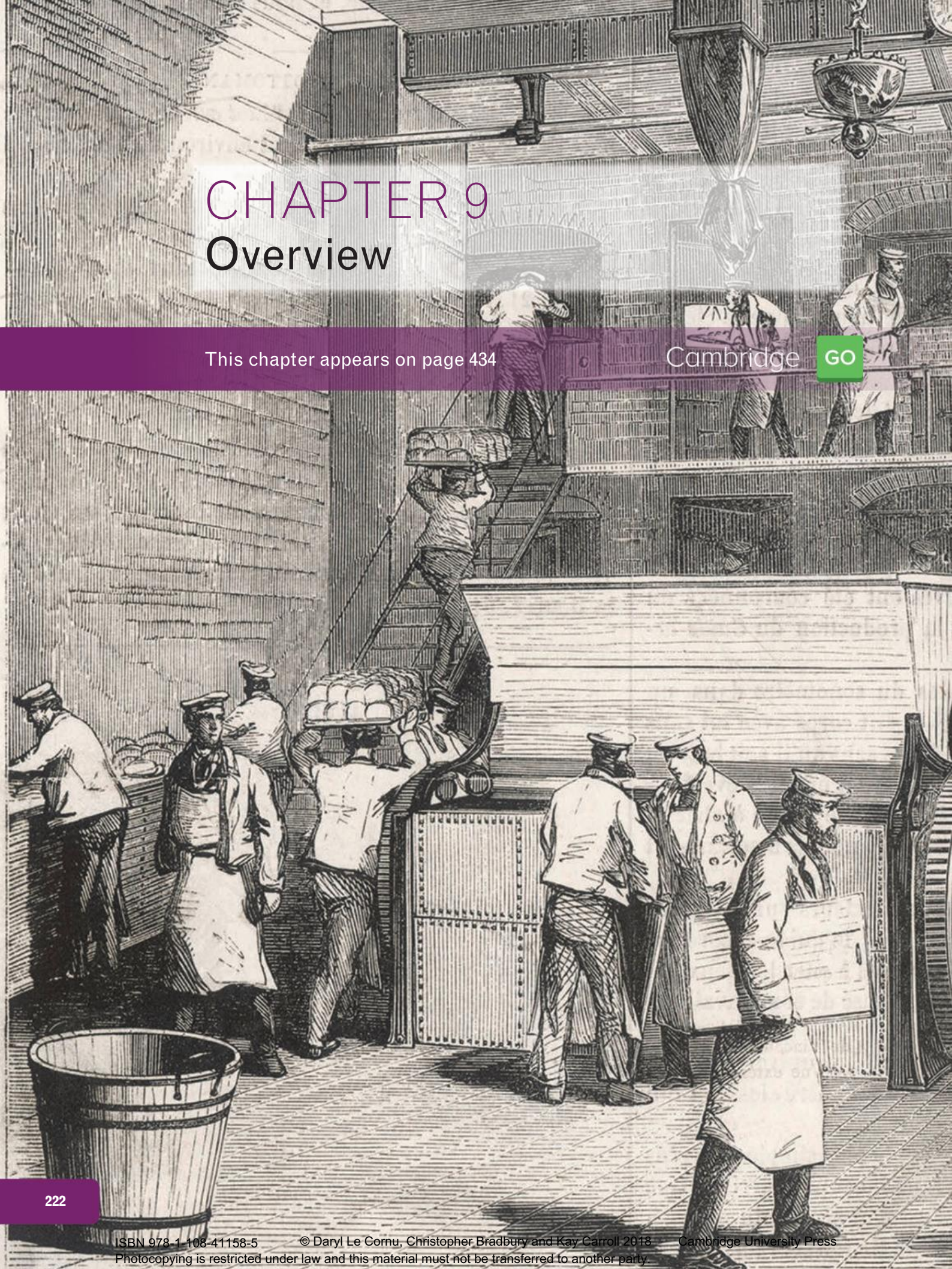
**The war expanded in scope and escalated in savagery**
The war took on a global dimension from the outset and new technologies made battlefields more deadly than at any time before in history. Attempts were made to break the stalemate both militarily and politically. The home front became critical to victory or defeat.

**The Great War played a significant role in shaping the twentieth century**
The Great War and the peace settlements that followed redrew many of the boundaries of Europe, ended three empires, transformed domestic politics in some way in all participating countries, and reshaped global order.

**PICTURED: During World War I, red poppies were among the first plants to spring up in the devastated battlefields of northern France and Belgium. Today, poppies represent the first modern war, and are also used symbolically to remember fallen soldiers in all conflicts, especially on Anzac and Remembrance Day commemorations.**



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# CHAPTER 9
# Overview

This chapter appears on page 434

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# CHAPTER 10
# World War I: the historical context

*World War I still haunts us, partly because of the sheer scale of the carnage – 10 million combatants killed and many more wounded. Countless civilians lost their lives, too, whether through military action, starvation, or disease. Whole empires were destroyed and societies brutalized … But there's another reason the war continues to haunt us: we still cannot agree why it happened.*

Margaret MacMillan, 'The rhyme of history: lessons of the Great War', *The Brookings Essay*, 14 December 2013, p. 1

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

By using a range of historical sources, you will investigate World War I and its role in shaping the modern world, and develop an understanding of the complex historical background to the decisions for war.

**KEY ISSUES**

You will explore:
the historical context, such as:

- the nature of European global domination by the end of the nineteenth century
- the rising influence of internationalism, multilateral cooperation and economic integration on Europe and the world
- class inequality and increasing pressure for democratic reforms
- the intensification of imperial rivalry, militarism and the arms race particularly after 1870
- the rise of two rival Great Power alliance systems
- the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the geopolitical crisis of July 1914 and the eventual decisions for war
- the voices of dissent in 1914
- the vigorous debates about many aspects of World War I that still occur, more than a century later



**1815** Defeat of Napoleon
**1815** Congress of Vienna
**1848** 1848 Revolutions
**1863** Henry Dunant founded Red Cross



**1870–1871** Franco-Prussian War
**1871** German and Italian unification
**1882** Triple Alliance
**1891** Franco-Russian Entente
**1899** Hague Convention



**1899–1902** Boer War

**THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT** 1840 1890



Napoleonic Wars **1800–1815**
Concert of Europe **1815–1850**
Crimean War **1853–1856**

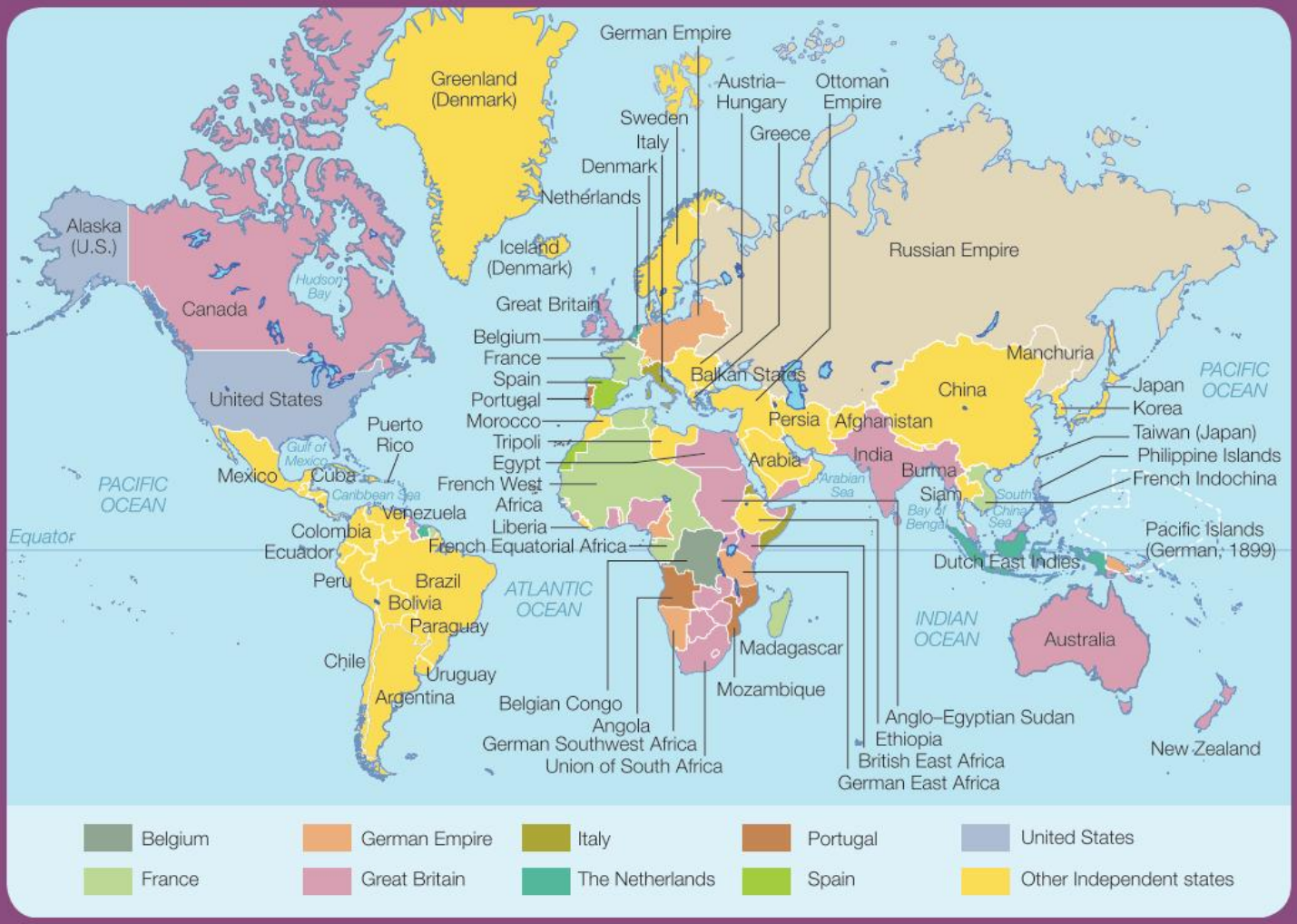


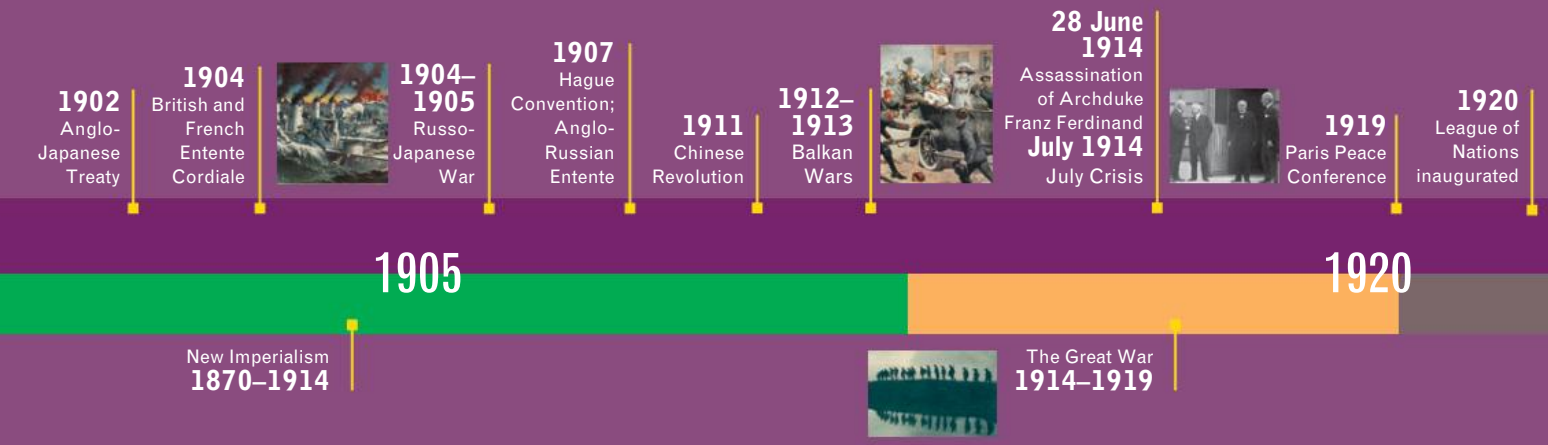
**SOURCE 10.1 Queen Victoria and her family at a wedding in Coburg in Germany in 1894. Included in the photo are Prince Edward (King of the United Kingdom 1900–1910), Tsar Nicholas II of Russia and Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany. The royal families of Europe were linked by blood or marriage.**

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# European empires in 1914






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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



**SOURCE 10.2** The Kaiser and the Tsar circa 1913: Tsar Nicholas II of Russia (1868–1918) on the left with Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany (1859–1941) on the right

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

| What do you see? | What do you think? | What do you wonder? |
|---|---|---|



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# CHAPTER 10 Overview

| KEY IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS TODAY | KEY TERMS AND NAMES |
|---|---|---|
| The interplay of complex factors led to a handful of political leaders, generals and diplomats making the fateful decision for war in August 1914. | It matters today because World War I shows how easy it is for political leaders to lose control of events in a crisis and for the result to be war. | • imperialism<br>• jingoism<br>• nationalism<br>• patriotism<br>• militarism<br>• Slav<br>• internationalism<br>• globalisation<br>• intergovernmental organisation<br>• non-governmental organisation<br>• multilateral<br>• Treaty of Westphalia<br>• Concert of Europe<br>• Hague Convention |

## *Painting the picture*

**INQUIRY QUESTION**

What led to the outbreak of World War I?

### The historical context of World War I

The 'Great War', as it was called until it was superseded by an even more deadly conflict, still holds a fascination for us today, more than a century later. We look back and are still shocked by the enormity of the death and destruction and have a sense of the grief that would have overwhelmed whole communities due to the enormous cost. We look in awe at the monuments scattered around the world built to honour those sacrificed in this war. In Australia, our public memories of the Great War have gained a quasi-religious significance and, along with the Anzac legend, have come to be regarded as an important part of our national psyche.

In Australia there is agreement about the importance of commemorating this most terrible conflict. Over $600 million was allocated to events and projects surrounding the centenary years of 2014 to 2018. Yet, despite all this attention given to the various campaigns and battles of the Great War, we are still left with a haunting feeling that we do not really understand this conflict. As a community we tend to view World War I through the prism of World War II. Yet the latter of these two global conflicts is far easier to understand than the former.

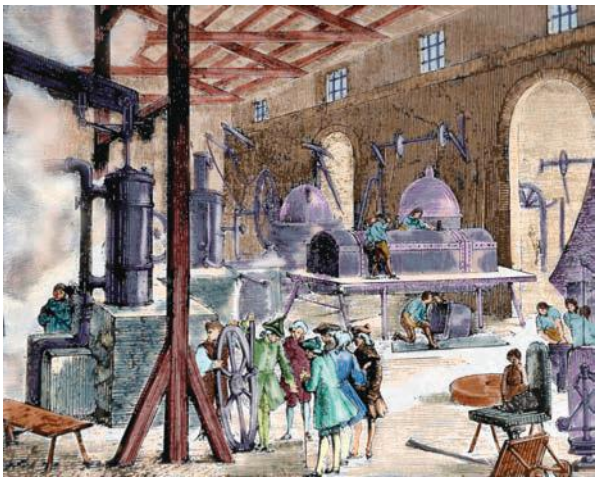
Despite the multitude of books, articles, research and debate on the subject of the Great War there is still a great controversy surrounding almost everything about it. This is in contrast to World War II, for which there is broad agreement about its causes, its key battles and turning-points, the reasons for Allied victory and the postwar settlement. The Great War, on the other hand, was mired in controversy from the start. There is still vigorous debate over the causes of the 1914–1918 war, the reasons why it went on for so long, the **war aims** of both sides, military strategy and tactics, the reasons for Allied victory, and about the fairness and wisdom of the peace settlement.

**war aims** the specific objectives that a nation is committed to in a war, which may be public or secret

The aim of this chapter is to explore the historical context of the pre-1914 world to gain some understanding of the underlying forces at play in the societies that were soon engulfed by the Great War. Despite the fact that, in hindsight, historians can discern long-term and short-term causes for it, it would



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**SOURCE 10.3** London, interior of an English factory, late eighteenth century; nineteenth-century coloured engraving. Britain was the first country in the world to be transformed by the Industrial Revolution.

be a mistake to conclude that it was inevitable. In the end, a few individuals made fateful decisions that led to war. However, there was no shortage of voices that warned of the dire consequences of plunging Europe into war. Once committed, this monstrous conflict dragged on for five years. Now, over a century later it is time to take a much more clear-eyed view of the first of the two global wars of the twentieth century.

## 10.1 Imperialism and Great Power rivalry: the origin of European domination of the world

In 1900 the Great Powers of Europe dominated the world. Technological advances since the 1500s, especially in the areas of seafaring and weaponry, had enabled a number of European nations to build strong merchant and naval fleets and spread across the oceans to discover and colonise new lands. A handful of European nations led the way in exploration and discovery around the world. Of course, the lands that the Europeans discovered were mostly inhabited by people without the necessary technological means to resist their invaders. Over the next few centuries these seafaring powers of Europe built extensive empires and progressively built up substantial trade networks that they used to acquire the raw materials to enrich their own economies.

The colonies possessed by the Great Powers of Europe were also markets for goods made in Europe. European dominance of the world was further enhanced by the Industrial Revolution, which started in Great Britain around 1750. The Industrial Revolution spread to other European countries and transformed them from agrarian to manufacturing economies. This intensified free market capitalism, which became the defining characteristic of modern nations. These two developments – voyages of exploration and the Industrial Revolution – had made the small nations of Europe the masters of the rest of the world. However, by the nineteenth century these same developments that had enabled Europe to dominate the world now threatened to tear the continent apart.

In the quest to build global empires the imperial powers of Europe frequently came into conflict with each other. Over the centuries many wars between European powers were ignited due to this intense geopolitical rivalry. We refer to this geopolitical rivalry between the Great Powers as 'imperial rivalry', as most of it involved disputes over colonies. Sometimes these disputes erupted into war on the European continent. In the nineteenth century the Napoleonic Wars caused a level of destruction that had never been seen before.



**SOURCE 10.4** French cavalry charging a British infantry square at the Battle of Waterloo, 1815 (from a 1906 painting)



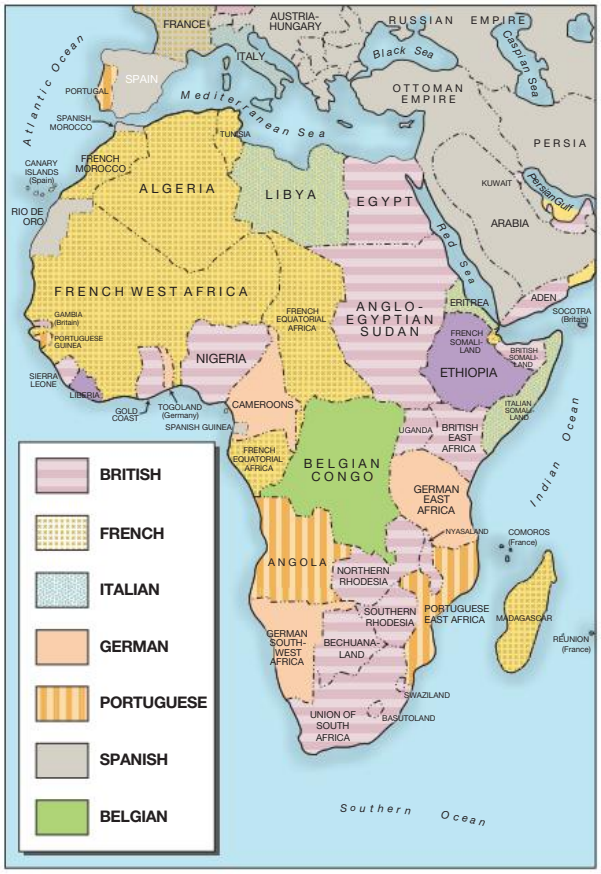
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## New imperialism 1870–1914

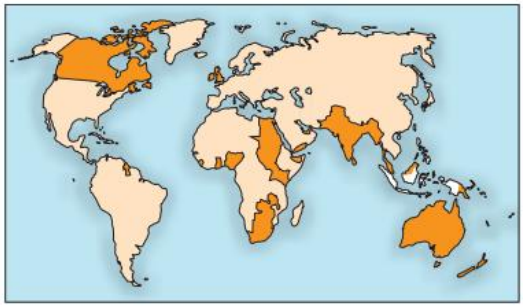
From about the mid-nineteenth century European control over the world tightened. The British formally took control of India in 1858, the French took control of Polynesia in 1840 and Indochina in 1887 and all the imperial powers became caught up in what became known as 'the race for Empire'. The European colonial powers competed with one another to acquire those remaining territories in the world that were still unclaimed. This rivalry was intensified by the formation of two new nations in Europe in 1871: Italy and Germany. After unification both of these nations felt an intense sense of nationalism and sought to have colonies of their own to boost their prestige and help fuel their growing economies. One result of this period of new **imperialism** was the carving up of the vast continent of Africa between the imperialist powers of Europe in what became dubbed 'the scramble for Africa'. By 1914 over 90 per cent of Africa was in European hands.

During this period the British Empire reached its height. By 1914 it covered roughly one quarter of the globe and ruled over 400 million people, which was roughly one quarter of the world's population. There was a saying that 'the sun never sets on the British Empire', because it spanned the globe and there was always some part of it in the sun at any one time. To support this vast empire, the British had the largest navy, which ruled the high seas and sometimes acted as the de facto policeman of the world. Under Queen Victoria's reign (1837–1901) the British changed their mercantilist approach to trade for a belief that free trade offered the best hope of ensuring prosperity for Britain and all (European) nations. However, despite the enormous size and success of its empire, the British became even more insecure.

Between 1899 and 1902 the British waged a war with Dutch settlers, known as the Boers, in South Africa. When the Boer War ended in 1902, British concern about Russia's imperialist ambitions in Asia led them to conclude a treaty with Japan to balance Russian power in that part of the world. Also, out of anxiety about French imperial ambitions, Britain signed an alliance with France in 1904 – the Entente Cordiale – in which they promised to respect each other's colonial possessions and made a secret agreement to come to each other's aid in the event of war. In 1907 the British dealt with the Russian threat to their empire by concluding the Anglo-Russian Agreement with the Tsarist rulers. In 1910 Britain's feelings of vulnerability intensified when both the US and Germany overtook Britain in their manufacturing output.




**SOURCE 10.5** European interests in Africa, 1914



**SOURCE 10.6** The British Empire by 1914

**imperialism** the activity and ideology of empire-building; a system in which a country rules other countries, sometimes using force to gain control of them

## The Russian Empire

Tsarist Russia was also anxious. It was the largest of the Great Powers with the longest unbroken border lining the frontiers of its vast empire, which stretched from the Baltic Sea in Europe to the Pacific Ocean in Asia. Russia appeared to be the greatest and most formidable of the Great Powers, yet it was keenly



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aware of its perennial problem: its backwardness compared to the other Great Powers of Europe. It was still very much an agrarian economy.

In the 1890s Russia embarked on an ambitious industrialisation program under the guidance of Sergei Witte, the Finance Minister from 1892 to 1903. However, this modernisation program exacerbated internal problems in the vast empire with growing classes of landless peasants and restless workers in the new sprawling industrial centres agitating for change in a system that allowed no criticism of the state. All strikes and protests were illegal and there were no legitimate outlets for dissent. To compensate for their domestic weaknesses and their slow modernisation, the Russian leadership looked to further expansion to the east by taking advantage of the crumbling Chinese empire. Russia was particularly keen on expanding into Manchuria and Korea and securing access to the warm water of the Pacific Ocean.

## The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire was created in 1453 when the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople. For hundreds of years it remained one of the world's strongest empires. In 1683 the Ottomans threatened to expand into the heart of Europe by sending a 200 000 strong army to lay siege to Vienna in Austria but were defeated by a coalition of European nations.

During the following century, the power of the Ottomans gradually declined. They struggled to keep control over their empire and were forced to relinquish their control over Egypt and North Africa. In 1850, Tsar Nicholas I referred to the Ottoman Empire as 'the sick man of Europe'. By the mid-1800s the Ottomans were beset by economic problems and could not compete with the other Great Powers whose economies were thriving. By the late 1800s there were calls for internal political reforms led by the Young Turk movement.

In the early 1900s the Ottomans lost control of their remaining territories in Europe after a series of wars in the Balkans. The other Great Powers coveted the remaining territories of the Ottoman Empire.



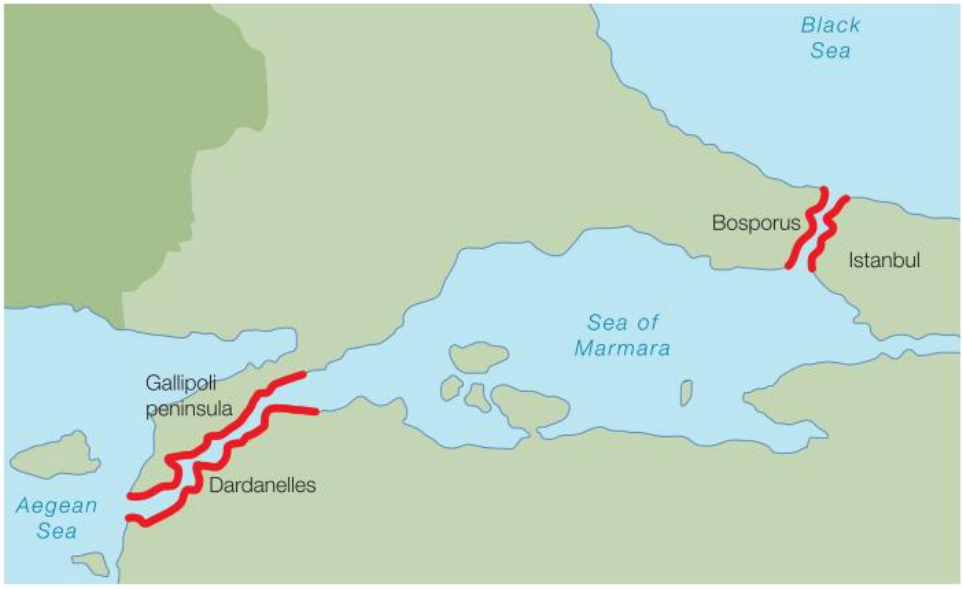

**SOURCE 10.7** The Russian Empire by 1914



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**SOURCE 10.8** In 1914 the Ottoman Empire was regarded as an empire in decay. It had gradually lost territories in Europe and North Africa. With the growing importance of oil its Middle Eastern possessions were increasingly coveted by other Great Powers.

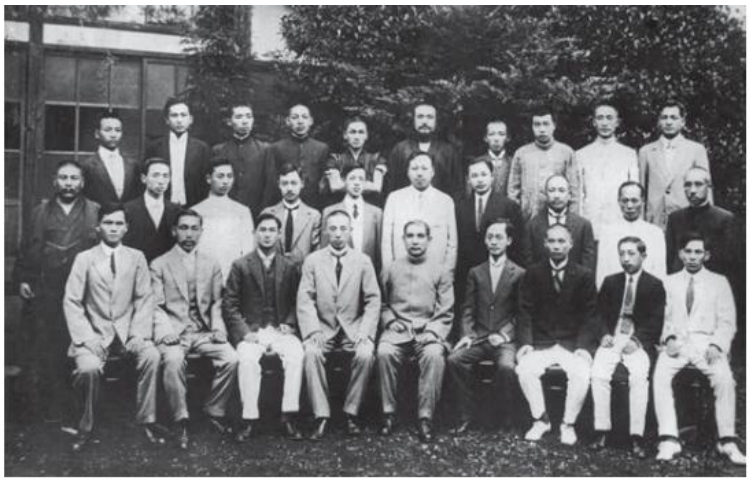



**SOURCE 10.9** The Russians had a historic desire for control over the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles so that its merchant and naval fleets could have unimpeded access from Russian ports in the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea.

The Russians had a specific desire for control over the Dardanelles and consequently the Ottoman rulers regarded Russia as their main threat. Since France was an ally of Russia, any alliance with it was out of the question. Austria-Hungary sought to extend its influence at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. Though some moderates in the government favoured an alliance with Britain, in the end it was Germany that signed a secret treaty with the Ottoman rulers on 2 August 1914 with the Ottomans pledging to enter the war on the side of Germany one day after the Germans declared war on Russia.



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**SOURCE 10.10** Sun Yat-Sen and members of his Guomindang Party. The aim of this political party in 1911 was to modernise China after the revolution that toppled the Qing Dynasty. Nineteen-eleven was a time of optimism for China, but hopes were soon dashed when power was seized by Yuan Shikai and China descended into decades of chaos.

## Asia

Meanwhile in Asia, as the once-great Qing Dynasty in China crumbled, Japan, its neighbour to the east, modernised. China's decline accelerated after the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901), and the foreign intervention that suppressed it, and then demanded heavy indemnities from the Chinese government. Finally, in 1911 the Chinese revolution brought down the hated Qing Dynasty and China descended into decades of chaotic government.

In contrast, Japan had successfully modernised its economy and its military along European lines, starting from the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Japan viewed Russian expansion into Manchuria and Korea as a threat to its own imperial ambitions. In 1904 Japan launched an attack on the Russian Eastern fleet and continued to inflict further defeats on the Russian forces by both land and sea. In 1905 the Russo-Japanese War ended with the Treaty of Portsmouth. The historic significance of this short war was that this was the first time in the modern era that an Asian power had inflicted a defeat on a European power.

Across the Pacific Ocean, the United States of America was an emerging economic powerhouse after expanding its rule westwards to the Pacific. Since its foundation the US had expressed little interest in seeking an overseas empire. However, this changed when the US acquired Hawaii in 1898 to enhance its security in the west. In the same year, the US also acquired the Philippines after the brief Spanish-American War.

For the time being the US was content with its geopolitical position and showed no sign of imperial ambition or militaristic tendencies. Though the US navy was a formidable force, its army was ranked 17th in the world after Portugal. Many Americans took pride in the fact that the US did not follow the old ways of Europe and was not a militaristic nation. This was to change in 1915 when they began to feel the impact of the Great War.

## RESEARCH TASK 10.1

### Map exercise

Refer to the map of European empires at the start of this chapter.

1 Draw up a table like this and list the colonies belonging to each imperialist power.

2 Research the population sizes of each colonial empire.

| World empires in 1914 | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | British | French | Dutch | German | Italian | Portuguese | USA |
| Colonies | | | | | | | |
| Population | | | | | | | |



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## 10.2 Militarism and the arms race

In Europe **militarism** had reached fever point by the turn of the century. Militarism was a belief in the importance of building up military might, promoting a military spirit in society and being willing to use military force in the pursuit of a nation's geopolitical objectives. Each of the Great Powers of Europe adopted a militaristic approach to the world. Not only did they engage in an arms race on a scale never seen before in human history, but they also promoted a spirit within their societies that assumed that preparation for war and success in war was a necessary ingredient for maintaining their positions as Great Powers in Europe and as rulers of vast global empires.

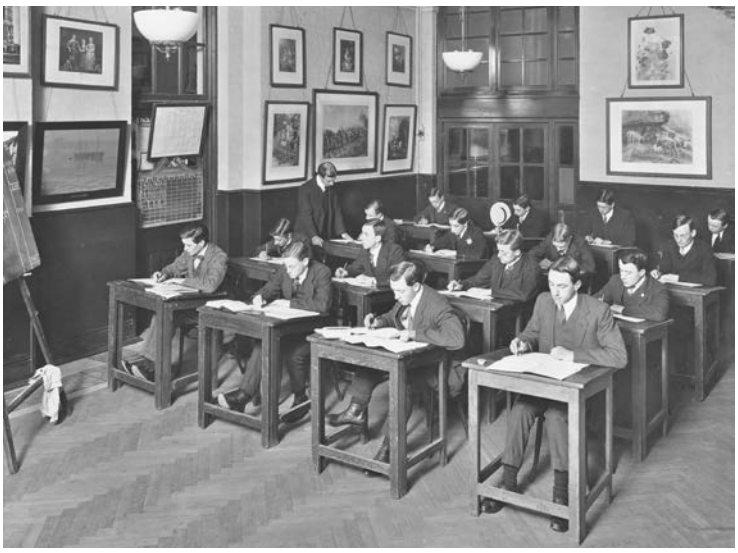
In schools across Europe a martial spirit was inculcated in children through the new state-run education systems. Students were brought up to have strong **patriotic** feelings for their country and be willing to serve it in war even to the point of sacrificing their own lives. By the end of the nineteenth century masculinity was linked to militarism and war was regarded as the ultimate test of manhood, especially for educated men throughout Europe.

The military and especially the generals and the officer class were generally held in high esteem in society across Europe. Political leaders also tended to play up their military prowess when they thought the situation demanded it. Some government leaders even liked dressing in military garb to impress the people.

A militaristic and imperialistic outlook on the world was promoted by the education system, the press and politicians. Vast sums of money were expended by the ruling elites of the Great Powers to build massive military capabilities that

**militarism** an ideology that glorifies military ideals and culture and advocates the necessity to have strong armed forces and to use them to win political or economic advantages

**patriotism** loving your country more than any others and being proud of it. Patriotism can turn into extremism and intolerance very quickly.



**SOURCE 10.11** Students in a classroom in 1914. Young men throughout Europe were inculcated with a martial spirit.






**SOURCE 10.12** Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany shown here in military uniform, circa 1900, and Russian Emperor Tsar Nicholas II in military uniform, 1914



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**standing army** a nation's regular and professional armed force

far exceeded the needs of pure defence. Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France and Italy built large armies using conscription. In addition, in these countries young men were forced into years of military service. The purpose of this was to greatly enlarge their **standing armies**. However, these had to be enlarged even more because in the event of war all those who had been trained previously would also be mobilised, thus creating massed armies bigger than at any other time in the past. Regarding conscription, Britain was the odd one out in that its Liberal government, with its strong belief in 'free service', refused to introduce it. This principled position was to come under threat in World War I.

**TABLE 10.1** Army strength and population in 1914

| | Britain | France | Germany | Austria | Russia | Italy |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Population (in millions) | 46 | 40 | 65 | 50 | 167 | 35 |
| Standing army | 255 000 | 823 000 | 880 000 | 480 000 | 1.4 million | 125 100 |
| Fully mobilised army | 700 000 | 4.5 million | 5.7 million | 2.3 million | 5.3 million | |

From 1900 the world witnessed an unprecedented build-up of armed forces by the Great Powers of Europe as they sought to maximise their geopolitical clout and relieve their anxieties about future threats to their regimes.

**TABLE 10.2** Naval strength in 1914

| | Britain | France | Germany | Austria | Russia | USA | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dreadnought | 24 | 14 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 10 | 4 |
| Pre-dreadnought | 38 | 15 | 30 | 12 | 7 | 26 | 2 |
| Battle cruisers | 10 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Cruisers | 47 | 19 | 14 | 3 | 8 | 21 | 9 |
| Light cruisers | 61 | 6 | 35 | 4 | 5 | 11 | 15 |
| Destroyers | 225 | 81 | 152 | 14 | 106 | 50 | 56 |
| Submarines | 76 | 76 | 30 | 14 | 36 | 39 | 15 |



**SOURCE 10.13** Count Alfred von Schlieffen, chief of the German general staff, in 1916

The statistics showing the relative military prowess of the Great Powers can be misleading. The effectiveness of a nation at war depends on many things. In regard to land warfare, Germany was acknowledged to have the edge on the other Great Powers in terms of its military leadership, its technological advantages and its plans for the speedy mobilisation and deployment of its forces. The German army also had a proud tradition of military success dating back to the Franco-Prussian War in 1870–1871 and the war with Austria in 1866.

The Franco-Russian alliance of 1894 counterbalanced this. Though it was acknowledged that the Russian army would be slow to mobilise and deploy its forces for battle, its sheer size would make it a very formidable opponent in war. This alliance meant that any war that Germany might have with either France or Russia would inevitably mean war with both. The numerical superiority of the combined French and Russian forces led the German High Command to look



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to the **Schlieffen Plan**, which required Germany to deploy all its forces to the west to defeat France within six weeks and then to go into battle with the Russians on the Eastern Front. The assumption was that the Russians would be slow to mobilise, giving the Germans a six-week window to defeat the French.

## 10.3 Nationalism: a driving force of the nineteenth century

**Nationalism** was one of the driving forces of the nineteenth century. Though the legal concept of the modern nation-state was born out of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1868, it was not until the nineteenth century that the peoples of Europe began to value the idea of being part of a nation with a common language, beliefs and traditions.

People did not always see their membership of a particular nation as a major part of their identity. In Europe for most of human history, people barely looked beyond the affairs of their local area to define their identity. If they did it was in terms of looking at the activities of their lord or monarch. This all changed dramatically with the French Revolution in 1789. With the monarchy overthrown a new sense of equality as members of a nation emerged in the French population. French pride in the achievements of their revolution fuelled a sense of love for their country.

Under Napoleon Bonaparte the French took their revolutionary fervour across Europe when Napoleon won battle after battle and nearly unified Europe. However, this was a Europe ruled by French nationalism. Napoleon failed to engender a sense of being European and his method of ruling the kingdoms of Europe by installing relatives or cronies in the seats of power and by declaring himself Emperor fuelled a sense of nationalism in the peoples of Europe that had not existed before. Each national group now struggled against French domination as the coalition forces of the English, French and Russians smashed Napoleon's empire. Once ignited, the flame of nationalism continued to burn across Europe. The kingdoms of Italy and Germany both unified and became nation-states in 1871. Once unified, these new nations of Europe began to look outward to find ways to enhance their new-found national pride.

However, there were peoples who possessed a common language and tradition but did not reside in nation-states with defined borders.



**SOURCE 10.14** An 1801 oil painting by Jacques Louis David of Napoleon Bonaparte in heroic pose, crossing the Saint-Bernard Pass in 1800. Napoleon stoked the revolutionary French nationalistic fervour, born of the French Revolution of 1789, and combined this with his superb generalship to conquer Europe between 1803 and 1815.

**Schlieffen Plan** a battle plan proposed in 1905 by Count Alfred von Schlieffen, chief of the German general staff, which was designed to allow Germany to wage a successful two-front war (most likely against France and Russia)

**nationalism** a strong identification with others who share a common language and heritage and a belief that the interests of one's state are of primary importance




**SOURCE 10.15** The Balkans area of southern Europe was a constant source of instability for the Great Powers of Europe.



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**Slav** a member of any of the Eastern European races of people who speak a Slavic language. The Slavic languages are divided into East Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian), West Slavic (Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbian) and South Slavic (Old Church Slavonic, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene).

These peoples were frustrated in their nationalistic fervour. Most of the Balkans, in the south-east of Europe, fell into this category of frustrated nationalism because many of the ethnic groups there did not rule themselves. Those that did had only recently won their independence from the Ottoman Empire, which had previously ruled all of the Balkans. To the north-west, the Austro-Hungarians feared that the **Slav** peoples in the Balkans would encourage the Slavs living within their empire to rebel. Meanwhile, the Russians had developed an affinity with the ethnically related Slavs of Serbia and sought to further Serbian interests in the Balkans. Consequently the Balkans were a dangerous mix of frustrated nationalism and geopolitical rivalry and were an unending source of concern for the rest of Europe.

## 10.4 Internationalism

Another force was born in the nineteenth century, and this was to reach its height in World War I and remains the major driving force in the world today. From the mid-nineteenth century the concept of **internationalism** emerged in the Western world. Intellectuals from Kant onwards dealt with the problem of relations between nations that all too often were characterised by **anarchy**, with Europe in particular tending to disunity. Napoleon's failed efforts to build a single government of Europe, and attempts from 1815 of the monarchic Great Powers in the **Concert of Europe** to enforce a conservative political order sparked a fierce intellectual debate about how to respond to the tendency for relations between nations to be governed by anarchy.

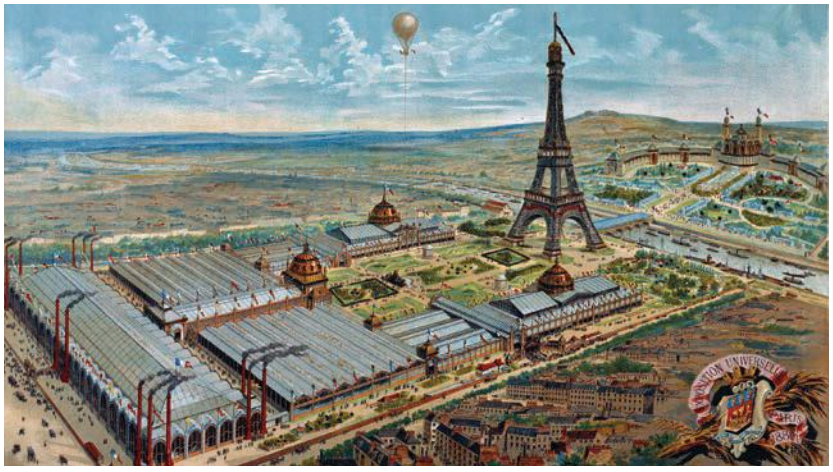
**internationalism** the belief that countries can achieve more advantages by working together and trying to understand each other than by arguing and fighting wars with each other

**anarchy** a situation in which there is no organisation or control, especially in society, because there is no effective government

**Concert of Europe** an agreement made by the victorious powers at the end of the Napoleonic Wars to maintain peace and stability in Europe

The intellectuals grappled primarily with the problem of Europe, but it was also a problem with all the nations in world. By the end of the nineteenth century the concept 'international' came to be accepted as a separate area of political life with its own rules, norms and institutions. Also, an air of optimism emerged in that intellectuals came to believe that it was possible that anarchy between nations was not inevitable but that, quite to the contrary, it was possible to govern this international realm. However, 'internationalism' was not promoted seriously by any government until midway through World War I.

The term 'international' was coined by English philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) and by the mid-nineteenth century the use of the term 'internationalism' had become publicly accepted. To some people 'internationalism' became a reaction to the narrow and aggressive nationalism that was also becoming increasingly evident. However, internationalism was more than just an emerging philosophical concept; it was also an unstoppable social force driven along by developments in science and technology. According to historian Mark Mazower in his book *Governing the World* (2012), 'This consciousness of the world as an interconnected whole cannot be separated from the impact of steamships, rail, the telegraph, and airpower and the sense of living through an epoch of unprecedented technological advance.'



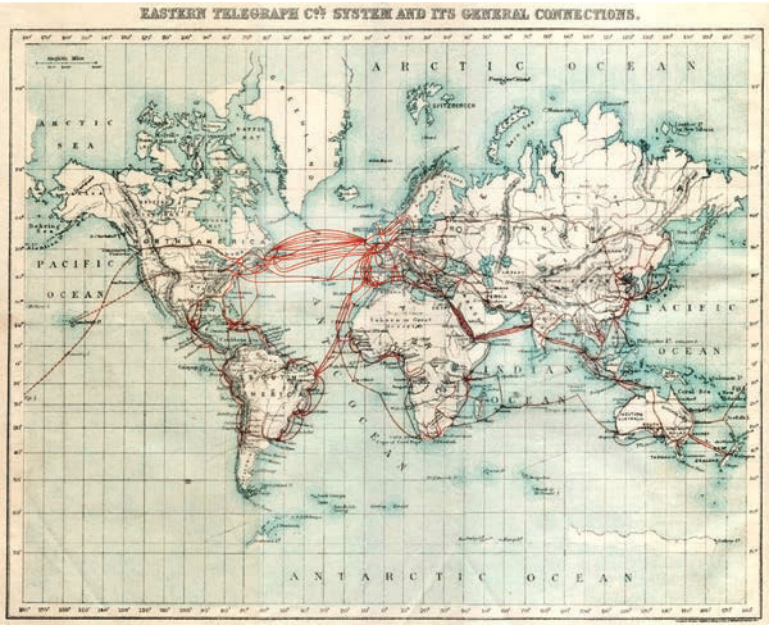
**SOURCE 10.16** General View of the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1889, otherwise known as the Paris Fair. This event marked a high point in internationalism in the 19th century.



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Over the course of the nineteenth century there was an unprecedented growth in international governmental organisations (IGOs) and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs). As historian FSL Lyons pointed out in his ground-breaking study on internationalism in his book *Internationalism in Europe 1815–1914* (1963), the most important factor in the dramatic growth of permanent international institutions was the growing ease of communication and of economic activity. This is demonstrated by the fact that between 1860 and 1880 five of the eleven IGOs that were formed were concerned with transport, international postage and the standardisation of weights and measures, and two were monetary unions. Lyons pointed to the momentum produced when science and technology were 'creating an international society, every country had to absorb the lesson that the opportunities and demands of that society could only be met by international cooperation.'

Lyons concluded his study on internationalism by observing that the essential contribution of the internationalist movement up to World War I was 'to provide the indispensable experience in international cooperation and in the working of international institutions upon which every subsequent effort towards unity has been based.' Furthermore, he noted that it was surprising 'how much that was built in those years has withstood the shock of two world wars'. According to Lyons, 'the lamps indeed went out in Europe in 1914. But not all them – and not forever.'




**SOURCE 10.17** Submarine cables for the British-based Eastern Telegraph Company in 1901. This shows the degree to which international communication had developed. This ease of communication facilitated global trade and the growth of government and private international organisations.

## 10.5 Multilateral cooperation and global economic integration

### Globalisation

In looking at the years between the beginning of the twentieth century and World War I, historians are often tempted to read history backwards and to therefore view the outbreak of war in 1914 as the inevitable result of the long-term and short-term causes of World War I. However, at the time, the outbreak of a war between the Great Powers of Europe was something that commentators were very concerned about, but this did not lead to **fatalism**. This is because there was a powerful momentum running in the opposite direction, largely due to the effects of **globalisation**.

The generation of 1914 had witnessed exceptional change in its lifetime. Rapid economic growth, expanding world trade, rapid technological advances in manufacturing, a communications revolution, and non-government transnational networking had transformed life for those lucky enough to be part of the Western world. This was the first golden age of globalisation. Furthermore, this all happened despite class struggle, imperial rivalry, the arms race, militarism and opposing alliance systems. In 1914 optimism abounded. As historian Margaret MacMillan stated in her book *The War that Ended Peace* (1914), in that year there were forces for war and forces for peace, and the tragedy was that in 1914 the balance was tipped in favour of the forces of war. Equally tragic was the fact that this unprecedented period of prosperity was brought to a halt in August 1914 at the dawn of the new century.

**fatalism** the belief that people cannot change the way events will happen and that events, especially bad ones, cannot be avoided

**globalisation** the widening, intensifying, speeding up and growing impact of world-wide connectedness in areas of trade, finance, investment, transport, communications and information



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**intergovernmental organisation (IGO)** an organisation set up by governments to perform a specific function in the world

**non-governmental organisation (NGO)** a group that tries to achieve social or political aims but is not controlled by a government

**Red Cross** an international organisation that takes care of people who are suffering because of war, hunger, disease or other problems

**international humanitarian law** also known as the laws of war; it defines the conduct of nations and people caught up in warfare. It comprises the Hague Conventions, the Geneva Conventions, other treaties and international customary law.

**Hague Conventions** the conventions of 1899 and 1907 were agreements calling for the regulation of hostilities and conduct of belligerents in war and the outlawing of the use of certain types of weapons

## Intergovernmental organisations

Two other new phenomena emerged during the nineteenth century: **intergovernmental organisations (IGOs)** and **non-governmental organisations (NGOs)**. There are tens of thousands of NGOs in the world today. The rise of these two types of international organisations led to an increase of functional cooperation; that is, cooperation between government and non-government groups around the world for mutual benefit.

In 1815, around the time of the Congress of Vienna, the first intergovernmental organisation in history to be established was the European Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine. The European Commission of the Danube in 1856, the International Telegraphic Union in 1865 and the Universal Postal Union in 1874 followed in quick succession. The nature of these organisations was very different from that of the ad hoc diplomatic conferences that nations held intermittently to tackle common problems. These new IGOs had a permanent administrative structure, a common purpose and stable membership. IGOs have grown to become an indispensable aspect of daily life in developed economies throughout the twentieth century and to the present day.

## Non-governmental organisations

Similarly, the growth and impact of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on daily life in the twentieth century has been just as dramatic. An NGO is any organisation outside government and business. From their beginnings, NGOs have tackled many global problems. One of the first NGOs was the **Red Cross**, founded in 1863 by Henri Dunant.

The Red Cross was instrumental in drawing up and championing the first Geneva Convention of 1864. This marked the beginning of the modern development of the laws of war, also known as **international humanitarian law**. Ever since then, the Red Cross has had an integral role in the drafting and enforcement of the Geneva Conventions of 1925, 1929, 1949 and the two protocols of 1977. The Red Cross also had an influence on the **Hague Conventions** of 1899 and 1907.

In the late nineteenth century the number of NGOs blossomed to include humanitarian movements, peace movements, suffrage movements, international law organisations and socialist organisations. By 1914 there were 176 NGOs in existence. Over the course of the twentieth century, NGOs were to increase to 1000 in 1956, 2000 in 1970, 27 000 in the 1990s and over 40 000 at the beginning of the twenty-first century. NGOs exerted little influence on the world's first attempt to prevent war – the League of Nations – but had an enormous input into the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, and have continued to play a very substantial role in the work of the United Nations.

Both IGOs and NGOs have come to assume an even greater significance since the return of globalisation in the late 1980s.



**SOURCE 10.18** Henri Dunant (1828–1910) was a Swiss philanthropist. In 1863 he founded the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). He won the first Nobel Peace Prize in 1901.



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## Multilateral Great Power initiatives

The desire for nations to act together to strengthen the rule of international law and to prevent war intensified in the last few hundred years as the destructive power of wars vastly increased. Of course, there have been some periods in history in which certain parts of the world experienced peace and stability. For example, there was a period of sustained peace and stability for about 200 years at the height of the Roman Empire, which we call the ***Pax Romana***.

However, such periods were usually the result of imperial rule combined with a particular type of people and the successful suppression of opposition. Such periods of relative peace required a strong imperial power. Another way in which peace was preserved in the past was through bilateral treaties; that is, treaties between two nations. However, in the last 350 years a new phenomenon arose: the prevention of war through **multilateral** cooperation.



**SOURCE 10.19** The Peace Palace is an international law building in The Hague, the Netherlands. Today it houses the International Court of Justice (ICJ). The building was opened in 1913 for the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which had been created by the Hague Convention of 1899. There were high expectations before 1914 that the strengthening of such international institutions would help prevent war.

Multilateral cooperation occurs when nations act together for a common purpose. The reason for the advent of this more sophisticated level of cooperation among nations was, quite simply, survival. It is a sad fact that nations are usually complacent and only act decisively when there is a real crisis. From the seventeenth century, the leaders of Europe gradually began to find the political will to act together to stop the cycle of war and violence. Success in this endeavour was patchy, and repeatedly the desire for peace was overwhelmed by destructive forces, yet gradually the hope of multilateral cooperation for mutual benefit and to prevent war became ingrained in Western Europe.

***Pax Romana*** (Roman Peace) a period of sustained peace and stability in the ancient world

**multilateral** a term used in international relations that refers to nations working together

**Treaty of Westphalia** otherwise known as the Peace of Westphalia; this refers to a treaty in 1648 that ended thirty years of warfare in Europe. It is widely regarded as the beginning of the modern era and the origin of the modern concept of the nation-state.



**SOURCE 10.20** Bronze statue of Augustus (61 BC–14 AD), first Emperor of the Roman Empire. The *Pax Romana* (Roman Peace) was a period of peace and stability all over the Roman Empire starting with the reign of Augustus in 27 BC and lasting for 200 years.

The first example of multilateral cooperation was the **Treaty of Westphalia** of 1648. This treaty ended a thirty-year period of religious war in Europe in which ten million people died. For international lawyers, the Westphalian System also marks the beginning of the legal concept of the nation-state that continues to this day. The next significant example of multilateral cooperation was the Concert of Europe, established in 1815 after the Napoleonic Wars. This was an agreement by the conservative leaders of European nations to cooperate to maintain order and stability in Europe and to prevent the outbreak of war between the nations of Europe.

As the century progressed, there was an increasing awareness among both political leaders and among a growing number of educated people that the awesome destructive power of new weaponry, combined with an accelerating arms race and the introduction of mass conscription in the armed forces of Europe



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**SOURCE 10.21** A painting of the swearing of the oath of ratification of the Treaty of Münster on 24 October 1648. This was part of the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War in Europe. The modern principle in international law, known as state sovereignty, has its origins in the Peace of Westphalia.

and fuelled by imperial rivalry, **jingoism** and militarism, could lead to a general European war of disastrous proportions. This awareness, along with a violent series of revolutions and wars between 1848 and 1870, quickened the desire for multilateral cooperation to ensure peace among many who feared for the future. Two peace conferences were held at The Hague in the Netherlands in 1899 and again 1907. The Hague Conferences acted as a kind of global legislature that discussed issues such as the limitation of certain types of weapons and disarmament. Also, out of these conferences came an agreement on a Permanent Court of Arbitration to settle international disputes. This court was based in **The Hague**.

## Challenges to the status quo

There were many progressive developments in the nineteenth century that augured well for the future of European civilisation. However, a number of these driving forces for change in this period were taking Western civilisation into uncharted waters. One thing was certain, however, and that was that the monarchical-based regimes of Europe were too rigid in structure and mindset to cope with the winds of change brought in by these irresistible forces sweeping across the continent.

**jingoism** the extreme belief that your own country is always best, often shown in enthusiastic support for a war against another country

**The Hague** the seat of government, though not the capital, of the Netherlands. Since hosting the world's first peace conference in 1899 it has become the home of international courts, such as the ICJ and the ICC, and a base for 150 international legal organisations.

Class inequality was a major feature of Europe in the nineteenth century. While the Industrial Revolution had seen the growth of a middle class that was relatively well off, most working-class people had the most basic living conditions. This was despite the fact that democracy had started to take root in Europe. However, the level of democracy was minimal. There was a level of limited democratic governance in many of the nations of Europe in which a percentage of (usually property-owning) males were eligible to vote. For example, in Britain roughly 50 per cent of men were entitled to vote for the lower house of Parliament by 1900 and in Germany it was 76 per cent of men who voted for the Reichstag (lower house) elections in 1898. Female suffrage had not been granted by any European government at the start of World War I.

The most autocratic government in Europe was Russia, where there was no democracy as late as 1900. The Tsar did grudgingly allow some limited democratic reforms after the 1905 Revolution, but these were swept away by World War I. However, by the end of the nineteenth century there was an unmistakable trend towards democracy in European societies and this popular push for a democratic voice by the peoples of Europe represented a significant pressure on the class-based societies of the time, which were still ruled largely by men from wealthy privileged backgrounds.

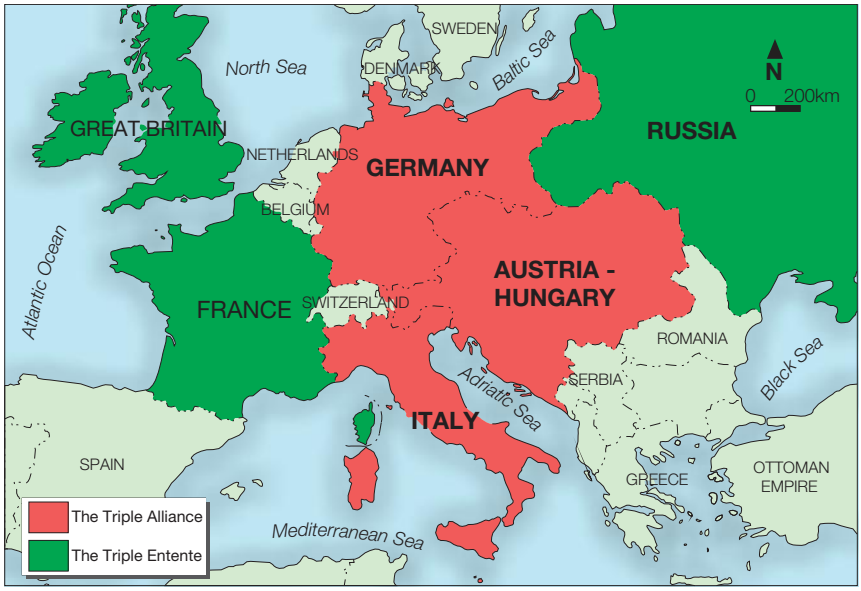
The growing middle and working classes demanded a larger say in how their societies were governed and put pressure on the aristocracies of Europe, in whom political control still largely resided. By the end of the nineteenth century, the forces of liberalism, socialism and internationalism, driven along by the economic imperatives of globalisation, were shaking the status quo across Europe.

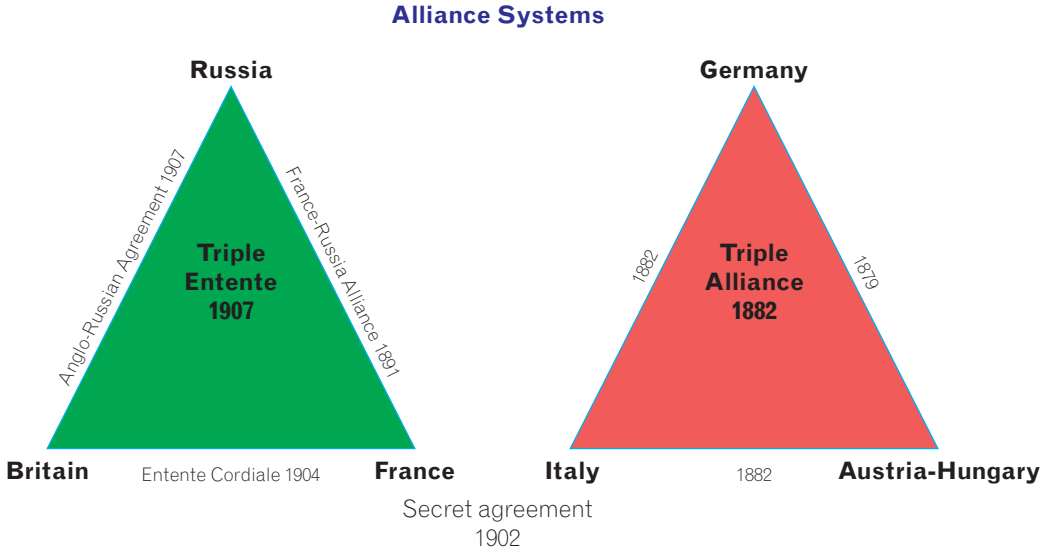


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## 10.6 Alliances and the balance of power

Though Europe was being transformed by unprecedented social and economic changes, the aristocratic control over foreign policy remained. Foreign relations continued to be dominated by men from small privileged elites. Where parliaments existed there was little, if any, parliamentary control over foreign policy. By 1900 European and global affairs were largely dominated by a small number of Great Powers: Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia. After the Napoleonic Wars the Great Powers largely cooperated for the first half of the nineteenth century in the Concert of Europe. However, the Concert was deeply conservative and the Great Powers assisted one another in ruthlessly squashing revolutions, such as the revolutions of 1848. The Concert prioritised order over equality, stability and justice and everywhere attempted to 'snuff out the still-smouldering revolutionary embers', as Mazower puts it. Until the mid-nineteenth century the Great Powers of Europe were united on most issues.




**SOURCE 10.22** Europe's rival alliance systems by 1907. The two rival alliance systems were largely complete by 1907, though critical secret provisions were added up to 1912.



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From the mid-nineteenth century three wars broke down the Concert of Europe:

- the Crimean War, 1853–1856: this occurred when the Russians attacked Turkey and the British and French were concerned about Russian expansion into the Middle East
- the Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871: Prussia inflicted a humiliating defeat on France
- the Balkan Wars, 1912–1913: Balkan countries fought for their independence from the Ottoman Empire and in the second war turned on one another and fought for supremacy in the Balkans.

Between the Franco-Prussian War and the Balkan Wars the Great Powers of Europe gradually formed two rival alliance systems, the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance. Balance of power diplomacy became more precarious as a war between just one member from the Triple Entente and one member from the Triple Alliance could drag in four more Great Powers and expand the conflict from a regional one to a global one. It would become global because of the colonies possessed by the Great Powers, which would not remain untouched in a general European war.

Within eight years of Prussia's unification of the German states to form the nation of Germany in 1871, security concerns led Chancellor von Bismarck to seek an alliance with Austria-Hungary. Their common concern was Russia and its interest in the Balkans. Italy was prompted to join the Dual Alliance in 1881 when the French seized Tunisia, which Italy had an interest in themselves. France was also Germany's major concern, so it made sense for Italy to join.

France's desire for *revanche* (revenge) was its motivation for signing the Franco-Russian Alliance in 1891. After being humiliated in the Franco-Prussian War and being forced to pay a large indemnity and cede the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany, it was motivated to seek an alliance with Russia that resulted in the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1891. The Russians were reluctant allies at first. In the Franco-Russian Military Convention of 1894, terms were agreed to in which Russia promised to aid France with all its forces if attacked by Germany and France offered all of its resources if attacked by either Germany or Austria-Hungary. Geopolitically, this was more in line with Russia's long-term agenda, which involved taking a much keener interest in the Balkans where its major rival was Austria-Hungary, and Germany looked to establish closer relations with the Turkish rulers of the Ottoman Empire. Also, the Russians had their traditional concern about the free flow of trade and commerce through the Dardanelles Straits, which could easily be placed in jeopardy by a hostile Turkish government.

## A MATTER OF FACT

### The Franco-Russian Military Convention, 1894

Historian Justin D Murphy commented on the significance of this agreement:

> The Franco-Russian Military Convention marked the first step in what some historians have termed the 'diplomatic revolution'. Although Germany remained the dominant military power in Europe, it was losing the diplomatic hegemony it had enjoyed under Bismarck.

**SOURCE 10.23** Justin D Murphy in *The European Powers in the First World War: An Encyclopedia*, Spencer C Tucker (ed.), p. 40

Britain's geopolitical concerns at the turn of the century were imperial rivalry with France and Russia, as well as the looming threat posed by an active Germany. Russia was regarded as a threat to British interests in the Middle East, India and the Pacific. In 1902 the British concluded an alliance with Japan in which each promised to come to the other's aid if attacked by a third party. This treaty was originally aimed at Russia, but it would later form a legal basis for Japan's immediate entry into World War I.



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The outbreak of war between Russia and Japan sped up negotiations between Britain and France. The Entente Cordiale signed in 1904 was largely concerned with ending their geopolitical posturing over their imperial interests, but it also reflected Britain's growing concern about the naval arms race with Germany. Though this agreement with France was not an iron-clad commitment for Britain to intervene in Europe to protect France, in 1912 Britain and France signed the Anglo-French Naval Convention. This agreement contained secret provisions to apply if France and Germany were at war. If this were to happen, France would concentrate its naval forces in the Mediterranean and Britain would concentrate its forces in the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean (including the French coast) to fend off any German naval attacks on France. Although the Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, assured the British Cabinet in 1914 that this provision was not a formal military alliance, it was a contributing factor that was to help tip the deeply divided Cabinet towards a decision for war in August 1914.



**SOURCE 10.24** Sir Edward Grey (1862–1933) was the British Foreign Secretary from 1905 to 1916 in the Asquith Liberal government. He was the architect of the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907. In 1914, many of the Radicals (on the left) in the Liberal Party were scathing about the secret clauses in the naval agreement with France, which were used as a pretext for supporting France in the July Crisis of 1914.

After the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Russia was no longer a threat to British interests in the Pacific and Asia, so British Foreign Secretary Lord Grey pursued an alliance, which was concluded on 31 August 1907. Though Britain had now settled its colonial differences with Russia, it did not have a formal military agreement with it. The only binding military agreement in the Triple Entente in its now final form in 1907 was between France and Russia in the Franco-Russian Military Convention. There was no binding agreement between Britain and Russia. As far as Britain was concerned, and also according to Foreign Secretary Grey, Britain had no binding agreement in regard to Europe. Despite the agreement with Russia, Britain made several attempts to reach an understanding with Germany and end the naval arms race. These attempts culminated in the Haldane mission to Germany in February 1912, but the passing of a new naval law by Germany ended these discussions.



**SOURCE 10.25** *The Battle of Port Arthur* (1904). A Japanese artist's depiction of the opening battle of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). This battle was inconclusive, though the war was eventually won by the Japanese.

There was one more complicating piece in the tangle of the alliance systems: Italy's fading support for the Triple Alliance. In 1902 Italy made a secret agreement with France that if Germany or Austria-Hungary attacked either country, then Italy would remain neutral. This thoroughly undermined the Triple Alliance. However, Italy kept its secret of 1902 and renewed the Triple Alliance agreement in 1907, 1912 and 1914. Italy stayed neutral when war broke out and ended up joining the Allies in 1915.

The rival alliances, including their secret provisions, were complete by 1912. These systems were a result of the longer-term factors contributing to the current geopolitical instability, such as nationalism, imperialism and the arms race. At the time it was thought that balance of power diplomacy would ensure the peace. However, for this to occur it would



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require wise statesmanship combined with straightforward and honest diplomacy, both of which could not be guaranteed. Balance of power diplomacy worked in resolving a number of geopolitical crises up till 1912. However, as Canadian historian Margaret MacMillan concluded in her book *The War that Ended Peace* (2014):

> Europe's very success in surviving those earlier crises paradoxically led to a dangerous complacency in the summer of 1914 that, yet again, solutions would be found at the last moment and the peace would be maintained.

**SOURCE 10.26** Margaret MacMillan, *The War that Ended Peace*, 2014

## 10.7 The July Crisis and the decision for war

> The crisis that brought war in 1914 was the fruit of a shared political culture. But it was also multipolar and genuinely interactive – that is what makes it the most complex event of modern times and why the debate over the origins of the First World War continues ... – a century later.

**SOURCE 10.27** Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe went to war in 1914*, 2014, p. 561



L'assassinio a Serajevo dell'arciduca Francesco Ferdinando erede del trono d'Austria, e di sua moglie.

The 37 days from the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 1914 to Britain's declaration of war on Germany on 4 August 1914 is known by historians as the 'July Crisis'. According to Christopher Clark this is the 'most complex event in modern times' and this is the reason why debate over the origins of World War I has continued ever since 1914. This endless debate has never reached a consensus on many of the questions that arise from such a momentous event, such as: why did it happen and who was to blame? In more recent times, most historians agree that no single person or nation was totally to blame for the outbreak of World War I. However, even during the centenary of World War I historians still debated the degree of blame that should be apportioned to each actor in the drama of that July and August. What historians do agree on is that it was a small group of older male monarchs, politicians and diplomats who share the blame. None of the leaders had a popular mandate to launch their nation into years of endless war and suffering. There were crowds in the streets in many capitals cheering the decision for war, but there were also antiwar protests in these same cities that were just as large.

**SOURCE 10.28** Assassination by terrorist Gavrilo Princip of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Sarajevo, on 28 June 1914. This illustration appeared on the cover of an Italian newspaper on 5 July 1914.



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## A MATTER OF FACT

Article 231 was one of the most controversial parts of the Treaty of Versailles that was signed to end the war on 28 June 1919. It stated that:

> The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

**SOURCE 10.29** Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles, 28 June 1919

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Contrasting

1 How complex were the origins of World War II, compared to World War I?

2 What were the causes of World War II?

3 Who was to blame?

Traditionally, the outbreak of World War I has been explained as having long-term causes such as imperial rivalry, militarism, nationalism and the arms race. These long-term causes determined the final shape of the two rival alliance systems in 1914. The rival alliance systems meant that a dispute between one member of the Triple Entente and one member of the Triple Alliance could see all six Great Powers go to war. At the time this so-called 'balance of power' was regarded as a good thing by some foreign policy experts because no single Great Power could dominate Europe or the world. Also, knowing what was at stake, leaders would refrain from making rash decisions that might lead to a full-scale war. However, there were vocal opponents of 'balance of power' diplomacy before World War I who argued that political leaders were not immune to making poor decisions, and some poor decisions by a few could drag all six Great Powers into a war.

The critics of 'balance of power' diplomacy were right. In the first week of August 1914, Europe embarked on the biggest, the first truly global, and the most destructive war in history. It is without dispute that the July Crisis needs to be seen in the context of longer-term geopolitical forces in play. However, such an examination may satisfy us only as to how World War I started, but leave us with no answers about why it started. 'One thing is clear,' writes historian Christopher Clark, 'none of the prizes for which the politicians of 1914 contended was worth the cataclysm that followed.' (Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers*, p. 561)

On 28 June 1914 a 19-year-old Bosnian terrorist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, who was the heir to the Austrian throne, in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. Gavrilo Princip was a member of the Black Hand terrorist organisation, which had links in the Serbian government. This event shocked the European public and there was much sympathy for Austria-Hungary. However, the Austro-Hungarian government decided to use this terrible event to gain a geopolitical advantage by invading Serbia and thus ending, once and for all, Serbia's ambition of uniting the southern Slav peoples in the Balkans in an enlarged Serbia.

Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm issued 'blank cheque' assurance to Austria-Hungary in support of its plan to punish Serbia. This was a calculated risk. At this point the Kaiser thought that this planned action by Serbia could be kept localised. Germany obviously banked on Russia's allies in the Triple Entente restraining it from taking action and coming to the rescue of Serbia. What happened next is outlined in table 10.3.

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Examining modernity and comparing

1 What similarities are there with the US using the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington DC as a pretext for invading both Afghanistan and Iraq in the so-called 'war on terror'?

### Forming opinions

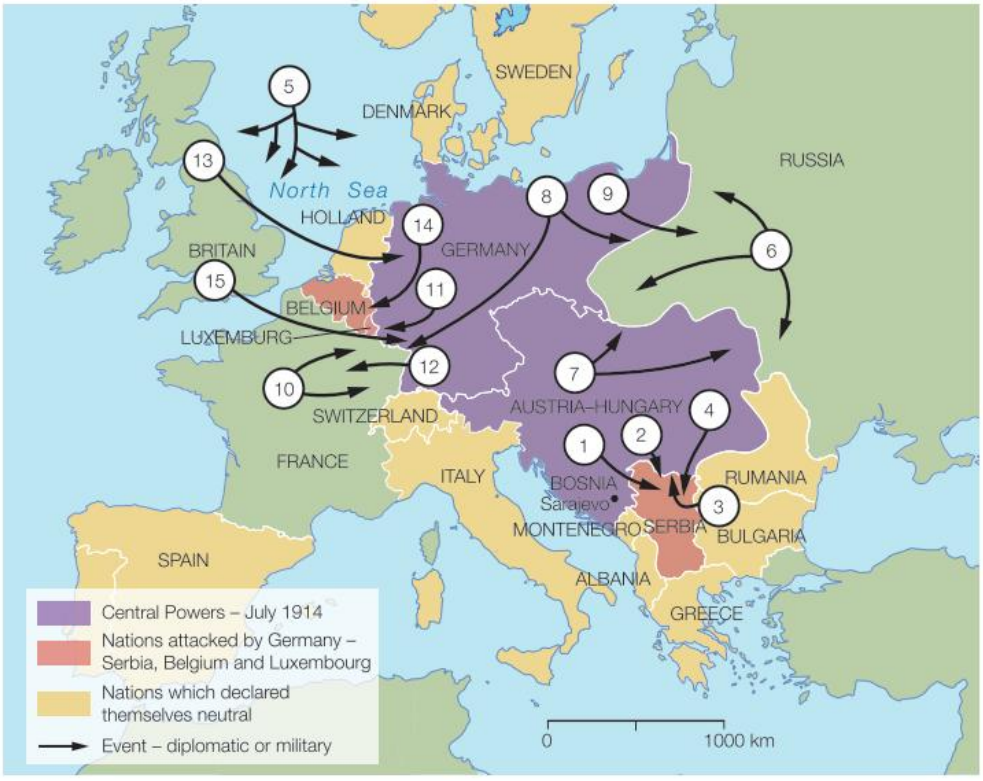
2 Was Austria-Hungary in any way justified in taking this action? Was this their own 'war on terror'?



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**SOURCE 10.30** (Left to right) Archduke Franz Ferdinand; his assassin Gavrilo Princip; and the Archduke's bloodied uniform




**SOURCE 10.31** Thirteen Days: The 'July Crisis' of 1914 stretched over 37 days from the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June to the British declaration of war on Germany on 4 August. However, it was the 15 events in the last 13 days, from 23 July, that were critical.



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**TABLE 10.3** Thirteen days

| Thirteen days to war: July–August 1914 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Event** | **Date** | **Action or decision** | **Futher details** |
| 1 | 23 July | Austria-Hungary issues ultimatum to Serbia. | It has taken several weeks for Austria-Hungary to deliver its ultimatum to Serbia. By this time the sympathy that European public opinion had for Austria-Hungary has worn off and this looks very much like a calculated act rather than a measured response to the crime of the assassination. Russia gives strong support to Serbia and France backs its ally. |
| 2 | 25 July | Austria-Hungary severs diplomatic ties with Serbia and begins to mobilise against Serbia. | Serbia answers Austria-Hungary's ultimatum in a surprisingly reasonable way, accepting most of the demands, but rejects the demand to allow Austrian troops on Serbian soil. To many people in Europe Serbia's reply seems reasonable. |
| 3 | 25 July | Serbia mobilises against Austria. | The European public is still largely unaware that this crisis could really lead to war within days. To many people it is another dispute in the distant Balkans. |
| 4 | 28 July | Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia and invades the next day. | After seeing the Serbian reply, the Kaiser believes that there is no cause for war and urges Austria-Hungary to act with restraint. However, Austria-Hungary thinks it can reject this advice and still retain Germany's support. After the invasion of Serbia the crisis spins out of control. |
| 5 | 29 July | The British Fleet sails into the North Sea on a state of high alert. | First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, on his own initiative, does this as a show of force, much to the consternation of fellow Liberal Cabinet members. However, Britain also calls for international mediation to end the crisis. |
| 6 | 30 July | Russia begins partial mobilisation of its armed forces. | Austrian warships shell Serbia's capital, Belgrade. |
| 7 | 31 July | Austria mobilises its forces on the frontier with Russia. Germany demands that Russia stop. | Russia switches to full mobilisation of its forces on both the frontiers of Germany and Austria-Hungary. |
| 8 | 1 August | Germany mobilises. | This is full mobilisation in line with its Schlieffen Plan, which commits Germany to a war on two fronts. |
| 9 | 1 August | Germany declares war on Russia. | Belgium begins mobilisation in anticipation of a German attack. |
| 10 | 1 August | France mobilises. | Germany warns against French action in support of Russia. |
| 11 | 2 August | Germany invades Luxembourg. | Germany sends an ultimatum to Belgium demanding safe passage of its troops through its territory. Luxembourg is occupied to secure the rail links into Belgium. |



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**TABLE 10.3** (*continued*)

| Thirteen days to war: July–August 1914 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Event** | **Date** | **Action or decision** | **Futher details** |
| 12 | 3 August | Germany declares war on France. | Germany activates its plans for the invasion of Belgium. |
| 13 | 3 August | Britain warns Germany not to violate Belgian neutrality. | Italy declares its intention to stay neutral throughout the conflict. |
| 14 | 4 August | German troops march into Belgium. | This has a powerful effect in Britain, bolstering support for the British intervention in the war. |
| 15 | 4 August | Britain declares war on Germany. | Great Britain's declaration is binding on all its colonies in the British Empire. The Dominions – Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa – have already made commitments to send expeditionary forces in the event of war.<br>The US declares its neutrality and offers its services to mediate between both sides to end the conflict. |

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Analysing issues

**Controversies:**

1. What was the extent of the secret support given by the French to the Russians, and to what extent did they urge Russia to take bold moves against Germany and Austria-Hungary? Was the support given to Russia the equivalent of a 'blank cheque'?
2. Was Britain's decision to intervene in the European war with its navy and the BEF the only realistic option to take?



THE DAILY MAIL, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1914.

GREAT BRITAIN DECLARES WAR ON GERMANY.

SUMMARY REJECTION OF BRITISH ULTIMATUM.

The following announcement was issued at the Foreign Office at 12.15 a.m.:-

"Owing to the summary rejection by the German Government of the request made by His Majesty's Government for assurances that the neutrality of Belgium would be respected, His Majesty's Ambassador in Berlin has received his passports, and His Majesty's Government has declared to the German Government that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Germany as from 11 p.m. on August 4."

Huge crowds in Whitehall and Trafalgar Square greeted the news with round after round of cheers.

11 p.m. London time is midnight Berlin time, the hour at which the British ultimatum expired.

**SOURCE 10.32** Britain declares war on Germany, 1914. *The Daily Mail* of 5 August reports the story.

## A MATTER OF FACT

War by timetable? This was a theory put forward by historian AJP Taylor in his book *War by Timetable* (1969), in which he argued that the leaders became prisoners of their own complex mobilisation and war plans, which were meant to serve as a deterrent to war. However, when the crisis in July came, the leaders found that they had no flexibility and once they had made the decision to enact their plans, those plans could not be stopped or altered. The leaders therefore could not cope as events spiralled out of control.



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Consider the complex plans for nuclear war during the Cold War and how on a number of occasions leaders were placed in the same position as leaders in 1914. President Kennedy was aware of this problem during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, as he had read the *The Guns of August* by Barbara Tuchman. This book made him determined not to let events during the crisis spiral out of control.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Comparing**

To what extent do leaders in the contemporary world face this same problem?

## 10.8 Why did the Great Powers go to war in August 1914? The historians speak

A tremendous amount of research has been devoted to the history of the struggle [ie World War I]. There have been several intensive investigations sponsored by post-war governments. Numerous accounts have been published in the form of diaries, memoirs and correspondence, by the many actors who strode across the diplomatic stage between 1871 and midsummer 1914. But this vast outpouring has been virtually confined to the origins of the war – while the efforts to regain peace have remained in obscurity.

**SOURCE 10.33** Kent Foster, *The Failures of Peace*, 1941, p. 1

The German decision to risk a European war in 1914 was not based on hubris: there was no bid for world power. Rather, Germany's leaders acted out of a sense of weakness. In the first instance, this was based on their inability to win either the naval or the land arms race. The ratio of British to German warship tonnage on the eve of the war was 2.1:1; the ratio of manpower in a war which pitted Russia, France, Serbia and Belgium against Germany and Austria-Hungary was 2.5:1. This differential was emphatically not due to a lack of economic resources. It was due to political and especially fiscal constraints: the combination of a relatively decentralized federal system with a democratic national parliament made it more or less impossible for the Reich government to match the defence expenditure of its more centralized neighbours. Moreover, by 1913–14 it was becoming increasingly difficult to increase Reich borrowing, after a decade and a half in which the national debt had increased by 150 per cent. Thus Germany spent only 3.5 per cent of gross national product on defence in 1913–14, compared with figures of 3.9 per cent for France and 4.6 per cent for Russia. Paradoxically, if Germany had been as militarist in practice as France and Russia, she would have had less reason to feel insecure and to gamble on a pre-emptive strike 'while [she] could more or less still pass the test', in Moltke's telling phrase.

**SOURCE 10.34** Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, 1998, pp. 442–3

In 1914 there were strong forces for war and strong forces for peace. It could have gone either way. It was the actions of individuals that were crucial.

**SOURCE 10.35** Margaret MacMillan, 'Choice or accident? the outbreak of the First World War', lecture, Sydney University, 6 March 2014



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Perhaps the most we can hope for is to understand as best we can those individuals, who had to make the choices between War and Peace, and their strengths and weaknesses, their lives, hatreds and biases. To do that we must also understand their world, with its assumptions. We must remember, as the decision makers did, what had happened before that last crisis of 1914 and what they had learned from the Moroccan crises, the Bosnian one, or the events of the first Balkan Wars. Europe's first success in surviving those earlier crises paradoxically led to a dangerous complacency in the summer of 1914 that, yet again, solutions would be found at the last moment and peace would be maintained. And if we want to point fingers from the 21st century we could accuse those who talk you into war of two things. First, a failure of the imagination in not seeing how destructive such a conflict would be and second, the lack of courage to stand up to those who said there was no choice left to go to war. There are always choices.

**SOURCE 10.36** Margaret MacMillan, *The War that Ended Peace*, 2014, p. 645

There is no smoking gun in this story or rather, there is one in the hands of every major character. Viewed in this light the outbreak of war was a tragedy, not a crime.

**SOURCE 10.37** Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers*, 2012, p. 562

The crisis that brought war in 1914 was the fruit of a shared political culture. But it was also multipolar and genuinely interactive – that is what makes it the most complex event of modern times and why the debate over the origins of the First World War continues, one century after Gavrilo Princip fired those first two fatal shots on Franz Joseph Street.

**SOURCE 10.38** Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers,* 2014, p. 561

Many of the leaders at the time spoke of a war of annihilation, an Armageddon.

They knew it, but did they really feel it? ... the protagonists of 1914 were sleepwalkers, watchful but unseeing, haunted by dreams, yet blind to the reality of the horror they were about to bring on the world.

**SOURCE 10.39** Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers*, 2012, p. 562

At every turn in the study of this problem the actions and influences of these few human beings are encountered. With all due regard for the increasing tendency among historians to discount the role of personality in the course of events, the question of why the war continued cannot be attributed to the interplay of national psychoses and international antagonisms. That is, they cannot be ascribed to those factors in the abstract. The nationalistic fever of the dozen men who controlled the instruments of diplomacy during the First World War led them to relegate the peace question to a less important position than certain other real or imaginary issues.

**SOURCE 10.40** Kent Foster, *The Failures of Peace*, 1941, p. 151



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A focus upon wicked persons will produce such men in every capital city in 1914 – not just in Berlin ... Apportioning blame ... does not help us to see *what* was to blame ... forces and perverse ideologies that built towards disaster. And they were to be found across Europe and beyond, in 1914.

**SOURCE 10.41** Douglas Newton, *The Darkest Days*, 2014, p. xxii

[World War I] was eminently avoidable. Had politicians, diplomats, and strategists made different decisions, at a dozen different points, peace was achievable. The worst instincts of Europe only just overwhelmed the best. The European tragedy unfolded.

**SOURCE 10.42** Douglas Newton, *Hell Bent*, 2014, p. 255

## ANALYSING SOURCES 10.2

Using the information from the 'Thirteen days to war' table as well as references from the historians' quotes above (and those of any other historians you know), answer the following question in essay form:

Why did the Great Powers go to war in August 1914?

## 10.9 The first rumblings of dissent

### Ongoing concerns about the origin of the war and government war aims

The murky genesis of full-scale war between the Great Powers in 1914 made many people on both sides deeply suspicious of their leaders' claims that the war was a matter of self-defence. This suspicion was exacerbated by the fact that at the outset, neither side expressed clear war aims. On the Allied side, the first public statement of war aims was not made until 10 January 1917. Voices of dissent could be heard in the Entente countries from the outset. There was speculation that their governments had been deceptive about their nations' roles in the July Crisis.



**SOURCE 10.43** Scottish Labour politician James Keir Hardie (1856–1915) addresses a crowd in a peace demonstration against the 1914 war, Trafalgar Square, London.

For example in Britain, a few days before Britain's commitment, Charles Prestwick Scott, more usually known as CP Scott, editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, had passionately declared himself in an editorial on Friday 31 July to be in opposition to British intervention in a European war. The following day, as war drew closer, Scott was pessimistic:



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There is, in our midst, an organised conspiracy to drag us into the war should the attempts of the peace-makers fail. Conspiracy we say because it is disloyal to Parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of the national interests in times of crisis. The conspirators prefer the confidence of selected newspaper editors to that of the representatives of the people.

**SOURCE 10.44** CP Scott, *Manchester Guardian*, 1 August 1914

**Radicals** those on the left wing of the Liberal Party in Britain who opposed imperialism and promoted a liberal-internationalist world order. The term also came to include those on the outside of the Liberal Party who had similar views.

Many others shared CP Scott's view. For instance, within Scott's circle of Liberal publicists there were emotional declarations, both private and public, right up to 2 August 1914, that were intensely hostile to the prospect of British intervention. British intervention in the 'causeless and unpopular war' that now threatened to engulf Europe was 'ruinous madness' and a 'wicked gamble', according to these newspaper editors. It would be a 'war in the darkness', based on a 'conspiracy' and a 'hidden contract'. The only sound course to take, these editors reasoned, was one of 'strict neutrality'. Such sentiments are at odds with the popular view today that the prospect of war in August 1914 was widely welcomed by the British people. It is true that these views reflected a minority in August 1914, yet this minority was rooted in the traditional Liberal abhorrence of foreign entanglements. This unique perspective was swept aside as war hysteria swept the nation; yet, within two years, **Radical** prescriptions for securing a just peace and a reformed international order were placed high on the national agenda.

In Germany too there were many people who from the start of the war had suspicions about their government's spin about its being a war of self-defence and of its government's war aims. As German historian Hans Gatzke put it in his book *Germany's Drive to the West* (1966):

The question of war aims was the most important problem of German foreign policy during the First World War. All other issues, in comparison, were of secondary significance but in some way related to this central issue.

**SOURCE 10.45** Hans Gatzke, *Germany's Drive to the West*, 1966

The opinions of two more Germans who were concerned about Germany's war aims follow:

This war is not a defensive war for Germany. It is impossible for us to trust a capitalist Government when it declares that it is for the defence of the country that it asks for the credits. A peace made as soon as possible and which will humiliate no one is what must be demanded. All efforts in that direction should be supported. A simultaneous and continual demand for such peace in all the belligerent countries will be able to stop the bloody massacre.

**SOURCE 10.46** Karl Liebknecht, speech to the Reichstag, 2 December 1914

I have the conviction that it is possible, in the near future, to form a statelike organization in Europe that makes European wars impossible, just as now war between Bavaria and Württemberg is impossible in the German Reich. No friend of spiritual evolution should fail to stand up for this most important political aim of our time.

**SOURCE 10.47** Albert Einstein, member of the BNV (New Fatherland League), 'My opinion on the War', October 1915



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## Voices of dissent: Britain, August 1914

The quotations below are from various people who, from the very outset of the war, were shocked by their own Liberal government's commitment of Great Britain to a full-scale war on the European continent. Each of the people listed below played an important role throughout the war by challenging the British government on its war aims and promoting a peace based on principles that would ensure that wars like this one would never be repeated. Though their voices were hardly heard above the clamour for war in August 1914, their ideas were very influential throughout the war with peace groups, but also with President Woodrow Wilson.

### Goldsworthy Dickinson

> We are sane people. But our acts are mad. Why? Because we are all in the hands of some score of individuals called Governments. These men have willed this thing for us over our heads.
>
> As this war pursues its dreadful course, as its fatal and foreseen consequences unroll, as the fact of what we are doing begins to penetrate from our senses to our imagination, as the dreadful awakening succeeds to the stunning shock, it will be for the friends of reason to drive home the lesson, first and chiefest into their own heart and brain, then, if strength be given them, into the conscience of mankind. That is our war – those of us who believe in reason – our eternal and holy war. In this dark hour of our defeat, let us not forget it.

**SOURCE 10.48** G Lowes Dickinson, 'The holy war', Politics and Affairs, *The Nation*, 8 August 1914

### Arthur Ponsonby

> Utterly incredible ... The long expected European war has come. A dozen or so diplomats, a score of ministers, and two or three monarchs have been offending one another, so to make things straight they have ordered out millions of peaceful citizens to go and get massacred ...

**SOURCE 10.50** Arthur Ponsonby, Diary, 13 August 1914

### Bertrand Russell

> ... vast forces of national greed and national hatred [directed by] Governments and the Press, fostered by the upper class as a distraction from social discontent, artificially nourished by the sinister influence of the makers of armaments, encouraged by a whole foul literature of 'glory', and by every textbook of history with which the minds of the children are polluted.

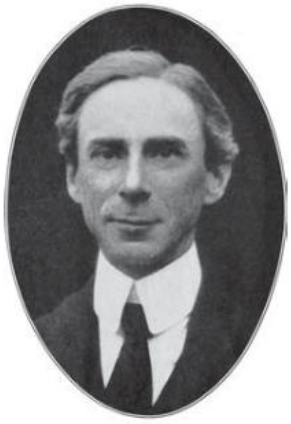
**SOURCE 10.52** Bertrand Russell, 'The rights of the war', Letters to the Editor, *The Nation*, 15 August 1914



**SOURCE 10.49** Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson (1862–1932) was a Cambridge academic and member of the Union of Democratic Control (UDC) and the Bryce Group. He coined the term 'league of nations' in 1915.



**SOURCE 10.51** Arthur Ponsonby (1871–1946), Liberal politician and Radical. One of the five founding members of the UDC.



**SOURCE 10.53** Bertrand Russell (1872–1970), English mathematician and philosopher. Russell was a member of the UDC and became Chairman of the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF).



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## Norman Angell



**SOURCE 10.54** Norman Angell (1872–1967) in 1913. A peace activist who became famous through his book *The Great Illusion*, published in 1910. He was one of the five founding members of the UDC in 1914, and was well known on both sides of the Atlantic, especially in anti-war circles.

Nor is it a question of the collision of two rights. Everybody wanted not to go to war. Everybody has gone to war. The action which we did not intend, we have taken. The action we did intend, we have not taken.

The problem of peace is neither more nor less than the problem of so laying the foundation of civilised society that a stable and secure superstructure becomes possible. It is all one general interdependent problem. Constructive social work depends upon making peace secure; peace depends upon an educated democracy, while the militarism in the long-run is fatal to democracy, and if democracy is to survive, the general war problem must find a solution.

The interdependence of the modern world has made the whole conception of society as conglomerations of rival States an absurdity, an impossible foundation for our work in the world. What is now happening to the credit system of the world is important in this: that it is a very visible demonstration of the unity of mankind, of the need for confidence and co-operation, if States are to fulfil those functions for which they were created.

**SOURCE 10.55** Norman Angell, 'The unsound foundations', *The Nation*, 8 August 1914

## RESEARCH TASK 10.3

Draw up a table like the one below and make notes on the following:

- Research basic biographical information for each of these voices of dissent for the period up to the end of World War I.
- Summarise the main points that they each make in the extracts quoted above.

| Date | Background to 1914 | Quote – main points | Activities 1914–1918 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Goldsworthy Dickinson | | | |
| Arthur Ponsonby | | | |
| Bertrand Russell | | | |
| Norman Angell | | | |

1 To what extent did each of these people agree about the outbreak of war?

2 To what extent did the opinions of these people about the war influence their activities during the war?



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# CHAPTER 10 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### IMPERIALISM AND GREAT POWER RIVALRY

- By 1900 the Great Powers of Europe dominated the world. In the quest to build global empires the imperial powers frequently came into conflict.
- Geopolitical rivalry between the Great Powers mainly involved disputes over colonies such as those in the continent of Africa.

### MILITARISM AND THE ARMS RACE

- From 1900 the world witnessed an unprecedented build-up of armed forces by the Great Powers, which engaged in an arms race on a scale never seen before.
- The European empires promoted the idea that preparation for war and success in war were necessary to maintain their positions as Great Powers.

### NATIONALISM: A DRIVING FORCE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- Nationalism was one of the new driving forces of the nineteenth century.
- A complication arose for peoples who possessed a common language and tradition but who did not reside in nation-states with defined borders, such as the Slavic peoples of the Balkans.

### INTERNATIONALISM

- From the mid-nineteenth century the concept of internationalism – the belief that countries should work together – emerged in the Western world.
- Internationalism was a philosophy, but was also an unstoppable social force driven along by developments in science and technology.

### MULTILATERAL COOPERATION AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

- Cooperation between nations for mutual benefit and to prevent war became ingrained in Western Europe, and by 1900 there was an unmistakable trend towards democracy.
- The forces of liberalism, socialism and internationalism, driven along by the economic imperatives of globalisation, shook the status quo across Europe.

### ALLIANCES AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

- Though Europe was being transformed by unprecedented social and economic changes, foreign relations continued to be dominated by aristocratic men.
- By 1912 the Great Powers of Europe had formed into two rival alliance systems. The Triple Entente included France, Russia and Britain, while the Triple Alliance included Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary.
- At the time, it was thought that balance of power diplomacy would ensure peace, but this required wise statesmanship combined with honest diplomacy, neither of which could be guaranteed.



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## THE JULY CRISIS AND THE DECISION FOR WAR

- On 28 June 1914 the Serbian terrorist Gavrilo Princip assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia.
- Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm agreed to support Austria-Hungary in its plan to punish the Slavic nation of Serbia.
- The events of the 37-day period from the assassination of Ferdinand to Britain's declaration of war on Germany on 4 August 1914 are referred to as the 'July Crisis'. European nations declared war on one another and military forces were rapidly mobilised.

## THE FIRST RUMBLINGS OF DISSENT

- Some people were deeply suspicious of their leaders' claims about the need for full-scale war.
- Voices of dissent came from both sides of the conflict, and today we can reflect on the writings of both English and German citizens who were critical of the war.

### Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

1) imperialism
2) nationalism
3) arms race
4) Archduke Franz Ferdinand
5) Gavrilo Princip

### Historical concepts

#### 1 Causation

- Create a mind map that includes long-term causes of World War I, the assassination of 28 June 1914, key events in the July Crisis, and the decisions made by key people in July and August 1914.

LONG-TERM CAUSES
-
-
-
SHORT-TERM CAUSES
-
-
-
WORLD WAR I

#### 2 Continuity and change

- Identify the ways in which the actions of the governments of the Great Powers before 1914 reflected the nature of nineteenth-century European society.
- Identify the dynamic forces of change that were challenging the nature of European society before 1914.

#### 3 Perspectives

> The War affords teachers a unique opportunity to exercise their most important function, – the training of citizens. For, is not this, after all, the ultimate aim of education? And should it not be the purpose of the Twentieth Century Teacher to develop a civic intelligence regarding present day problems, – a gradually developing social consciousness, which will terminate, it is hoped, in universal brotherhood? ... Teachers should lead students to understand the historical causes of the war, to look upon this spectacle of human suffering and devastation with horror, to contrast a world at war with a world at peace, to comprehend the principles which should govern the terms of peace, ... to realise that every boy and girl has an interest in the movement which shall bring about the reign of law in place of the reign of the sword.

**SOURCE 10.56** Dr Fannie Fern Andrews, 'The War: what should be said about it in the schools?', *The American School Peace League*, November 1914



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- Outline this American educationalist's perspective of the Great War.
- Discuss how teaching this perspective of the war would be viewed in Britain, Germany or France at this time.
- Evaluate whether it is appropriate for educationalists to teach 'history as it happens' in this way, or whether teachers should steer clear of such controversial current topics.

### 4 Significance

Briefly explain the significance of points below for the outbreak of the Great War in August 1914.

- The Franco-Prussian War 1870–1871
- The character of Kaiser Wilhelm II
- Russia's decision to mobilise its army on 31 July 1914
- The Schlieffen Plan

### 5 Contestability

- For more than a century historians have debated how the death of one man, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, could have led to a global war of unprecedented ferocity. Arriving at a convincing consensus has proved impossible.
- From what you have learned in this chapter, do we seem to be any closer to a clear understanding of the causes of World War I?

## Historical skills

### 1 Explanation and communication

In a short paragraph for each point, briefly explain the following:

- imperialism
- militarism
- nationalism
- internationalism
- multilateralism

### 2 Historical interpretation

Elsewhere in his book, Ferguson argues that it would have been preferable for Britain to have 'stood aside' and not joined France and Russia in the war.

Questions:

- What is Niall Ferguson's interpretation of the British government's decision to intervene in the war on 2 August 1914?

> Britain's decision to intervene was the result of secret planning by her generals and diplomats, which dated back to late 1905. Formally, Britain had no 'continental commitment' to France; this was repeatedly stated by Grey [the Foreign Minister] and other ministers in parliament and the press between 1907 and 1914. Nor did the Liberal government feel bound by the 1839 treaty to uphold Belgian neutrality; if Germany had not violated it in 1914, then Britain would have. The key was the conviction of a minority of generals, diplomats and politicians that, in the event of a continental war, Britain must send an army to support France. This was based on a misreading of German intentions, which the proponents of intervention imagined to be Napoleonic in scale. Those responsible were culpable in other ways: they misled the House of Commons, but at the same time did virtually nothing to prepare Britain's army for the envisaged strategy. When the moment of decision came on 2 August 1914, it was by no means a foregone conclusion that Britain would intervene against Germany; the majority of ministers were hesitant, and in the end agreed to support Grey partly for fear of being turned out of office and letting in the Tories [the conservative opposition party].

**SOURCE 10.57** Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, 1998, p. 443

- Does Ferguson's interpretation have anything in common with other historians' views mentioned in the chapter?
- Consider a scenario in which Britain 'stood aside' in 1914. How might this have affected the outcome of the war?

### 3 Analysis and use of sources

- Referring to Source A, who is to blame for the outbreak of World War I?
- Using your own knowledge, evaluate the view expressed in Source A.
- Referring to the cartoon in Source B, what point was the author making?



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## SOURCE A

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

Article 231, *Treaty of Versailles*, 28 June 1919

## SOURCE B




'The Boiling Point'. The Balkan League was an alliance formed by a series of bilateral treaties concluded in 1912 between the Balkan states of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro and directed against the Ottoman Empire, which at the time still controlled much of the Balkan peninsula. The Balkans had been in a state of turmoil since the early 1900s, with years of guerrilla warfare in Macedonia followed by the Young Turk Revolution and the protracted Bosnian Crisis. Illustration for *Mr Punch's History of Modern England*, 1922

## SOURCE C



Kaiser: "I go three *dreadnoughts*."
John Bull: "Well, just to show there's no ill-feeling, I raise you three."

'Poker and Tongs',: or, 'How we've got to play the game' *Punch* magazine cartoon concerning naval rivalry between Britain and Germany, 8 January 1908

## SOURCE D

Neither militarism, imperialism nor secret diplomacy made war inevitable. Everywhere in Europe in 1914 anti-militarism was in the political ascendant. Businessmen – even the 'merchants of death' like Krupp – had no interest in a major European war. Diplomacy, secret or otherwise, was successful in resolving imperial conflicts between the powers: both on colonial and even naval questions, Britain and Germany were able to settle their differences. The main reason relations between Britain and Germany did not produce a formal Entente was that Germany, unlike France, Russia, Japan or the US, did not seem to pose a serious threat to the Empire.

Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, 1998, p. 442

- Explain what Source C is referring to. From whose perspective is this source?
- In Source D, what is the writer's view of the origin of World War I?
- Use your own knowledge and make reference to Sources A, B, C and D to explain the complexity surrounding the origins of World War I.



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### 4 Historical investigation and research

- 'The peaceful resolution of a number of international crises in the decade before 1914 demonstrated that going to war in August 1914 was unnecessary.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?

  To help you answer this question, conduct historical research in your school or local library or online (from educational websites). In your investigation, be sure to include:

  – the First Moroccan Crisis of 1905–1906, the Bosnian Crisis of 1908–1909, the Second Moroccan Crisis of 1911 and the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913
  – a list of mini-questions you want to answer in your response (to break down the question into smaller parts)
  – a research plan (where will you conduct research; how many different sources of evidence do you want to consider?)
  – evidence from a range of sources (try to include some quotes from each source; be sure to use quotation marks)
  – acknowledge your sources appropriately (after a quote, list the source's author, title, date published, page number).

  Present your research in the form of a page-long essay, including an introduction, at least three body paragraphs and a conclusion.

### 5 Further essay questions

- How did heightened imperial rivalry and militarism after 1870 raise tensions between the Great Powers?
- 'In 1914 there were strong forces for war and strong forces for peace. It could have gone either way. It was the actions of individuals that were crucial.' (Margaret MacMillan, 'Choice or accident? the outbreak of the First World War', Sydney University, 6 March 2014)
- Evaluate the role of key individuals in the decision for war in August 1914.
- Explain how two rival alliance systems had developed by 1907. To what extent were the nations in each alliance system tied to their alliance commitments?



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# CHAPTER 11
# World War I: the nature of the war

*Conceptions of the Great War remained largely set in the mould formed after the fiftieth anniversary – as a human tragedy, bogged down in the trenches and illuminated only by poetry – even though academic study of 1914–18 has advanced hugely in the last two decades … What are we missing? What new vistas might open up for those willing to clamber out of the trenches? First, an appreciation of the whole diverse war from 1914 to 1918.*

David Reynolds, *The Long Shadow*, pp. 429–30

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

By using a range of historical sources, you will investigate World War I and its role in shaping the modern world, and develop an understanding of the nature of the war.

**KEY ISSUES**

You will explore:

the nature of World War I, such as:

- the outbreak of war in 1914, and the scope of the war on various fronts
- the reasons for the expansion of the war into a global conflict
- the reasons why the war continued for so long and the opportunities for an early negotiated peace
- the changing nature of the war due to technological advances
- experiences of soldiers in the war, recruitment and conscription
- the importance of the home front, and information control using censorship and propaganda
- the impact of the war on civilians, the role of women, and dissent
- the significance of the large battles of Verdun, the Somme and Passchendaele
- the impact of American entry and the Russian revolution on the course of the war
- the reasons for Allied victory



**23 Aug 1914** Battle of Mons
**4 Sept 1914** Pact of London
**6–12 Sept 1914** Battle of the Marne
**29 Aug 1914** Battle of Tannenburg
**25 Dec 1914** Christmas Day Truce
**March 1915** The Straits Agreement
**22 April 1915** German poison gas – Ypres
**24 April 1915** Armenian genocide commences
**25 April 1915** Gallipoli landings
**26 April 1915** Treaty of London
**28 April 1915** International Congress of Women at The Hague
**7 May 1915** Sinking of the *Lusitania*
**23 May 1915** Italy enters the war on the Allied side



WORLD WAR I

1914 — 1915 — 1916

Battle of Verdun
**21 Feb–18 Dec 1916**

Battle of the Somme
**1 July–18 Nov 1916**





**SOURCE 11.1 British troops at the Battle of the Somme in France, 1916, during World War I**

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# World War I 1914–1919






**11 Oct 1915** Bulgaria joins the Central Powers

**27 May 1916** President Wilson – League to Enforce Peace speech



**31 Oct 1917** Battle of Beersheba

**5 Dec 1916** Lloyd George becomes British PM

**12 Dec 1916** German Peace Note

**18 Dec 1916** American Peace Note

**10 Jan 1917** Allied reply to the American Peace Note

**22 Jan 1917** Peace Without Victory speech – President Wilson

**8 March 1917** Russian Revolution

**6 April 1917** USA enters the war on the Allied side

**1 Aug 1917** Papal Peace Note

**8 Nov 1917** Bolshevik Revolution

**8 Jan 1918** Fourteen Points speech – President Wilson

**4 July 1918** Battle of Le Hamel

**8 Aug 1918** Battle of Amiens

**4 Oct 1918** German request for armistice

**9 Nov 1918** German Revolution

**11 Nov 1918** Armistice

## 1917



Battle of Passchendaele
**31 July–10 Nov 1917**



Spring Offensive (German)
**21 March–5 April 1918**

## 1918



Hundred Days Offensive (Allied)
**8 Aug–11 Nov 1918**

## 1919

Peace Conference
**18 Jan–28 June 1919**



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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



**SOURCE 11.2** Emperor of Russia Nicholas II (1868–1918) holding a sacred icon

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

| What do you see? | What do you think? | What do you wonder? |
|---|---|---|



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# CHAPTER 11 **Overview**

| KEY IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS TODAY | KEY TERMS AND NAMES |
|---|---|---|
| The nature of World War I is complex and the decisive factors for the outcome of the war had more to do with the grand strategy than with events on the battlefield. | We have been preoccupied with commemorating the events of 1914 to 1918 at the expense of understanding many of the issues and ideas that were at stake during the war. | • war aims<br>• grand strategy<br>• geopolitics<br>• secret treaties<br>• Treaty of Brest-Litovsk<br>• American Expeditionary Force<br>• war of attrition<br>• Entente Powers<br>• Reichstag<br>• Hohenzollerns<br>• Bolsheviks<br>• Provisional Government |

## *Painting the picture*

### Understanding World War I

**INQUIRY QUESTION**

Why did World War I go on so long?

One of the difficult things about studying World War I is its complexity. There are so many aspects of the war that lack consensus among historians or are hotly debated. Many accounts of the war still leave us none the wiser about basic questions such as what the war was about. The fact that an assassination of one person could lead to a global war of massive destruction strikes many of us today as simply absurd. The historian Christopher Clark calls the origins of World War I the most complex event in modern times. Many would undoubtedly agree with this assessment. However, most people do not realise that the rest of World War I is just as complex. This complexity has made it difficult for the modern mind to comprehend exactly what the war was about.

There has been a monumental amount of immensely productive historical writing, research and debate about the course of World War I over the last hundred years. It seems that just about every conceivable aspect of the war has been explored from the point of view of diplomacy, politics, economics, the home front, military strategy, technology and the battlefields, and yet there are still many more fruitful avenues that can be pursued. However, no matter how much research is done on World War I, it will still be difficult for the average person to have a clear-eyed view of the war free from the national myths that have been built around our commemoration of the 1914–1918 conflict.

## 11.1 The complex nature of World War I

### Comparing the world wars: origins of each war

The difficulty in understanding World War I becomes apparent when we compare it with World War II. In World War II there is no debate about how it started – by military aggression from Italy, Germany and Japan – whereas for World War I historians will never stop debating the origins of that conflict. Also, what the war was being fought for is much clearer for World War II, in which there was a clear struggle between fascism and Nazism and the ideals laid down by the Allies on 1 January 1942 in the Declaration of the United Nations. On the other hand, World War I seemed to be more about geopolitical and imperialist rivalry. As discussed in Chapter 10, the war aims on both sides in World War I were unclear and some of them were secret for most of the war. In the first conflict the idea that the war might be about some high



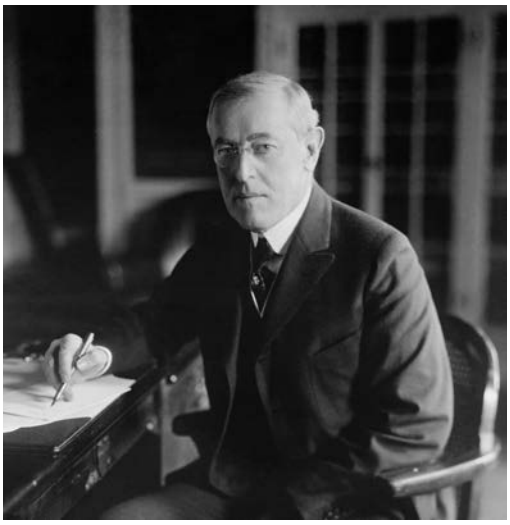
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ideals did not really enter the mix until late 1917 and early 1918, when both Woodrow Wilson and Vladimir Lenin proclaimed their opposing visions for the postwar world.

## Comparing the world wars: battlefields and the end to each war

Even on the battlefield, things are much clearer for World War II, which can be divided into two parts: from 1939 to 1942 when the Axis forces were winning, and 1942 to 1945 when the tide had turned in the Allies' favour and the defeat of the Axis Powers seemed just a matter of time. In the middle there were three key battles that turned the tide in favour of the Allies – El Alamein, Stalingrad and Midway. For World War I there are no such clear turning-points when victory seemed assured for one side. Instead, there were massive inconclusive battles that lasted for months with horrendous casualties.

At the beginning of 1918 it was still not clear who would win and how long it would take. Even by October the generals on the Allied side expected that Germany would be able to fight on until 1919 and 1920. The Americans planned to have increased the number of their troops in France from two million in 1918 to four million in 1919 for the final planned offensive against Germany in 1919. When the war ended suddenly in November 1918, many Allied generals and politicians were surprised. Even on the point of what factors were decisive in the Allied victory there is no consensus among historians. This is not so when it comes to the defeat of the Axis Powers in World War II. In this case, American and Soviet forces overran Nazi Europe and Germany, and Japan was bombed into submission by four bombing campaigns followed by the dropping of two atomic bombs. So even the way World War II ended is far more straightforward than it was for World War I.



**SOURCE 11.3** US President Woodrow Wilson



**SOURCE 11.4** Arras, France, 24 March 1917. British troops go over the top in the trenches during the 1917 German withdrawal.

**commemorate** to remember officially and give respect to a great person or event, especially by a public ceremony or by erecting a statue or a special building

For all the above reasons it has been much easier to **commemorate** World War I than to understand it. Now, a century on from that conflict with the centenary commemorations over, it is time to have a clear-eyed view of the nature of World War I and to seek answers to the nagging questions that have eluded us thus far. These are questions such as: what exactly were the two sides fighting for, and why did the war keep going for years despite the ongoing stalemate and the fact that neither side could see the prospect of victory in the near future? If both sides claimed to be fighting a war of self-defence and not of conquest, then why could they not pursue an early, negotiated peace, as was advocated at a number of points throughout the war?

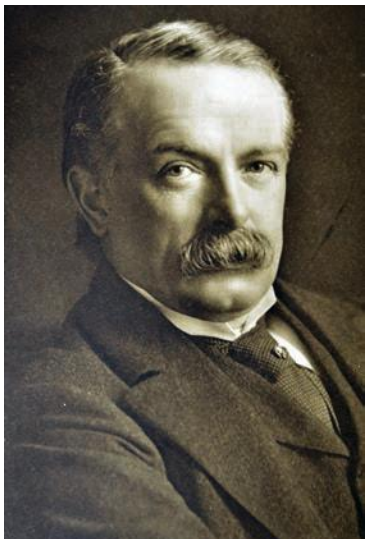
## Comparing the world wars: turning-points

Finally, there were significant turning-points in World War I but they did not occur on the battlefield as they did in World War II. The turning-points in World War I occurred at the level of grand strategy. The first turning-point occurred midway through the war with the decision by both sides to shun the idea of



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seeking a negotiated peace and instead to ratchet up their efforts and engage in a no-holds-barred strategy to win at all costs. On the side of the Central Powers this approach featured the re-introduction of unrestricted submarine warfare with the aim of starving Britain. Meanwhile, in Britain, Lloyd George became Prime Minister at the head of a Conservative-dominated coalition government. Lloyd George pledged that Britain would not consider a negotiated peace but would fight on until the bitter end until there was a 'knock-out blow'. His government from then on was known as the 'Knock-Out Blow' coalition and the advocates of this approach were known as the 'Bitter-enders'. In Germany too, politics lurched to the right with the increasing influence of Hindenburg and Ludendorff.



**SOURCE 11.5** Lloyd George became British Prime Minister during the war.

At the beginning of 1917, despite the fact that Britain and Germany – the leading nations on each side – had committed themselves to victory at whatever cost, there was no clear path to that victory. Then two dramatic developments occurred: the Russian Revolution in March 1917 and the American entry into the war in April 1917. The former worked in favour of Germany while the latter worked in favour of the Allies. Both of these were potential game-changers and turning-points for each side, yet it would take the next year to see which of these factors would be the most decisive.

At the beginning of 1918, there was still no clear path to certain victory for either side. Germany was in a better position, having negotiated an **armistice** with the new **Bolshevik** government in Russia. Lenin had vowed that he would end the war and after the Bolsheviks seized power in November 1917 they negotiated a ceasefire with Germany. With fighting at an end on their Eastern Front, Ludendorff now potentially had over one million soldiers who could be transferred to the Western Front. Meanwhile, on the Western Front American forces had gradually been building up. It would take the next six months to see which of these factors, Russian withdrawal from the war or American entry into the war, would be decisive.

**armistice** an agreement between two countries or groups at war to stop fighting for a particular time, especially to talk about possible peace

**Bolsheviks** a revolutionary political party begun by Lenin after splitting with the Mensheviks in 1903; they took power in Russia and became the Communist Party in 1917

## Antiwar movements and visions for the future after the war

Meanwhile, war weariness on both sides saw the growth in popularity of antiwar groups on both sides. The majority of people in the antiwar movement on both sides were opposed to the war aims of their governments and sought to put pressure for a revision of their sides' war aims, which they thought would make both a negotiated – and a just and lasting – peace more possible. It was from these groups that plans for the establishment of a 'league of nations' originated. It was only when the idea of a league was championed by US President Woodrow Wilson that it looked as if it could become a reality. In his Fourteen Points speech of 8 January 1918, Wilson made a 'league of nations' part of his vision for the end of the war. Wilson had earlier proclaimed that the US would aim to 'make the world safe for democracy'. Lenin too proclaimed his vision for the end of the war – an international working-class communist revolution that



**SOURCE 11.6** Vladimir Lenin led the Bolsheviks to power in Russia in October 1917.



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would destroy the capitalist system, which he argued was the cause of the war. Thus, by 1918, differing visions for the postwar world emerged, none of which had been present in the war aims of the opposing sides at the beginning of the war.

## Tactical developments in the later years of the war

In March 1918 the war on the battlefield resumed with increased urgency. Ludendorff gambled in his Spring Offensive by throwing everything he had, including an extra million men from the Eastern Front, at the Allies with the aim of breaking the British army before the Americans could arrive in large enough numbers to tip the balance in favour of the Allies. For the first time since 1914, the war of movement resumed and Ludendorff achieved stunning successes on the Western Front with his army using new storm-trooper tactics.

However, despite winning many battles and forcing the Allies to retreat, Ludendorff failed to win the campaign. By April 1918 his offensive ran out of steam and the Allies began counter-attacking. New tactics were pioneered by Australian General Monash, and on 4 July 1918 the Australians captured the village of Le Hamel. These tactics were adopted by other Allied generals and used in the Battle of Amiens on 8 August 1918 when, after a three-day battle spearheaded by a combined force of Canadians and Australians along with 500 tanks, the Allied force broke through the German lines. This was the first big Allied breakthrough since 1914. The Allied forces continued on the offensive for the next 100 days in what has become known as the Hundred Days Offensive. Though Allied casualties were very heavy, they were, for the first time in the war, moving in one direction and pushing the German forces back. Also, for the first time in the war there were very large numbers of German prisoners. However, the Germans remained disciplined as they retreated and as they did so their front line became shorter and thus easier to defend. The German army was by no means beaten. Allied commanders expected that fighting would continue into 1919 and perhaps 1920. However, the war ended unexpectedly in November 1918.

## Reasons for the end of the war

The reasons for Allied victory cannot simply be explained by events on the battlefield alone. Historians have identified a number of factors for the Allied victory. For example, as well as successes in the Hundred Days Offensive, there was the Allied naval blockade that prevented food or supplies entering the ports of the Central Powers as well as those of neutral countries. The Allied naval blockade aimed to starve the people on the enemy's home front, and had greatly increased in effectiveness with the entry of the US into the war to become what economist Maynard Keynes called the 'perfect instrument'. Another factor in the Allied victory was political unrest on the German home front that eventually spilled over into revolution on 9 November.



**SOURCE 11.7** Artist's representation of cavalry and light tanks sweeping the ground in front of the infantry during the Battle of Amiens, during the opening phase of the Allied offensive later known as the 'Hundred Days Offensive'. This ultimately led to the end of World War I.

Probably the most decisive factor in why the Allied victory occurred in November 1918, rather than at a later point, was a decision made by the German High Command. They decided, in the end, that they could not win the war, and on 29 September 1918 Ludendorff recommended that Germany ask for an armistice. The Kaiser agreed and a new Chancellor was appointed, Prince Max of Baden, who made a request to President Wilson for a peace based on the Fourteen Points.



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Six weeks later, after negotiations between Wilson and the German government, and between Wilson and the Allied leaders, an armistice was agreed upon. If the German High Command had not lost its nerve it might have been possible to continue the war into 1919.

## 11.2 1914: the descent into war

### The German decision for war

The German leadership's decision to go to war in August 1914 was not so much a cold and hard calculated decision to launch itself on a path of world conquest but was rather based on fear of the growing military power of imperial Russia and the future implications of having a hostile France to the west, which was seething for revenge, allied to an increasingly powerful Russia to the east. The Schlieffen Plan, devised in 1905, was to be Germany's insurance policy if faced with the prospect of having to fight a war on two fronts. The plan was based on using the premise of surprise; that is, to strike first to 'get the jump' on their enemies in terms of mobilising the forces of war. It was the 1914 version of the **pre-emptive strike**.

**pre-emptive strike** a modern military action based on the assumption that an enemy is planning an imminent attack

### NOTE THIS DOWN

**Comparing**

Construct a table like the one below and make notes on the battles mentioned in this section.

| Battle | Dates | Location | Details | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frontiers | | | | |
| Mons | | | | |
| Marne | | | | |
| Race to the Sea | | | | |
| Tannenberg | | | | |



**SOURCE 11.8** German infantry on the move, 1914

Therefore, when events took a turn for the worse towards the end of July, as it faced the prospect of backing its junior alliance partner Austria-Hungary in its showdown with Serbia or force it into a humiliating back-down, Germany chose the former course. Russia then mobilised and the German leadership, fearing that Russia's mobilisation meant war with Russia and its ally was inevitable, mobilised its forces according to



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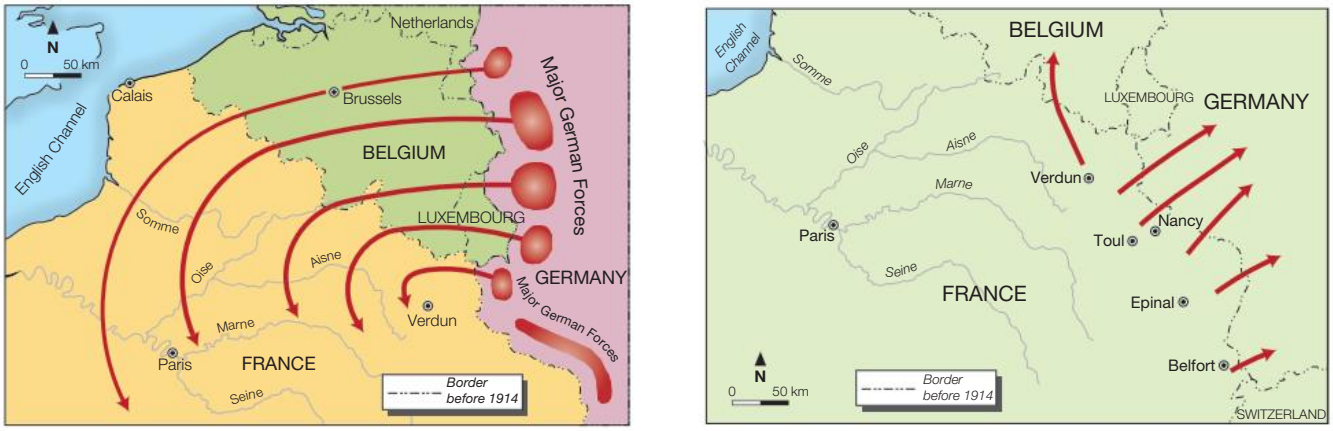
the Schlieffen Plan, declared war on Russia and then France, and within 24 hours began marching forces into neutral Belgium. In making this fateful decision the German leadership portrayed it as a defensive war in order to win public support and also the support of the largest political party in the **Reichstag**, the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The support of the SPD was critical in getting war credits to finance the war passed through the Reichstag. To unify the forces of the left and the right in German politics, which had been at each other's throats before 1914, the German leadership talked of the Burgfrieden or 'fortress peace'. The Burgfrieden was a truce between the left and the right as the nation faced the external threat of the Russian hordes from the east.

**Reichstag** the lower house of Germany's parliament



**SOURCE 11.9** 4 August 1914, the sitting of the Reichstag at the beginning of World War I. The Social Democratic Party gives its unanimous consent to the war bonds.

## The Schlieffen Plan and Plan 17




**SOURCE 11.10** (Left) Germany's Schlieffen Plan and (right) France's Plan 17

### A MATTER OF FACT

The Schlieffen Plan was drawn up in 1905 by General Alfred Schlieffen (1833–1913), Chief of the Imperial General Staff 1891–1905. This was an elaborate plan to use most of the German army to attack France through neutral Belgium and to have them wheel around towards the English Channel and then encircle Paris from the west. Schlieffen's plan was aimed to defeat France in six weeks, and then with France defeated to concentrate its army in the east to fight the Russians in what they anticipated would be a longer campaign. The French Plan 17 involved a thrust into the German province of Lorraine.

With war declared, all sides implemented detailed military plans. On the Western Front the Germans moved with speed to implement their Schlieffen Plan, which was meant to defeat France in six weeks through a speedy advance through Belgium and down into northern France with the right flank going close



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to the English Channel, then wheeling around to attack Paris from the west while its other forces encircled Paris from the north and east.

Meanwhile, on 7 August the French initiated their Plan 17, which involved a deep thrust straight into German territory. What became known as the Battle of the Frontiers was a disaster for the French, who sustained 329 000 casualties in the month-long battle to which they finally called a halt on 13 September.

The German Schlieffen Plan was far more successful. Though German forces were held up by stiff resistance from the Belgian army, the capital Brussels fell on 20 August, and it continued its advance through Belgium. It was then that the Schlieffen Plan ran into problems. The British Expeditionary Force had landed on the coast and met the Germans at Mons on 23 August, where it held up the German advance for two days. Meanwhile the French had raced every able-bodied man that they could to the River Marne, where they put up a desperate fight between 12 and 28 August to stop the German advance. The Battle of the Marne was a success for the French. The German advance was finally stopped, at enormous cost to the French of 250 000 casualties, and the German army was forced back to the Aisne River.



**SOURCE 11.11** The British Expeditionary Force camp in Belgium ahead of the battle of Mons, August 1914. The Battle of Mons was the first major action of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in World War I.



**SOURCE 11.12** Ruins of the mayor's office in the Town of Ypres 1914. In the First Battle of Ypres (19 October to 22 November 1914), the Allies captured the town from the Germans. Ypres occupied a strategic position during World War I because it stood in the path of Germany's planned sweep across the rest of Belgium and into France from the north (the Schlieffen Plan).

## The Race to the Sea and the end of the war of movement

While the Germans were being forced back at the Marne River the British decided to try to secure the Belgian coast to the north and to outflank the German forces. This led to the 'Race to the Sea' between 25 September and 22 November and ended with the First Battle of Ypres between 19 October and 22 November 1914. This battle effectively ended the war of movement on the Western Front. The front line now consisted of opposing trenches that ran from Dixmude on the English Channel to the Swiss border. With either side unable to move forward, the Germans and the British and French dug in and thus started the war of attrition that was to last for the next three-and-a-half years. For the Germans, this also meant that their strategic plan of dealing with France first so that they could concentrate on Russia alone and thus avoid a war on two fronts was in tatters. Germany now faced a war on two fronts. The Allies' successful defence of the Marne and at Ypres dealt a final death blow to the Schlieffen Plan.

## The Battles of Tannenberg and Masurian Lakes

Meanwhile, while the ambitious Schlieffen Plan was unravelling in the west, the Russians were advancing in the east and were marching into German territory in East Prussia. The German Eighth Army was commanded by Generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff. At the Battle of Tannenberg they faced the Russian First Army led by General Samsonov. In the battle that lasted from 26 to 30 August 1914 the Germans



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**SOURCE 11.13** Russian prisoners of war, 30 August 1914: soldiers of the Russian Second Army in Austria following their defeat and capture by the Germans at the Battle of Tannenberg in East Prussia. 100 000 Russian soldiers were captured at Tannenberg.

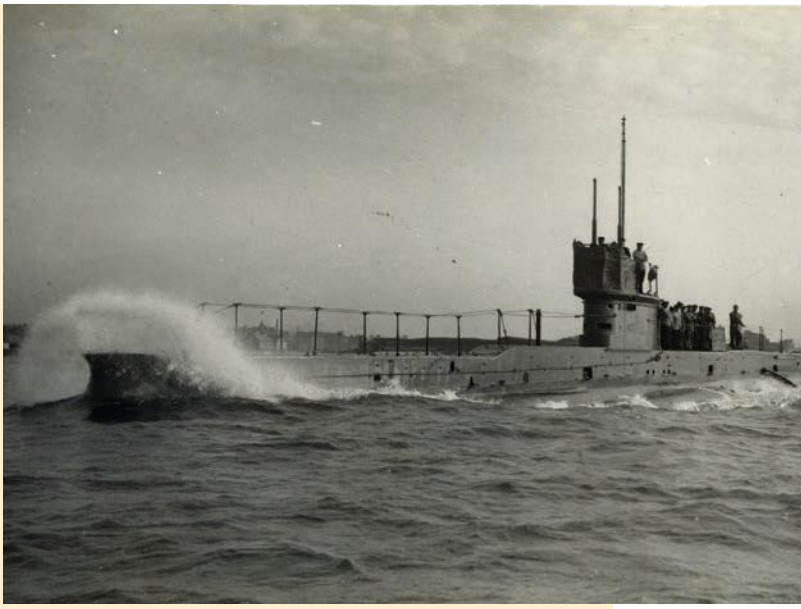
achieved the most stunning military success of the war. The Russian First Army was annihilated, suffering 30 000 soldiers killed, 100 000 captured and with only 10 000 escaping. The defeat was so bad that General Samsonov committed suicide by shooting himself in the head.

The German army in the east then faced the Russian Second Army led by General Rennenkampf between 9 and 14 September 1914. The Germans dug in and strengthened their forces, but when reinforcements arrived from the Western Front they moved forward and pursued the Russians. The Russians suffered heavy losses including 125 000 casualties.

For more information about these two battles and their contribution to the fall of the Romanov Dynasty, please see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.

## Other theatres of the war in 1914

- Austro-Hungarian forces fought against Russian forces, both sustaining heavy casualties for inconclusive results.
- Austria-Hungary failed to capture Serbia by the end of 1914.
- Turkey fought Russia near Kars. The Russians had some success.
- The British captured Cyprus.
- British and Indian forces invaded Mesopotamia.
- Japanese and British troops seized the German outpost of Tsingtao in China.
- Australian forces captured German New Guinea and Nauru.
- New Zealand forces captured the German colony of Samoa.



**SOURCE 11.14** The Royal Australian Navy's first submarine, the *AE1*, sank with all 35 hands on 15 September 1914 off the Duke of York Islands, Papua New Guinea.

## The Christmas Day Truce

Pope Benedict XV issued an appeal for a Christmas Day Truce in 1914, motivated partly by the desire that a truce could be the forerunner to negotiations to end the war. Though it was rejected by the warring powers, it is estimated that up to 100 000 men in the trenches on the Western Front held their own unofficial Christmas Truce. The Christmas Truce has been movingly portrayed in the films *Oh What a Lovely War!* (1969) and *Joyeux Noel* (2005). Some historians have investigated the Christmas Truce. Stanley Weintraub in his book *Silent Night* (2001) investigates the truce, relying heavily on the diaries and recollections of soldiers who took part. Weintraub concludes by saying that, 'however much the momentary peace of 1914 evidenced the desire



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of the combatants to live in amity with one another, it was doomed from the start by the realities beyond the trenches.' There were no more Christmas truces for the rest of the war but there were other significant attempts to bring the war to an early end, one of the most significant being initiated by Pope Benedict XV.

## What was the state of play at the end of 1914?

### Failed military objectives

Both sides had failed to achieve their military objectives by the end of 1914. France's Plan 17 was an absolute disaster, while the Schlieffen Plan had left the German army dug in across Belgium and France. Meanwhile the Russian offensive to invade Germany from the east had been stopped dead in its tracks by a smaller German army led by generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff. The spectacular military victories at Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes destined these generals to play an increasingly significant role in the war.



**SOURCE 11.15** 25 December 1914, Christmas Truce. Soldiers of the 5th London Rifle Brigade with German Saxon regimental troops at Ploegsteert Wood during the Christmas Truce of 1914.

### Expanded war aims

The five months of fighting had no outcome, but both sides in the conflict were hopeful that the coming year would see one. Both sides shored up their positions on the home front and strengthened the commitment with their allies.

A month into the war, when it looked as though Germany might succeed in its strategy to defeat France, the moderate German Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg began defining Germany's desired political objectives or war aims, which now went beyond a war of self-defence. On 9 September 1914, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg enunciated the so-called September Program, in which he called for the annexation of Belgium, northern France and the Baltic. Also desired was a common European economic zone under Berlin's control and the establishment of a German colonial empire in Central Africa.

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (German Chancellor 1909–1917)

> Now the great hour of trial has struck for our people. But with clear confidence we go forward to meet it. Our army is in the field, our navy is ready for battle – behind them stands the entire German nation ... united to the last man.

**SOURCE 11.16** Speech to the Reichstag, 4 August 1914

Bethmann-Hollweg bears some responsibility for the bungling decision-making in July that led to the outbreak of war. Though he was the author of the statement of war aims in the September Program of 1914, he was regarded as a political moderate. In December 1916 he issued the German Peace Note in which he sought a negotiated peace. He was a vocal opponent of unrestricted submarine warfare. However, his influence declined through 1917 as Hindenburg and Ludendorff meddled more in domestic politics. He was forced to resign as Chancellor in July 1917.



**SOURCE 11.17** German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg served as Chancellor until July 1917.



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## KEY QUESTIONS

### Examining modernity

The Pact of London was the first of many secret treaties in the war. The general population was not aware of this treaty and it was not presented to the British Parliament.

### Question

Would this be acceptable today in a democracy for a government to make such a significant commitment in a binding treaty in secret without the public being consulted?

Meanwhile, the Entente Powers believed that success depended on their maintaining a solid alliance. A month after the outbreak of hostilities the foreign ministers of the Entente Powers – Britain, France and Russia – committed their nations to fight the war to a successful conclusion and promised not to consider making a separate peace with the enemy and to consult with each other regarding any communications from the enemy on these matters. This was a secret document, the first of many that detailed war aims. As the war progressed over the coming years, this agreement was to be put to the test. Right from the outset this document demonstrated the key role that alliances would play in the grand strategy and high politics of the war.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 11.1

### The Pact of London, 4 September 1914

**Declaration**

M. Delcassé, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the French Ambassadors and Ministers abroad.
Paris, September 4, 1914

The following declaration has this morning been signed at the Foreign Office at London:

'The undersigned duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments hereby declare as follows:

'The British, French, and Russian Governments mutually engage not to conclude peace separately during the present war.

The three Governments agree that when terms of peace come to be discussed, no one of the Allies will demand terms of peace without the previous agreement of each of the other Allies.'

Signed:
Paul Cambon
Count Benckendorff
Edward Grey
This declaration will be published today.
Delcassé

**SOURCE 11.18** The Pact of London, 4 September 1914

Research each of the people in this document.

1 Which country did each represent?
2 What role had they each played in the July Crisis, and in the decision for war?
3 To what extent did any of these men bear some responsibility for the outbreak of war in August 1914?



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## ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 11.2

> Taking the conflict as a whole, a general stalemate seemed to be emerging. There was a relationship between the various fronts but it was a stabilizing rather than a winning connexion ... Both sides had averted defeat. Could either achieve victory?

**SOURCE 11.19** Keith Robbins, *The First World War*, 1984, p. 38

> The nations were caught in a trap, a trap made during the first thirty days out of the battles that failed to be decisive, a trap from which there was, and has been, no exit.

**SOURCE 11.20** Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August*, 1962, p. 426

> The Great War was undoubtedly the climax of the age of New Imperialism. Many rivalries, ancient and new, fuelled the sprawling catastrophe. Rival Imperial fantasies were vital to prolonging the war, but this reality was shielded from British eyes. Most Britons accepted the tale that they work well for one reason: the German decision to invade Belgium on 4 August 1914. British leaders depicted this as the essential justification for Britain's war. The subsequent 'war map' hypnotised the British, but the map was often restricted to the Western Front, where the German aggressor stood starkly revealed. In fact, all sides began military adventures and offered preposterous justifications for them. The Germans invaded Belgium and Northern France – to save Germany. Russia invaded East Prussia – to save Serbia. Japan invaded German concessions in China – to help save Belgium. France, Britain and her dominions seized every German colony – to help save Belgium.

**SOURCE 11.21** Douglas Newton, 'Other people's war: the Great War in a world context', in Stephens and Broinowski (eds), *The Honest History*, 2017, p. 18

### Question

What point does each historian make about the nature of the war by the end of 1914? Summarise each historical interpretation.

## 11.3 1915: the expansion of the conflict

Alliances were to play a key role in the **grand strategies** of the warring powers. Firstly, each side had to ensure that alliances held firm. This was the purpose of the Pact of London of September 1914. Secondly, new allies needed to be secured to guarantee victory. Thirdly, attacking the weakest partner in the enemy's alliance was seen as one way of breaking the stalemate on the Western Front. The Entente Powers did all three in 1915. As a result the conflict expanded and so did the war aims. By the end of 1915 both sides had committed themselves to war aims that went way beyond righting the wrongs of August 1914 or fighting a war of self-defence.

**grand strategy** a deeply held set of concepts about a country's goals and orientation in international affairs



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**SOURCE 11.22** Gallipoli landing, 25 April 1915. Allied troops at Anzac Cove (Gaba Tepe), Gallipoli Peninsula, during the Gallipoli campaign, 1915. This campaign was initiated partly as a response to the military stalemate on the Western Front, but also to encourage Italy to enter the war on the side of the Entente Powers and to achieve imperialist objectives in the Ottoman Empire.

## Secret treaties

### The Straits Agreement, March 1915

On 18 March 1915, Britain signed another secret treaty with its alliance partners France and Russia, known as the Straits Agreement. This was a plan for the postwar partition of the Ottoman Empire. As part of the deal, Russia would get control over the Straits or Dardanelles, the Turkish capital Constantinople and surrounding territory such as the Gallipoli peninsula. In fact, since the Russians considered the Straits and surrounding Turkish land to be part of their future spoils of war, they forbade their alliance partners to attack and occupy the area without their agreement that Russia would be handed this territory at the end of the war. Thus, on 18 March 1915 the Straits Agreement was signed by Russia, Britain and France. This secret treaty pledged Britain and France to give Russia Constantinople, the Straits and the surrounding area, while the rest of the Ottoman Empire would be divided between them.

### The Treaty of London, 26 April 1915

On 26 April 1915, Italy was included in the club that was planning to carve up the Ottoman Empire. In return, Italy pledged it would join the side of the Entente Powers to open up a new front in the war in the Alps to the north with Austria-Hungary. However, Italy would only commit to joining the Allies when Britain and France showed their commitment to defeating the Ottoman Empire. This commitment was demonstrated by the landing of Entente forces on the Gallipoli peninsula on the previous morning, 25 April 1915. With the British and French committed to defeating Turkey, the Italians felt that victory was imminent and so joined the cause. Italy entered the war on 23 May 1915.



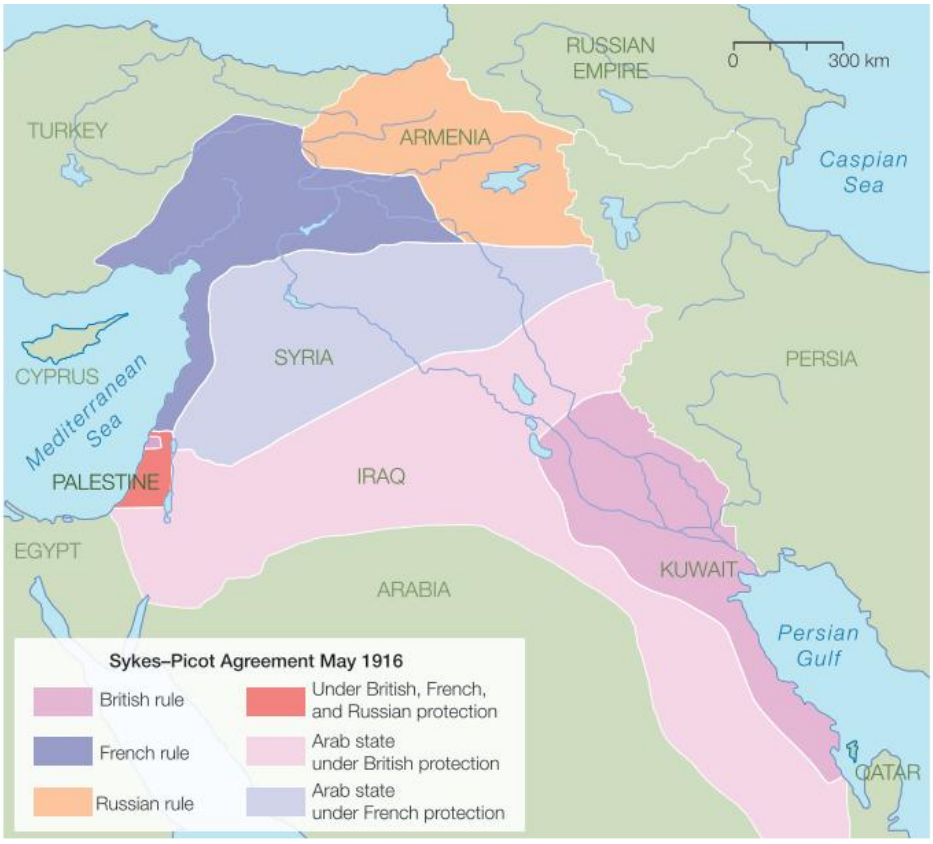
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### The Sykes–Picot Agreement, 16 May 1916

The Treaty of London was followed up the following year by another secret treaty detailing exactly how the Allies planned to carve up the Middle East between them. On the Allied side the war was now being fought for some serious imperialist objectives, not just for Serbia, Belgium and northern France. The Ottoman Empire became a major target for Allies, not just because it was allied to Germany but also because the Allied Powers coveted territory in the Middle East.

### The implications of secret treaties

As with German leadership, the Allied leaders were able to portray the war to their peoples as a war of self-defence and more specifically the defence of




**SOURCE 11.23** The Sykes–Picot Agreement planned a carve-up of the Ottoman Empire into territory controlled by each of the Allied powers. Though independent Arab states were included they were to be part of Britain or France's sphere of influence.

## ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 11.3

### An Australian historian's perspective

> Over the next seven months, the Australians suffered 7,825 battle casualties at Gallipoli, with 43 more dying of wounds and disease. They died there, with the New Zealanders, the British, the Indians, and the French, for many reasons – for Russian war aims, for Italian ambition, for the empire's safety from Islamic unrest, and for all the resources of the Middle East. They died for many people, most of whom they had never heard of – for Sazonov, for Benckendorff, for Trubetskoi, for Izvolski, for Cambon, for Paléologue, for Imperiali, for Salandra, and for Sidney Sonnino. The Australians had been given a role in a gigantic struggle to force a breathtaking slicing-up of the whole Turkish Empire – with great chunks of territory going to the Entente powers.

**SOURCE 11.24** Douglas Newton, *Hell Bent*, 2014, p. 240

### Question

Why did so many Australians die at Gallipoli? Summarise Newton's perspective in your own words.



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France and also neutral Belgium to prevent German domination of Europe. But secretly, the Allied leaders came up with plans for the postwar dismemberment of the Central Powers and the Ottoman Empire, with the latter offering the greatest spoils. On the issue of the German colonies, which the British along with their dominions such as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa had captured, the British were strangely silent. The British had no intention of sharing their early-won spoils of war with their alliance partners or even later as bargaining chips to entice Germany to the negotiating table.

What all this secret diplomatic activity meant for the rest of the war was that only those privileged to be in the upper echelons of the leadership elite in governments of the Allies and the Central Powers had the slightest idea of what they were really fighting for. The leaders on both sides kept silent about what their war aims really were. The soldiers fighting in the trenches in France had no idea that they were not just fighting for the defence of France or Belgium and ultimately mother England, but were also fighting so that Britain, France, Italy and Russia could carve up Turkey and the Middle East between them. Similarly, Australian soldiers fighting at Gallipoli had no idea that they were merely pawns in the British grand strategy that involved handing the Gallipoli peninsula, the Straits and Constantinople to the autocratic regime of Tsar Nicholas II.

## The impact of the war on the home front

World War I impacted on civilians in a way that no other war had done. It was quickly recognised by the beginning of 1915 by governments on both sides that the war was going to have an enormous impact on their civilian population and that they were going to have to require enormous sacrifices from their people. Not only would there be the grief of losing loved ones at the front or having them return with horrible injuries; civilians would also suffer many other privations and would be needed for many tasks on the domestic front. For this reason it was important to keep up morale.

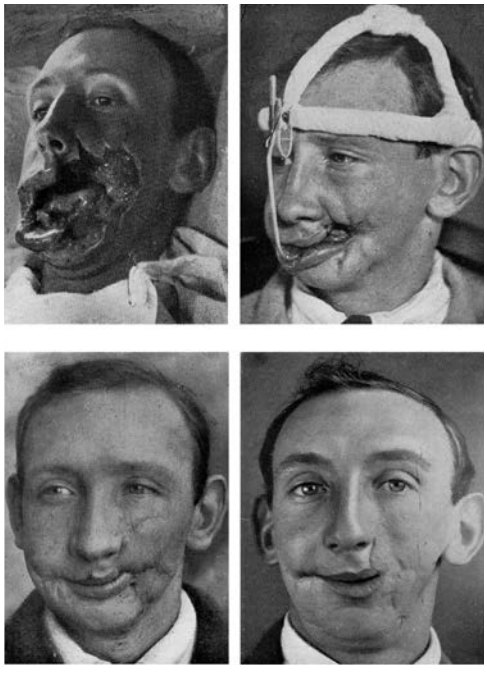
**propaganda** the use of biased, distorted or false information to promote a political cause or point of view

**censorship** the practice of preventing access to information with the aim of limiting freedom of thought

From 1915, greater attention was given to the home front. Both sides realised that winning the war would depend as much on the home front as on the armed forces at the front. Both had similar experiences on the home front. First, there was a surge in nationalist sentiment and a demand for unity for the governments. Then the home front populations were deluged with **propaganda** while simultaneously **censorship** was tightened. As more industries were geared to production for the war effort, national debt ballooned. Food shortages on the home front became the norm, leading to widespread hunger followed by voluntary, and then government-imposed, rationing.

Dissent had existed on the home front from the beginning of the war but when the military stalemate dragged on into 1916, dissent increased due to war-weariness and a growing dissatisfaction with their government's war aims. In some cases concessions were made to contain dissent, while over the course of the war civil liberties were gradually eroded and dissent was demonised and in some cases savagely suppressed.

Propaganda was used on the home front to stir up hatred for the enemy and to encourage civilians to support the war effort in numerous ways such as through voluntary rationing, buying war bonds, or working in munitions industries. Propaganda was also used to promote each nation's cause to the international



**SOURCE 11.25** Four photographs documenting the facial reconstruction of a soldier whose cheek was extensively wounded during the Battle of the Somme in July 1916



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community and particularly to countries that they sought material support from. However, propaganda was rarely used to encourage a nation's own soldiers to fight and when soldiers did come in contact with propaganda they generally found its exaggerations quite distasteful. Propaganda was not directed at enemy soldiers, partly because the means to do this were limited. Only in the last year of the war did the British direct propaganda at enemy soldiers by dropping leaflets from aeroplanes.

### The British home front



The Prime Minister sought to rally the country for the fight ahead. In a speech to Parliament on 6 August he declared that the British government had 'made every effort for peace. But this war has been forced upon us … We are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering power.' By 9 November 1914 Asquith was girding the nation for a long struggle as he outlined his war aims in the *Times* newspaper, saying that it was 'going to be a long drawn-out struggle' and that 'we shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium recovers in full measure all and more than all that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed.'

Meanwhile, people outside government tried to make the best of the war, promoting it as a war for high ideals. This is what motivated HG Wells in his 'Sword of Peace' article in the *Daily News* in August 1914 in which he wrote: 'We have to impose upon this war the idea that this war must end war. We have to create a wide common conception of a re-mapped and pacified Europe, released from the … private trade in armaments, largely disarmed and pledged to mutual protection.' This idealistic view that this would be a war to end war resonated with many people and the phrase 'a war to end all wars' has been associated with the Great War ever since, though Wells himself later came to regret these words because he realised that the British government was not interested in the sort of peace that would prevent future wars, but rather a vengeful peace that would not last.

Others clearly sought a very different peace from Wells. In his 16 August 1917 maiden speech in Parliament, Kennedy Jones was more blunt: 'The war aim of the Allies is perfectly well known … we are out to beat the German and then to skin him alive … The Prime Minister must make it clear that we are going on to the bitter end, however long it might take us.' Meanwhile War Secretary David Lloyd George declared in his 29 September 1916 'knock-out blow' interview that 'the fight must be to a finish – to a knock-out … There are no quitters among the Allies. "Never Again" has become our battle cry. That is the meaning of Britain's resolve. The whole world must know there must be no outside interference at this stage.'

The British government passed the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) in August 1914, allowing the government to establish state-run munitions factories and take over coalmines, railways and shipping. The press was not directly controlled by the government and generally self-censored, with the government placing D-Notices on information that the press was not allowed to disclose. Nevertheless, there was lively debate in the press throughout the war about the military situation and about war aims. Newspapers such as *The Nation*, the *Labour Leader*, the *Daily News* and *Common Sense* were generally free to print material critical of the government.



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One of the main aims of British propaganda, at least in 1914 and 1915, was to encourage **recruitment**. These posters used every conceivable angle to encourage men to join the armed forces. Posters were also used to encourage women to work in munitions factories and in other occupations, replacing men who had enlisted. However, recruitments slowed in 1915 and in May 1916 **conscription** was introduced for adult males.

**recruitment** the process of urging people to voluntarily join the armed forces

**conscription** the use of legal means to force people to join the armed forces

Despite all the government propaganda there was still significant dissent. Siegfried Sassoon, the soldier made famous for his war poetry, reflected the views of many soldiers at the front in his statement to the press in June 1917:

> I am making this statement as an act of wilful defiance of military authority, because I believe that the War is being deliberately prolonged by those who have the power to end it. ... I am acting on behalf of soldiers. I believe that this War, on which I entered as a war of defence and liberation, has now become a war of aggression and conquest. [The aims] should have been clearly stated ... had this been done, the objects which actuated us would now be attainable by negotiation.

**SOURCE 11.26** Siegfried Sassoon, statement to the press, June 1917



**SOURCE 11.27** Corder Catchpool was a pacifist and conscientious objector in World War I. This photograph was taken in 1927.




**SOURCE 11.28** Women of Britain Say – 'Go!' recruitment poster




**SOURCE 11.29** More munitions. A 1916 British recruitment poster urging women to work in the munitions factories as part of Britain's home front during World War I.

Fortunately for Sassoon, his fame ensured that he could not be treated too harshly.

An example of a dissident who was treated much more harshly than Sassoon was Corder Catchpool. As a Quaker he was opposed to all violence, so he refused to join the army. However, in 1915 he joined the Friends Ambulance Unit (run by the Quakers) and served at the front line as a stretcher-bearer bringing wounded soldiers in from the trenches, often under enemy fire. When Britain brought in conscription in 1916 all ambulance units at the front were militarised and placed under army control. So he resigned from the ambulance unit and returned to England. When he was conscripted to join the army he refused and declared himself to be a conscientious objector. A tribunal sentenced Catchpool to prison with hard labour, where he spent two years. On release, Catchpool was re-arrested and sent back to prison after again refusing to join the army. He was not released until after the war was over.



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## The German home front



On the German home front too, the demands for unity were clear. In his speech to the Reichstag on 4 August 1914, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg declared that, 'now the great hour of trial has struck for our people. But with clear confidence we go forward to meet it. Our army is in the field, our navy is ready for battle – behind them stands the entire German nation – the entire German nation united to the last man.' Calls for unity came from industry too. The coal baron, Hugo Stinnes, in May 1915 declared 'together with the whole German people, those in business … are determined to endure to the end, notwithstanding every sacrifice, in this struggle that has been forced upon Germany, in order that Germany may emerge stronger, assured of a lasting peace.'

Germany had conscription from well before the war so there was no need to have a recruitment campaign. Rather, the focus was on boosting morale and supporting the war in many other ways.




**SOURCE 11.30** Poster ' Help us win ' by Fritz Erler




**SOURCE 11.31** 'Give for the submarine donation' poster



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Germany also experienced significant dissent throughout the war. Right from the start a vocal minority questioned the government's spin about the war. In a speech to the Reichstag on 2 December 1914, Karl Liebknecht spoke boldly:

> This war is not a defensive war for Germany. It is impossible for us to trust a capitalist Government when it declares that it is for the defence of the country that it asks for the credits. A peace made as soon as possible and which will humiliate no one is what must be demanded. All efforts in that direction should be supported. A simultaneous and continual demand for such peace in all the belligerent countries will be able to stop the bloody massacre.

**SOURCE 11.32** Karl Liebknecht, speech in the Reichstag, December 1914

The dispute over war aims dogged the German home front right to the end of the war. This led to the split in the SDP (Social Democratic Party) in January 1917, the Reichstag Resolution of July 1917 and the Revolution of November 1918. This underlying tension over war aims partly explains why the German home front collapsed like a house of cards in November 1918 when Ludendorff lost his nerve and advised the Kaiser to hand the government over to the Reichstag and seek an armistice.

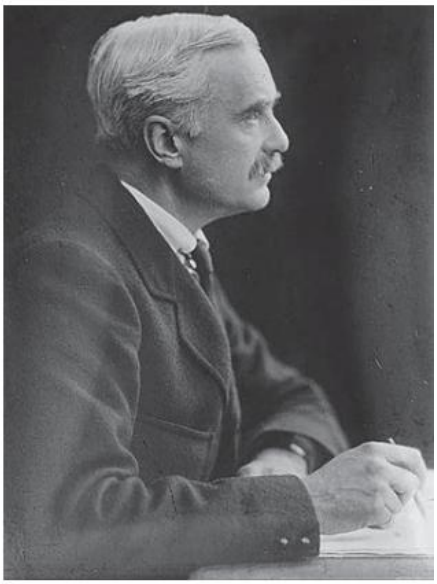
## Peace groups

### The Union of Democratic Control (UDC)

Not everyone in the belligerent nations was satisfied with their government's explanation for war. Also in September 1914 a group was formed in Britain for the purpose of lobbying the British government, which they suspected had committed their nation to imperialist war aims, to work for a just and lasting peace. The Union of Democratic Control (UDC) started out as a few disgruntled Radical (left-leaning) Liberals to become an organisation that grew to a membership of 600 000 in 1917.

### The No Conscription Fellowship (NCF)

The UDC was one of what was to become many pacifist and anti-war groups that emerged in Britain over the next few years. Another prominent organisation was the No Conscription Fellowship (NCF), of which the renowned mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell was a high-profile member of the executive.



**SOURCE 11.33** Edmund Dene Morel was one of the five founding members of the Union of Democratic Control in September 1914. The others were Ramsay McDonald, Arthur Ponsonby and Norman Angell.

## The possibility of neutral mediation

> If the neutral powers, headed by the United States, could but make representations on the basis on which those who care about peace are generally agreed, it would be the best hope.

**SOURCE 11.34** Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson to Julia Grace Wales, 27 December 1914, Wales Papers, Box 1



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Meanwhile, across the Atlantic there had been great concern since the beginning of the war about the course of events in Europe since 1914 from both the government and from many internationalist-minded groups. Most Americans were horrified as they watched the war in Europe intensify each year with no end in sight. The American President, Woodrow Wilson, was determined to maintain strict neutrality as he and the majority of the American people had little sympathy for the aims and objectives of either side in the war. Only in the more anglophile north-east of the US was there much sympathy for the Allied cause. A significant proportion of America's immigrant population was made up of people of either German or Irish descent and neither of these groups was interested in helping the British. So, due to the lack of consensus in the US about the war and also due to his own deeply-held views, President Wilson steered a path of strict neutrality. However, Wilson realised that the longer the war dragged on the more likely his nation would be dragged into it. As soon as the war started in August 1914, despite himself being in a deep mood of depression due to the death of his wife, Wilson let the leaders of the warring nations know that he stood ready at any time to offer his services to assist in mediating an end to the war. This was the first of many offers Wilson was to make over the course of the next few years.

## The International Congress of Women at The Hague, April–May 1915

In April 1915, the Women's Congress in The Hague in the neutral Netherlands attracted 1800 women delegates, many of whom had travelled from the belligerent countries. Unfortunately, the British delegation of 300 women got no further than boarding their ship, as the British navy refused permission for it to cross the English Channel. Despite this the Congress, which was chaired by Jane Addams from the US, was a resounding success. Women from opposing countries and from the neutrals were able to mix with each other and debate the war and on what basis it could be ended. On the last day of the conference the 1300 women agreed to the 'Nineteen Points', which was their plan for ending the war and securing a just and lasting peace. At the last minute, a twentieth point was added, which was that the Congress send delegations to the heads of government of the European countries to personally present their mediation plan.



**SOURCE 11.35** The American delegation to the Women's Hague Congress in 1915. The well-known social activist Jane Addams (second from the left in the front row) was elected as Chairperson for the Hague Congress. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was formed and for over one hundred years has been one of the most effective peace groups in history.

Over the next few months, two small delegations visited the heads of the neutral and belligerent countries alike and pressed their case. After the return of the American delegation to the US, Jane Addams pressed for a meeting with President Wilson. At this meeting these women presented their detailed peace plan and pressed the case for the President to give leadership to the neutral countries of Europe in a public appeal to both sides to call a truce and come to the conference table. President Wilson thanked the women for their plan, which he said was the best plan he had seen for ending the war. He gladly took their literature but declined to involve himself in mediation at this stage.

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Forming opinions**

Should private groups involve themselves in trying to solve intractable problems such as war, or should they leave this to the experts?



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## RESEARCH TASK 11.4

### Historical investigation

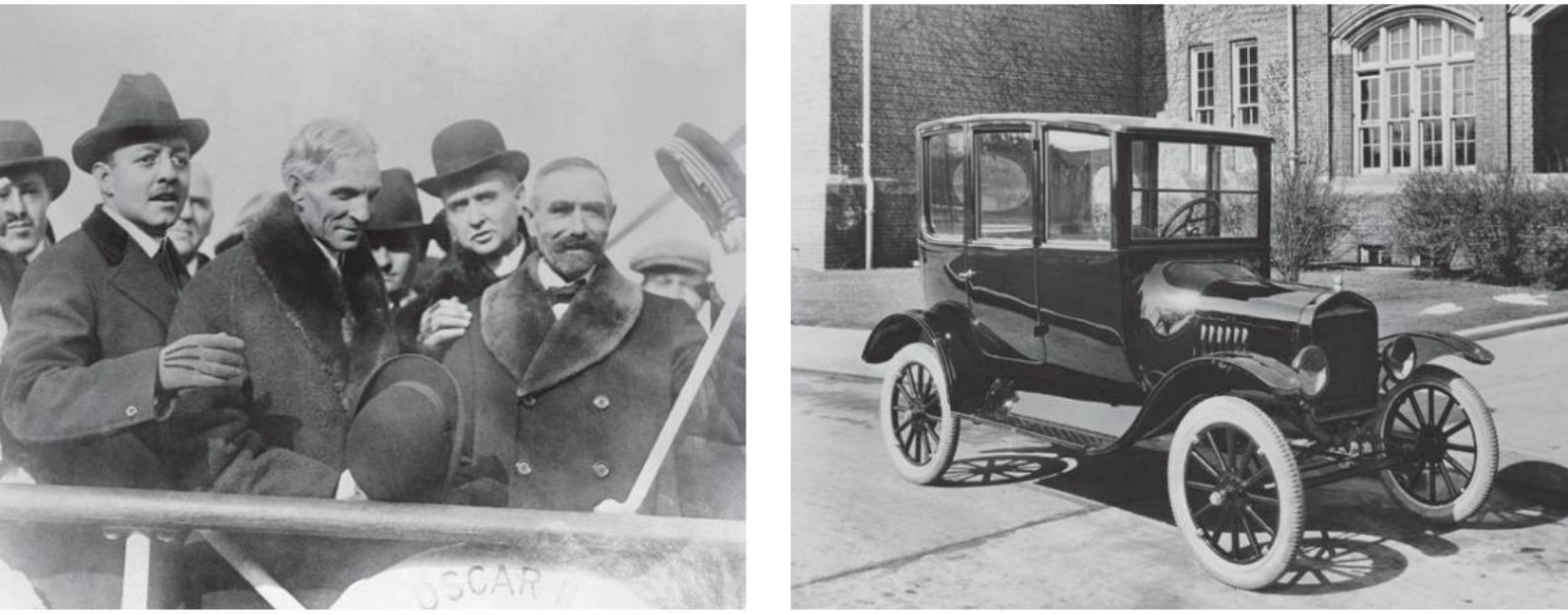
Type the following into Google and visit the first webpage that comes up: 'How Did Women Activists Promote Peace in Their 1915 Tour of Warring European Capitals?'

### Questions

1. What were the main remedies suggested by the women to end the war and establish a just and stable peace? (See document: 'Resolutions Adopted at The Hague Congress,' 1 May 1915)
2. What emphasis did the resolutions place on the importance of democracy for achieving world peace?
3. What role was envisaged for neutral nations in ending the war?
4. Evaluate the resolutions for their potential usefulness for achieving an end to the war.
5. Why would the two sides in the war be unlikely to consider such peace proposals?
6. Which government leaders did the women visit after the conference? How were they received by each one?

## The Peace Ship, December 1915

Another private attempt to mediate an end to the war occurred in November 1915 when Henry Ford, the car magnate, bankrolled a mission by American pacifists to the neutral capitals of Europe. A ship, the *Oscar II*, was hired and the 'peace ship' sailed to Europe. The aim of this mission was to kick-start a mediation process that would draw in the heads of governments. However, try as they did and racked by internal divisions, this second private attempt to mediate an end to the war came to nothing. A small mission was left in Holland to pursue some promising leads while the rest of the peace activists returned to the US.




**SOURCE 11.36** (Left) Henry Ford on board *Oscar II* – the 'Peace Ship' in New York. (Right) One of Ford's famous motor vehicles from the time.

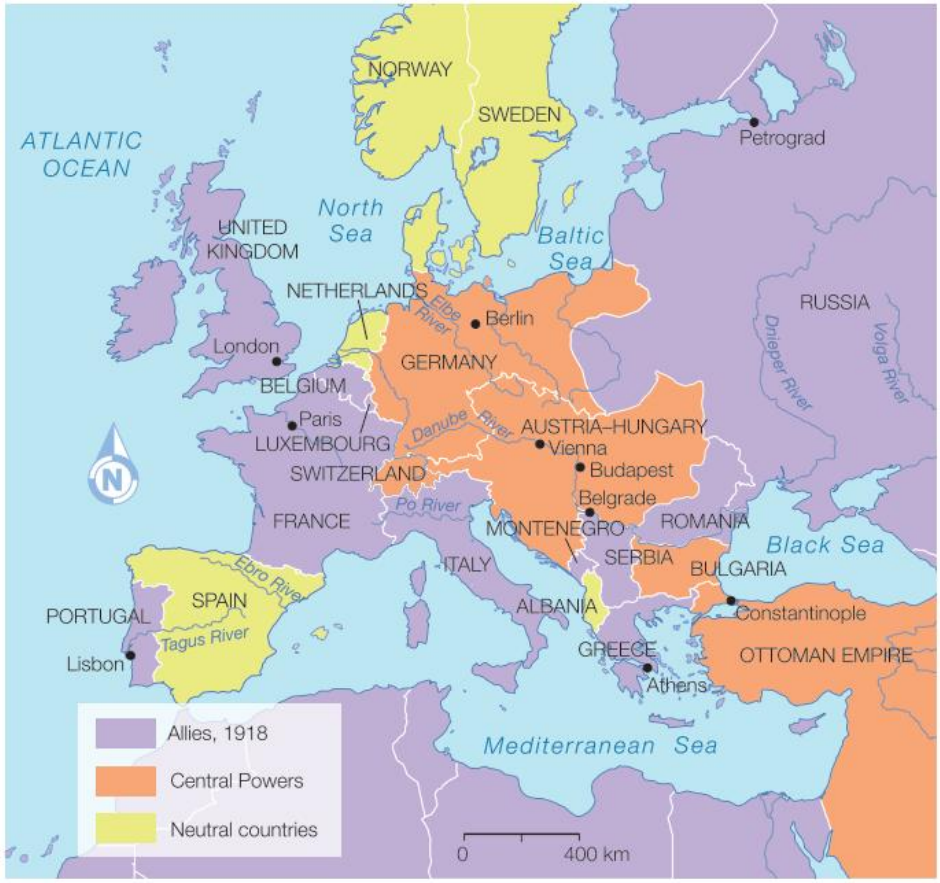


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## A MATTER OF FACT

When a group, composed of the leading pacifists of the US, approached Henry Ford shortly after the outbreak of World War I with an idea for a neutral conference for 'continuous mediation' to stop the war, Ford immediately threw his whole weight behind the movement and agreed to put up the money for a special ship to carry American peace delegates to Europe. 'If I can be of any service whatever in helping end this war and keeping America out of it,' he said, 'I shall do it if it costs me every dollar and every friend I have.' The ship was chartered and Mr Ford is shown in Source 11.36 with Captain Hempel as he came aboard. It was named *Oscar II*. When reporters on the ship asked Mr Ford what he thought about the chances for peace, he answered 'peace is nothing but common sense.'

## The military situation by the end of 1915




**SOURCE 11.37** The two sides at the end of 1915. Bulgaria joined Germany and this alliance was now referred to as the Central Powers. Meanwhile, Italy had joined the Entente Powers, and this side was now referred to as the Allies.

As the war progressed into 1915, the warring governments were not inclined to listen to dissenting views about the war and suggestions for ending the war short of an outright military victory. Nor were the warring governments inclined to take up confidential offers of mediation that had been made by US President Woodrow Wilson or Pope Benedict XV. On the Western Front both sides attempted again and again without success to break the **stalemate**.

**stalemate** a situation in which neither group involved can win or get an advantage and no action can be taken



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 11.5




**SOURCE 11.38** Two British recruitment posters for the British army in World War I from 1915. The first features Lord Kitchener (Secretary of State for War). The second depicts a German Zeppelin bombing London.

Which poster is more effective as recruitment propaganda? Why?

On the Western Front the new year brought new thinking about how to wage war more effectively. The enormous scale of casualties led to the restructuring of whole armies and for Britain, the only participating country not to have conscription, intensified efforts in recruitment. Each government also needed to think about the right balance between soldiers and workers. In 1915, victory seemed possible. According to historian Keith Robbins, 'No army was so demoralised that it could not envisage future success – given the necessary reorganisation and re-equipment.'

Meanwhile the bold British plan to attack the Ottoman Empire by landing forces at Gallipoli was a fiasco. After eight months of fighting, the Allies had sustained 200 000 casualties with absolutely nothing to show for it. This attempt to break the deadlock in the war had failed utterly. The Allies had also failed with their intervention in the Balkans. Also, the British invasion of Mesopotamia was decisively halted by Turkish forces. The Italians fared no better on the Izonzo Front against Austria-Hungary.

Earlier in the year the Germans had tried a new weapon to break the stalemate – poison gas. On 22 April the Germans used poison gas against French troops at Ypres. Initially this caused a significant gap in the French lines. However, the Germans did not have the reserves on hand to exploit it. From then on, poison gas was used by both sides throughout the war. Though it was a ghastly weapon, its use did nothing to break the stalemate at any point during the war.



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## KEY QUESTIONS

### Examining modernity

The use of poison gas, otherwise known as chemical weapons, in Word War 1 was the impetus behind the creation of the Geneva Protocol in 1925, which prohibited the use of 'asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices' and 'bacteriological methods of warfare'. In more recent times, the prohibition of chemical weapons has been strengthened by the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1997. The use of chemical weapons by the Assad regime in the Syrian Civil War since 2011 has been viewed as a 'crime against humanity'. However, there is no legal prohibition on the use of nuclear weapons in war, which is a far greater threat to humanity.

### Question

Is it good enough today to have the use of a number of weapons of mass destruction banned under international law? Or is there a case for banning nuclear weapons as well?





**SOURCE 11.39** (Left) French troops suffering from the effects of the Germans' poison gas. (Right) Members of a British Highland regiment in a trench during World War I, 1915. The Scottish Highlanders suffered the highest rate of casualties of any army in the war.

The Central Powers were not in a better position at the end of 1915 either. The German High Commend remained indecisive about whether to concentrate their efforts on the Western Front or the Eastern Front. The Germans did have some successes against the Russians but could not exploit them because they had to transfer more men to the Western Front. Meanwhile, the Russians had to keep their forces divided to fight both Germany and Austria-Hungary. By the end of 1915 Russia had lost two million men but it was still in the fight. However, the Tsar took the unusual decision of taking personal command of his army on 5 September. This was not a wise decision, as later events showed.

## 11.4 1916: stalemate

At the beginning of 1916 both sides were convinced that they could achieve victory by the end of the year. Both sides undertook massive battles. These battles were in fact bigger in scale than had ever been previously fought. It is better to describe them as campaigns or mega battles. The two massive battles of 1916 were Verdun

### NOTE THIS DOWN

Draw up a table like this and fill in the details.

| Battle/Front | Date | Aims | Progress | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Verdun | | | | |
| Somme | | | | |
| Brusilov Offensive | | | | |
| Romania | | | | |



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**SOURCE 11.40** Trench warfare on the Western Front. An aerial photograph showing a trench system. By the end of 1916, with the entire Western Front covered in massive trench systems, neither side looked close to victory.

and the Somme. General Douglas Haig was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in France. The British and French made a plan to conduct a joint offensive along the Somme River. However, it was the Germans who made the first move on the Western Front in 1916.

## The Battle of Verdun, 21 February–18 December 1916

General Falkenhayn was the Chief of the Imperial German General Staff. He believed that Britain was the principal enemy that needed to be defeated first, and therefore decided that the Western Front needed to be the priority. He decided to launch an attack on the French fortress of Verdun in early 1916 to 'bleed the French army white' by drawing them into the Verdun **salient** so that they could be systematically annihilated by artillery fire. Verdun was only 200 kilometres to the east of Paris, so German success there would strike an enormous psychological blow. However, the French were determined to make a stand there.

**salient** a part of the front line that projects out into enemy territory so that it is easy to attack on three sides, making it an obvious area for the enemy to attack

The Battle of Verdun lasted from February to December 1916. It involved consistent ferocious artillery bombardments with 1200 artillery pieces, phosgene gas, merciless machine-gun fire and hand-to-hand fighting. The French commander, Philippe Petain, organised an effective defence by constantly rotating French troops into Verdun for short periods of time and organising an effective line of supply. Falkenhayn failed in his attempt to break the French army. However, the cost for both sides was horrendous. It is estimated that the French suffered total casualties of about 377 000 with about 162 000 of those killed. The German casualties were estimated at being about 337 000 with around 100 000 dead. So the total was about 700 000 combined French and German casualties.



**SOURCE 11.41** General Haig, given command of the 1st Army Corps of the British Expeditionary Force in France and Belgium when hostilities began in 1914. He was promoted to General in the same year and eventually assumed command of the BEF.



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**SOURCE 11.42** (Left) The battlefield at Verdun was turned into a lunar landscape by countless artillery blasts. This image shows the landscape 100 years on. (Right) a German heavy artillery cannon and its operator.

## ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 11.6

> France had come through, but the scars were very evident in mind and body. The spectre of defeat had been avoided but the spectre of despair was near. Mutiny was in the air. To have been at Verdun marked a man for life.

**SOURCE 11.43** Keith Robbins, *The First World War*, 1984, p. 55

### Question

Discuss the wisdom of the German and French strategies at Verdun.

## The Battle of the Somme, 1 July–18 November 1916

Originally the Somme Offensive was planned to be a joint French and British one. However, the French were waging a desperate defence at Verdun, so any contribution to the Somme could only be minimal. The French military pleaded with General Haig to start the attack on the Somme as soon as possible to force the Germans



**SOURCE 11.44** 1916: Canadian troops in a trench prepare their rifles with bayonets before going 'over the top' at the Somme. Dominion troops from New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and Canada were quite often just counted as part of the British force. It was not until 1918 that each army took on its own identity with its own commanders.



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to move troops there and thus relieve pressure on Verdun. There would be French forces participating but not as many as originally planned.

General Haig planned the attack for 1 July. However, for eight days before the attack the British artillery pounded the German lines using more than 2000 artillery pieces. The British believed that this would be so destructive for the German trench lines that their infantry attack would be relatively easy. The infantry attack was launched on 1 July with mass waves of British soldiers going 'over the top'. However, the German forces had not been devastated in the preceding artillery bombardment and they emerged from deep dugouts to mow down the advancing British troops.

On the first day the British sustained about 60 000 casualties, with 20 000 of these killed. This was the biggest loss ever sustained by British forces in a single day. Nevertheless, Haig pursued the offensive for month after month despite minimal progress. By November, the Allied forces had captured about 12 kilometres of German-held territory. However, this had come at an enormous cost of about 420 000 casualties for the British with 95 000 of those killed. The French suffered 200 000 casualties with 50 000 of those killed. Meanwhile, it is estimated that the Germans suffered somewhere between 465 000 and 600 000 casualties with about 146 000 killed.

The Somme Offensive affected the British in the same way as Verdun had affected the French, being an enormous psychological blow and also having political repercussions for the government. However, for the enemy, both Verdun and the Somme served to seriously sap the strength of the German army. Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg was scathing of General Falkenhayn's performance and on 29 August 1916 the Kaiser decided to replace Falkenhayn with General Hindenburg as Chief of Staff of the German forces. Hindenburg appointed General Ludendorff as his Quartermaster General. These generals had had an effective partnership on the Eastern Front; now they were to play an increasingly prominent role in the direction of the whole German war effort.



**SOURCE 11.45** An artist's depiction of Russian infantry charging during Brusilov's offensive against Austria-Hungary, World War I, 1916

## The Eastern Front: the Brusilov Offensive, 14 June–20 September 1916

The Russian General Alexei Brusilov planned a major offensive against Austria-Hungary in 1916. His main aim was to force the Germans to transfer troops to assist the Austro-Hungarian forces on the Eastern Front and thus weaken the German forces on the Western Front. Brusilov launched his attack in Galacia. The Russian offensive eventually did break through the Austria-Hungarian lines, inflicting massive casualties that had the effect of severely weakening Austria-Hungary's military. Brusilov pioneered the new tactics of using small elite squads of specialist troops to attack weak points in enemy lines. The Brusilov Offensive marked a high point in Russia's military contribution to the war.

The Germans had to halt their attack on Verdun to send reinforcements to assist the Austro-Hungarian forces. On 28 July 1916 Hindenburg was given command on the Eastern Front, including most of the Austro-Hungarian forces. The Germans reorganised the Central Powers' forces against the Russians. Losses on both sides mounted and Brusilov was hampered by poor supply lines. In the end, when Brusilov's offensive concluded on 20 September 1916, there was little to show for the Russians' massive losses. While the Austro-Hungarian army had been greatly demoralised by their losses in defending home territory, strategically they had lost virtually all freedom of action, with most of their forces controlled by the German High Command.



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## Romania enters the war on the side of the Allies

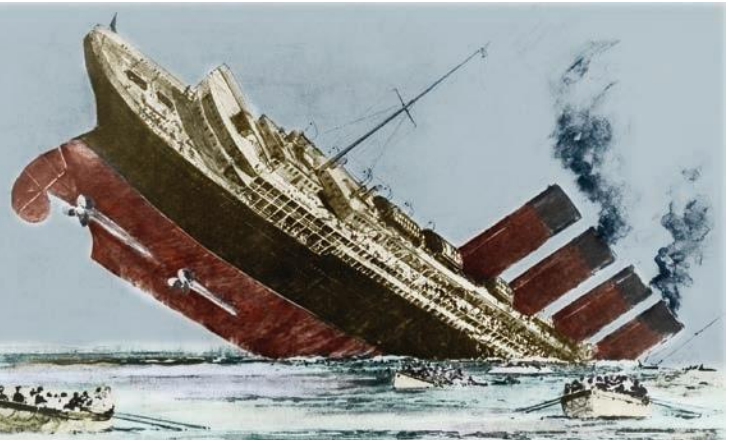


**SOURCE 11.46** Romania entered the war on the side of the Allies. However, the Central Powers soon overwhelmed the Romanian army. Surrender of Romanian troops: marching column on the way to a prison camp in November 1916.

Meanwhile, Romania had been encouraged by the initial success of the Brusilov Offensive. Both the Allies and the Central Powers had tried to entice Romania into entering the war on their sides. Romania had the only oil fields in Europe and that was an important factor. Up to this point, Germany bought its oil from Romania. The Romanians were finally swayed by the fact that joining the war on the side of the Allies would enable them to capture the territory of Transylvania, which was ethnically Romanian, from Hungary. On 18 August 1916 Romania signed a secret treaty with the Allies and on 27 August officially entered the war on the side of the Allies. This was of great concern to the Germans, as at this time the British were pressing harder on the Somme and the Russians were still pushing hard against Austro-Hungarian forces.

The Germans were able to respond in force against their new enemy, and over the next few months captured most of Romania including Bucharest, its capital, on 9 December 1916. In the meantime, the Kaiser had established the Supreme War Council, which placed all the armies of the Central Powers under the command of General Hindenburg.

By December 1916 the Central Powers had staved off a crisis and after horrendous losses over the previous 12 months had ended the year on a high point. At the end of 1916 the Central Powers faced a choice. They could try to seek a negotiated peace with one or all of the Allied countries, though the secret Pact of London (September 1914) made a separate peace with one of the Allied countries unlikely. The other choice was to increase the war effort and the most obvious way to do that was to target Britain with unrestricted submarine warfare with the aim of starving Britain into submission.



**SOURCE 11.47** The *Lusitania* was sunk on a passenger run from Liverpool to New York when it was hit by a torpedo from a German U-boat off the coast of Ireland on 7 May 1915. Eleven-hundred and ninety-eight people drowned, including 128 US citizens. Americans were outraged and President Wilson received an undertaking from the German government that they would not sink neutral vessels on sight. This pledge lasted until February 1917.

## The possibility of neutral mediation

Throughout the war the overall **geopolitical** strategy, which involved supporting exiting allies and attracting new allies was crucial. However, many neutral governments were more interested in encouraging both sides to end the conflict than to join either of them. The neutral countries in Europe such as Spain, Portugal, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland desired a negotiated early end to the war and they did what they could through confidential channels to make this clear to the Allies and Central Powers, but were brushed off. However, there was one neutral power that neither the Central Powers nor the Allies could afford to offend. This was the United States of America.

**geopolitics** the application of political and economic geography to the external interests of nations

President Wilson had made it clear at the beginning of the war, through confidential channels to both sides, that his country stood ready to help mediate an end to



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**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Recognising effects**

What impact did the sinking of the *Lusitania* have on the US?

the war. His initial offer in August 1914 fell on deaf ears. When the passenger liner *Lusitania* was sunk off the Irish coast on 7 May 1915 by a German U-boat, killing 1198 people including 128 American passengers, Wilson avoided going to war over the issue. Instead he extracted a pledge from the German government that they would abide by cruiser rules in future, which stated that a submarine must not sink neutral ships without warning. Wilson was determined to keep the US out of the war but he also actively pursued the idea that he could help end the war through neutral mediation.



**SOURCE 11.48** Colonel Edward Mandell House was President Wilson's special adviser, whose main area of expertise was foreign affairs. Colonel House often acted as an emissary to British and European governments between 1914 and 1917 when the US was still neutral.

## The House–Grey memorandum

At the beginning of 1916 President Wilson took his own first tentative steps to mediate an end to the war. Wilson's peace initiative was undertaken by his trusted adviser, Colonel Edward Mandell House. House conducted confidential communications with British Foreign Minister Grey. The result of these secret discussions became known as the House–Grey Memorandum, issued on 22 February 1916. In this memorandum the mutually agreed proposed course of action was for the US to invite the warring powers to a peace conference, and if the Allied Powers accepted the invitation and the Central Powers rejected the invitation then the US would 'probably enter the war against Germany.' The British government never took Wilson up on this offer because in early 1916 they still held out the hope for victory as a result of their massive offensive planned for later that year. Also, winning an outright victory against the Central Powers would ensure that the Allied Powers received the spoils of war agreed upon in their secret treaties.

## The 'league of nations' idea discussed at the highest levels

Britain's failure to take up President Wilson's offer in the House–Grey Memorandum angered him. Wilson was also frustrated with the effect that the British blockade was having on American shipping and annoyed at the British government's brutal suppression of the Easter Rebellion in Ireland. So far, Wilson had tried secret channels to urge the Allied and Central Powers' governments to consider, but to no effect. On 23 May 1916 President Wilson went public for the first time. The President made a speech to an American organisation known as the League to Enforce Peace. In this landmark speech the American President pledged American support for the establishment of a 'league of nations' at the end of the war. This speech sparked much interest in war-weary Europe and letters to the editor in British newspapers started discussing the 'league of nations'



**SOURCE 11.49** President Wilson delivered a speech to the League to Enforce Peace on 23 May 1916. This was the first time that a world statesman made a commitment to help establish a 'league of nations'.



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 11.7

> If we are to do anything worth doing we have to remodel our ideas and prejudices in international politics, and to construct international machinery to embody the new policy.

**SOURCE 11.50** G Lowes Dickinson, Letters to Editor, *The Nation*, 16 September 1916

> For our part, we hold that the only guarantee against future aggression which is worth considering is the creation of a League of Nations for the enforcement of peace, with its corollaries, a general reduction in armaments, and some modification of the system of alliances.

**SOURCE 11.51** Events of the Week, *The Nation*, 23 December 1916

1 What do these two sources have in common?
2 What events occurred later in 1916 that might have given the authors of these statements some hope?

concept. By the end of the year, the carnage at Verdun and the Somme led to public comments by Lord Grey and Bethmann-Hollweg in support of a 'league of nations' at the end of the war.

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Herbert Asquith (Liberal British PM 1908–1916)

> We made every effort for peace. But this war has been forced upon us ... We are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed, in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering power.

**SOURCE 11.52** Herbert Asquith, speech to the House of Commons, 6 August 1914

Herbert Asquith was a member of the Liberal Party and had been Prime Minister since 1908. In August 1914 Asquith took Britain into the war and used the emergency to postpone imminent legislation on Irish home rule and women's suffrage. His Liberal Cabinet was under constant pressure from the Conservatives, who criticised their conduct of the war. In May 1915 Asquith was forced to form a coalition government that included members of the Conservative Party and one Labour member. His leadership was considered weak and ineffectual. In December 1916 Asquith was forced from power by the ambitious Lloyd George, who made himself Prime Minister.



**SOURCE 11.53** Herbert Asquith (1852–1928) was Prime Minister of Britain from 1908 to December 1916. He was under pressure at the end of 1916 and beginning to allow Cabinet discussions on the possibility of a negotiated peace. Talk of ending the war in 1916 was ended after Liberal Minister of Munitions Lloyd George engineered a party-room coup to become Prime Minister at the head of a right-wing dominated coalition.



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Towards the end of 1916 it seems that there was some re-evaluation of the war by all the belligerent governments. The British War Cabinet feared that the nation was on the verge of bankruptcy and that without the continuation of American credit they would no longer be able to pay for the war. Prime Minister Asquith began asking his cabinet ministers to think of alternatives – even consideration of a negotiated peace. Secretary of State for War Lloyd George was appalled at the idea that Britain should consider negotiating an end to the war. In September 1916 he gave a speech to an American journalist in which he declared that Britain would never negotiate. Rather, Lloyd George declared, the war would be a 'fight to the finish – to a knockout blow'. This was interpreted by many as an attack on Asquith's aimless leadership. On 5 December 1916 Lloyd George became Prime Minister at the head of a Conservative-Liberal coalition government, known by his contemporaries as the 'Knock-out Blow Coalition'.

Meanwhile, in Germany, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg was concerned that Germany was running out of time and that, if the war dragged on, Germany would eventually lose, since the Allies had more resources and manpower. The German Chancellor reasoned that perhaps Germany should seek a negotiated peace now while they could negotiate from a position of strength. The Germans made hints to President Wilson that they might be receptive to an offer by him to both sides to mediate.

## The US presidential election, November 1916

President Wilson was in the middle of an election campaign and not ready to involve himself in peace mediation until he had secured election victory. However, Wilson made his commitment to a 'league of nations' the central plank of foreign policy in the election campaign. Also, his campaign managers adopted the slogan 'He Kept Us Out of War.' People assumed that Wilson would maintain America's neutrality and was the best bet for keeping America out of the Great War. In the November 1916 election Wilson won a very narrow victory. The fact that progressives and socialists supported Wilson would have helped him secure the narrow victory. The endorsement of the high-profile social reformer and peace activist Jane Addams helped secure progressive support for Wilson. With the election won, Wilson now turned his attention to peace mediation. He began drafting a Peace Note that he would direct to both sides in the war.




**SOURCE 11.54** November 1916: A campaign van decorated with posters supporting Woodrow Wilson's bid for presidency

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Hypothesising**

Wilson only narrowly won the November 1916 presidential election. What might have been the consequences if he had lost, with regard to World War I?

## Negotiated peace or escalation?

### SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

**Erich von Ludendorff (German general 1914–1918)**

> August 8th was the black day of the German Army in the history of the war.

**SOURCE 11.55** Ludendorff, *My War Memories: 1914–1918*, August 1919



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General Ludendorff worked in partnership with General Hindenburg and was the mastermind behind the Tannenberg and Masurian Lakes victories in 1914. When Hindenburg was appointed Chief of Staff of the German Army in August 1914 he made Ludendorff his Quartermaster General. Hindenburg and Ludendorff gradually took over more of the running of the war, relegating the Kaiser to a peripheral role.

Ludendorff was a strong proponent of unrestricted submarine warfare and opposed those who favoured a negotiated peace, labelling them as defeatist. He played a key role in the negotiations for the harsh Treaty of Brest-Litovsk that was signed in March 1918. Ludendorff's Spring Offensive in March 1918 was a massive gamble to throw everything at the Allied armies on the Western Front before the arrival of substantial numbers of American troops could swing the momentum in the Allies' favour. The Spring Offensive achieved enormous success but failed to make a strategic breakthrough. The offensive petered out in April and the Allies began to counter-attack in July. Ludendorff referred to the Allied breakthrough at Amiens on 8 August as 'the black day of the German Army'. When the Allies breached the Hindenburg Line on 29 September 1918, Ludendorff lost his nerve and recommended to the Kaiser that he transfer power to the Reichstag and appoint a new Chancellor who would request an armistice. On 26 October Ludendorff changed his mind about seeking an armistice and was forced to resign by Prince Max von Baden's government.



**SOURCE 11.56** General Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) and chief of staff Erich von Ludendorff (1865–1937) at the map table. By the end of 1916 these two generals exercised increasing power, so much so that this period has been referred to as the 'silent dictatorship'. They increasingly put pressure on the moderate Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg.

In Germany, Bethmann-Hollweg was under increasing pressure from hardliners, who included the increasingly influential generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff, to ramp up the war effort by initiating a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. Bethmann-Hollweg knew that this would run the risk of drawing the US into the war on the Allied side. The German Chancellor felt compelled to do everything in his power to achieve a negotiated end to the war while Germany still had the upper hand in the field, was in possession of considerable occupied territory and was on the verge of achieving a complete victory against Romania after capturing its capital, Bucharest on 6 December 1916. The German victory was significant because the Romanian government, like the Italian government in April 1915, had been enticed via secret treaty to join the Allied side on the promise of securing territory from its neighbours at the end of the war. Romania entered the war in August 1916. However, the German military high command had anticipated Romania's entrance into the war and they waged a brilliant military campaign. By December the German army was on the road to complete victory against Romania. What better time, Bethmann-Hollweg reasoned, for Germany to seek an end to the war while it had the upper hand and while the Allies seemed to be at a low ebb? The German Chancellor felt the time was right to take the diplomatic initiative.

## The German Peace Note, 12 December 1916

On 12 December 1916 the German Government issued a Peace Note. This was cabled around the world and appeared in all the major newspapers. The German Peace Note proposed that both sides come to the negotiating table and seek to end the war. President Wilson was in the White House having dinner



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with his invited guest, Jane Addams, when news of the German Peace Note came through. No doubt the peace activist Jane Addams had been invited as a 'thank you' for her endorsement of Wilson in the election campaign. Her support of Wilson had won over the progressive movement and had helped him secure his narrow victory. Whether he discussed the German Note or not with Addams we cannot be sure. But what we do know is that Wilson was now spurred into action. Since his election victory, the American President had been working on his own diplomatic intervention into the war. He had drafted his own Peace Note. Now the Germans had beaten him at it with theirs. Wilson therefore decided to throw his country's diplomatic weight behind the idea of securing a negotiated peace. The President worked over the next few days putting the final touches on an American Peace Note.

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Analysing motives

1 What might have been Bethmann-Hollweg's motives for issuing this Peace Note?

2 Do you think he was sincere?



GERMANY PROPOSES PEACE NEGOTIATIONS TO ENTENTE POWERS

Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria Join in Action Taken Through Neutral Diplomats Called in by von Bethmann-Hollweg.

READY TO RESTORE STATUS QUO BEFORE WAR, EMBASSY HERE LEARNS

Propositions Advanced Appropriate for Establishment of Lasting Peace, Says Chancellor, Who Will Read Note to Reichstag Some Time Today.

**SOURCE 11.57** On 12 December 1916 the German government issued a Peace Note that was featured in newspapers around the world.

## Lloyd George as Prime Minister and 'The Knock-out Blow Coalition'

In Britain the new Prime Minister, Lloyd George, who had just come to power on 5 December after a Cabinet coup, was now faced with the question of whether to take up the German offer of peace. If Asquith had still been Prime Minister there is a chance that the German proposal might have been given serious consideration. However, for Lloyd George and the new War Cabinet there was no doubt what their response would be. The German Note would be wholeheartedly rejected. As far as Lloyd George was concerned, he meant what he had said in September 1916: that Britain would never negotiate and would 'fight to the finish' till there was a 'knock-out blow'. The German Note would be rejected on the grounds that it was insincere and issued in an arrogant manner.

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### David Lloyd George (1863–1945) (British Prime Minister 1916–1922)

> The fight must be to a finish – to a knock-out … There are no quitters among the Allies. 'Never Again' has become our battle cry. That is the meaning of Britain's resolve. The whole world must know there must be no outside interference at this stage.

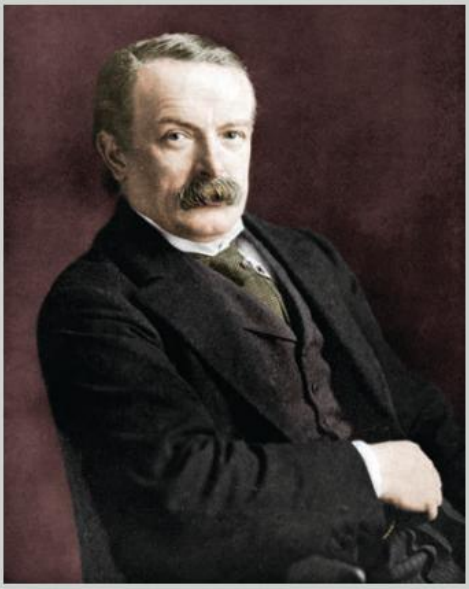
**SOURCE 11.58** 'Knock-out blow' interview with an American journalist, 29 September 1916

Along with Winston Churchill, Lloyd George was one of the bright stars of the Liberal Cabinet that took Britain to war in 1914. In 1915 he was appointed Minister of Munitions, then in July 1916 he became War Minister. In September 1916 Lloyd George made it clear that he was absolutely opposed to a negotiated peace that the Asquith Cabinet were beginning to discuss. The right-wing press ran a campaign against



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Prime Minister Asquith, whom they characterised as lacking the necessary vigour to run the war and making it clear that Lloyd George was their preferred choice. On 5 December 1916 Lloyd George brought down the Asquith Liberal government and formed a coalition with the Conservatives and Labour with himself as Prime Minister. His government was known as the 'Knock-out Blow Coalition' by his opponents. Lloyd George rejected the German and American Peace Notes of December 1916 and pursued a 'fight-to-the-finish' policy for the rest of the war.



**SOURCE 11.59** David Lloyd George, British politician, Liberal Party MP who served as a key minister in the Asquith government in the first half of the war, then became Prime Minister in December at the head of a right-wing government known as the 'Knock-Out Blow Coalition'.

## The American Peace Note, 18 December 1916

President Wilson launched his diplomatic initiative and issued his American Peace Note. On 18 December 1916 the American Peace Note was in the headlines of newspapers around the world. The Lloyd George government was shocked and felt betrayed by the meddlesome American President. It was reported that the King wept on hearing the news of the American Peace Note. It was as if the rug had been pulled from under them. The British War Cabinet was now under serious pressure to consider the American proposal. They certainly could not consider a curt rejection of the American peace initiative, because by now the Allied war effort was underpinned by American financiers. If American credit was suspended the war could not be paid for. If the British were going to reject the American offer of mediation they would have to do it in a way that would not alienate the Americans.

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Forming opinions**

1. Do you think Lloyd George was right to refuse to consider a negotiated peace?
2. What would each side have had to bargain with if they had met at the negotiating table?
3. What would a negotiated peace look like at this stage in the war?
4. How could the US have assisted in securing a negotiated peace?

### 1916 assessment

Over the next few weeks the British War Cabinet consulted with the governments of their allies and drafted a reply to the American peace initiative. Meanwhile the end of 1916 saw war-weariness impact on the home fronts and low morale affect the troops of each of the warring nations. Nothing of strategic substance seemed to have been gained by either side. If a negotiated peace could have been seriously entertained on the basis of the German and American Peace Notes there probably would have been few voices of opposition from the public or the troops. However, there were other statesmen among the belligerent countries with the courage to attempt to end the war in the near future. As the year of 1916 drew to an end, there was a glimmer of hope for many people in the capital cities of both the belligerent countries, and the neutrals who were able to follow press reports of the Peace Notes, that the war might soon end and that they would soon see their loved ones return from the front. However, the alternative to ending the war in 1916 was to go all out for a total victory.



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On balance, it had been a successful year for the Allies, though that did not mean that victory was in sight. The Central Powers had not gained fresh ground but they might feel that they could soon take Russia out of the war. Then the picture might look very different.

**SOURCE 11.60** Keith Robbins, *The First World War*, 1984, p. 63

## 11.5 1917: hope and despair

In January 1917, the disappointments of the previous year produced a mood of uncertainty. Talk of peace was in the air and President Wilson supposed that the belligerents might contemplate 'peace without victory'. Throughout Europe, politicians oscillated between taking such aspirations seriously and planning the crucial breakthrough.

**SOURCE 11.61** Keith Robbins, *The First World War*, 1984, p. 63

### The Allied reply to the American Peace Note, 10 January 1917

On 10 January 1917 the Allied reply to the American Peace Note was sent to President Wilson and reported in the world's press. For the first time the Allied governments had made a public statement of war aims. It was an impressive statement of their war aims in which they paid tribute to the noble sentiments expressed in President Wilson's Peace Note but expressed the view that they did not believe that the German government could be trusted to keep its word in any peace settlement. The Allied reply also stated that they were not fighting for selfish ends but for the future of humanity and claimed, among other things, to be fighting for the rights of small nations such as Belgium and Serbia. However, no mention was made of the secret treaties and the spoils of war that the Allied governments were going to share after victory. Nevertheless, the Allied reply to Wilson's Peace Note had done the trick. It had rejected the American peace proposal without offending the Americans and had been a good piece of public relations in putting the Allied case to the rest of the world.

### President Wilson's 'Peace Without Victory' speech, 22 January 1917

The German government was strangely silent about the American proposal. Wilson had hoped that a positive German reply to his Peace Note would set the wheels of mediation in motion. Seeking to keep the peace talk going and to entice a positive response from the German government, President Wilson made a dramatic speech in Congress. His speech of 22 January 1917 has become known as the 'Peace Without Victory' speech, in which he argued that a just and lasting peace could only be based on a settlement in which neither side was destroyed or humiliated but which was made from a position of equality. This now largely-forgotten speech of Wilson's argued that the war was caused not by any one country but by the forces of imperialism, militarism, secret diplomacy and the alliance systems. This was a revolutionary analysis of the causes of the war, but one that was very much in tune with the arguments that the Union of Democratic Control, or UDC, had been making since September 1914. However, the German government had stopped listening. The hardliners had won the argument. The hardliners argued that Bethmann-Hollweg's peace initiative had failed, that time was running out and that Germany must now intensify the war effort and immediately commence unrestricted submarine warfare so that Britain's supply lines could be cut, thus forcing it into submission. There was no time to lose, the German hardliners argued, because Germany could not fight on indefinitely. They must seek to gain victory soon.



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## German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare



**SOURCE 11.62** A German U-boat in 1915 opens fire on an Allied merchant ship with a deck cannon.

After using unrestricted submarine warfare early in the war, Germany stopped the practice and with the 'Sussex pledge' agreed to observe cruiser rules, which stated that unarmed neutral merchant ships could not be torpedoed on sight. Cruiser rules specified that the U-boat had to surface, search the ship and allow passengers and crew to leave the ship if it was to be sunk. In February 1917 Germany decided that it could defeat the Allies by reinstituting unrestricted submarine warfare. This mean that a German U-boat could sink any ship on sight without warning. All shipping heading towards Britain would be the main target.

Ludendorff tightened his control on the German home front. He and Hindenburg urged that the stalemate could only be ended at sea by the introduction of unrestricted submarine warfare. With the failure of Bethmann-Hollweg's Peace Note in December 1916 and a lack of any prospect for an acceptable compromise peace, both Hindenburg and Ludendorff believed that there was no alternative but to increase the war effort. On 1 February the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare was announced.

When President Wilson heard the news that Germany had announced the renewal of unrestricted submarine warfare he was both saddened and angered. However, he was not yet convinced that the US should join the war on the Allied side. Wilson preferred to wait and see. He instituted a policy of 'Armed Neutrality' in which American naval ships would fire on any submarines. The Americans maintained this stance for the next few months.

### KEY QUESTIONS

#### Summarising

Find an online copy of President Wilson's full speech on 22 January 1917. The official title is: 'Address of President Woodrow Wilson to the US Senate 22 January 1917'. Summarise the main points of Wilson's speech.

1. What did the President identify as the main causes of World War I?
2. What sort of peace did the President advocate?
3. What role did he see for America in such a peace?

## German retreat to the Hindenburg Line, February to April 1917

Ludendorff decided not to launch any attacks but instead to wait for the Allies to make the first move. In a surprise move between February and April 1917, the Germans withdrew to a fortified line of defences on the Western Front that came to be known as the Hindenburg Line. By moving back towards the east by 32 kilometres the Germans could have a shorter front line that required fewer divisions. They also developed a complex network of defences in depth and held significant reserve troops some distance back, who could be called in to counter any Allied offensive. Also, after the March Revolution in Russia the Germans were able to move some troops to the Western Front.

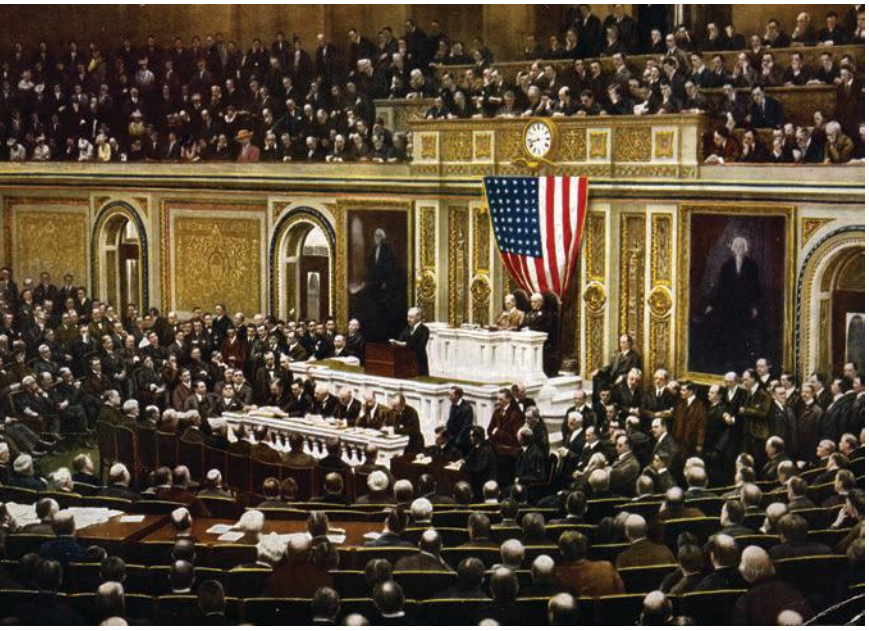
The Allies had not taken sufficient notice of this German retreat to a stronger position and stronger defences. In April 1917 the French launched an offensive led by General Nivelle which turned into a total disaster with over 150 000 casualties. This impacted on the morale of the French troops. Over the next



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**SOURCE 11.63** Barbed wire along the heavily fortified Hindenburg Line. Between February and April 1917 the German army withdrew 32 kilometres eastwards to the recently fortified Hindenburg Line. This considerably shortened the German front line, making it easier to defend. The Hindenburg Line was not breached by Allied forces until 29 September 1918 when the British broke through at Mount St Quentin.



**SOURCE 11.64** World War I, entry of the US into the war, 2 April 1917. President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) asks the US Congress to declare war on Germany and receives an enthusiastic response.

six weeks many French units were on the verge of mutiny. However, the Germans were not aware of this. On 15 May General Nivelle was replaced by General Petain as Commander-in-Chief of the French forces, who quelled the mutinies and restored order.

## The Russian Revolution, March 1917

In Europe dramatic developments were taking place. In March 1917 the regime of the autocratic Tsar Nicholas II was overthrown in a spontaneous revolution. Russia was now ruled by a 'Provisional Government' that consisted of a coalition of liberals and socialists. The Provisional Government was committed to democracy. The new government also renounced the secret treaties that the Tsar had signed with the Allies. Instead it called for a peace based on the principle of 'no annexations and no indemnities'. In other words, the new democratic Russian government was willing to accept a peace in which Russia gained nothing except its old original territory back. However, the Provisional Government was not willing to break its solemn pledge made with the other Entente governments on 4 September 1914 when it signed the Pact of London, which included an undertaking that none of the signatories would seek a separate peace with the Central Powers.

## American entry into the war, 6 April 1917

In the US, President Wilson finally made the decision to take his country to war on the side of the Allies. A number of factors were at work in persuading the American President to go to war. Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare and the Zimmermann Telegram were major factors. However, the main reason was that it was only by joining in the war that the Americans could have a seat at the conference table at the end of the war and be able to help determine the nature of the peace settlement; but also – most importantly – to ensure that a 'league of nations' would be established. On 2 April 1917 President Wilson made his case for war to the Congress. In his speech he announced that the US had no selfish aims and ambitions but was fighting to 'make the world safe for democracy'.



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Once committed to the Allied war effort the Americans undertook a massive militarisation effort. America's navy was up to the task and could capably assist the British navy in enforcing the blockade of Germany and conducting anti-submarine operations. However, the American army was tiny, ranking seventeenth in the world after Portugal's army. Wilson therefore ordered the immediate introduction of conscription with the aim of getting an army of five million men in Europe.

### The US was not an 'ally' but an 'Associated Power'

When the United States of America joined the Allied war effort, President Wilson did not call the US an 'ally'. Rather, Wilson called the US an 'Associated Power'. This was to preserve some independence of action because the Americans did not share the Allied war aims and certainly had no intention of honouring their secret treaties at the end of the war. By designating the US as an 'Associated Power', Wilson could maintain the moral high ground while signalling to the Allied governments that, if necessary, he would make his own settlement at the end of the war. President Wilson believed, as he said to his adviser Colonel House, that the Allies would be 'financially in our hands' at the end of the war because from here on the Allied war effort could only be sustained through massive American loans.

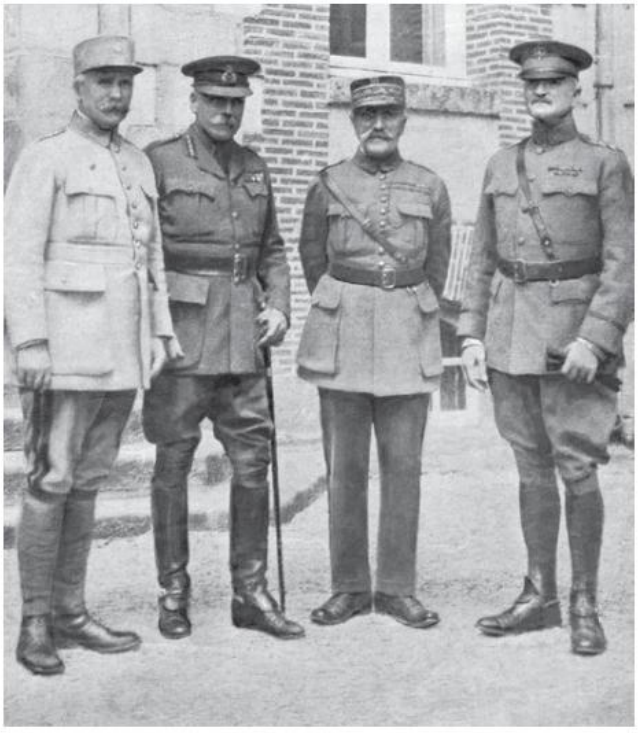
President Wilson also believed that if the war lasted till 1919 or 1920, as many predicted, it would be by then a five-million strong American army that would strike the final blows against Germany. The American President had every reason to expect that he would be the major player at the end-of-war peace conference. However, events were not to work out as Wilson predicted. The American build-up of troops in Europe was little more than a trickle. Furthermore, the American General Pershing had no intention of allowing Americans to serve under the command of Allied generals and was insistent that a fully independent American army be built in France before they went into battle. For this reason, only a portion of the American forces saw action before September 1918.

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Comparing**

Find an online text of President Woodrow Wilson's message to Congress, 2 April 1917.

1. What aims did President Wilson say that the US would be fighting for?
2. How do Wilson's stated war aims compare with the Allies' and Central Powers' war aims?
3. How does Wilson's war speech differ from his 'Peace Without Victory' speech?



**SOURCE 11.65** 17 August 1918: Meeting of generals of the 'Allied and Associated Powers' on the Western Front. From the left, French Marshal Ferdinand Foch, British Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, General Henri-Philippe Petain (Commander-in-Chief of the French army) and US General John Joseph Pershing.

### The prospects for peace in 1917

Despite the fact that the peace talks of late 1916 and early 1917 had dissipated, there was a general sense of hope in the civilian populations of Europe that peace might come before the end of 1917. The hopeful signs were that the new democratic Russian government had relinquished its claims for territory at the end of the war and, secondly, that the robust democracy of the US had entered the war pledging to make the world 'safe for democracy' and to work for a just and lasting peace. In Britain there was a growing movement advocating a revision of Allied war aims. Only by formulating moderate war aims that did not threaten the eternal destruction of the German nation and people would there be a chance of enticing the German



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**SOURCE 11.66** The passing of the Reichstag Resolution on 19 July 1917, in which 66 per cent of the deputies of the lower house in the German parliament declared their support for a peace of 'mutual understanding and reconciliation', gave hope to the proponents of a negotiated peace on the Allied side that the German government might be pressured by its moderate politicians to seek a negotiated peace by the end of the year.

government to the negotiating table, reasoned groups such as the Union of Democratic Control. Optimism was heightened in mid-1917 when the German Reichstag began flexing its muscles against the military-dominated administration and with a vote of 66 per cent on 19 July declared that it sought a peace of 'mutual understanding and reconciliation' and renounced annexations of territory or any economic spoils of war. However, without some concrete undertakings from the German leaders, the Allies could not be expected to respond in any substantial way.

## RESEARCH TASK 11.8

Research the political system during World War I.

### Questions

1. How democratic was Germany's political system during the war? How did it compare with the political systems of Britain and Russia?
2. To what extent were debates over German war aims a destabilising factor on the German home front?
3. How did the political debates impact on the largest of Germany's political parties, the SPD?
4. How significant was the Reichstag Resolution of July 1917?
5. Who was Prince Max of Baden and what did he do to the German political system when he became Chancellor?
6. Did Germany's democratic reforms in October 1918 help it in its Armistice negotiations with the Allies? Should they have?

## The Papal Peace Note, August 1917

In August 1917 Pope Benedict XV sought to inject new life into the talk of peace by issuing his own Peace Note. What became known as the Papal Peace Note was published in the world's press. Benedict's proposal consisted of seven concrete points upon which peace could be negotiated. It was to be a peace based on the 'status quo ante bellum', which means a peace 'as it was before the war' with every nation going back to its original borders. Benedict's peace initiative bore many similarities to President Wilson's peace proposal of December 1916 and January 1917. The Pope also tried to do something that other mediators had tried to



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do and failed at: get Germany to make a commitment to give up Belgium in any settlement. The Reichstag Resolution and the accompanying boldness displayed by the moderates in Germany encouraged the Pope to think that the time was right to offer mediation.

However, after much negotiation Benedict could not secure a German commitment to relinquish Belgium. Nevertheless, the Pope went ahead and issued his Peace Note. The Papal Peace Note was released in mid-August and, like the earlier attempts at mediation, hit the front pages of the newspapers. Benedict had hoped that President Wilson might back his peace initiative, since his seven-point peace plan had many similarities to Wilson's December 1916 Peace Note and his 'Peace Without Victory' address of January 1917. Meanwhile, the Allied leaders were careful to dodge making a reply to the Papal Note lest this encouraged widespread discussion of war aims and peace plans. The Allied leaders were worried too that Wilson might embrace the plan and try to force them to the negotiating table as he had attempted to do before. They need not have worried.



**SOURCE 11.67** Pope Benedict XV (1854–1922) was Pope during the war, taking office in 1914 until he died in 1922. During the war Benedict maintained strict neutrality, organised relief work and unsuccessfully attempted to mediate a peace settlement in August 1917.

Wilson's reply to the Papal Peace Note on 27 August 1917 held out the possibility of peace with the German people but not with the German leaders. The headlines rang out, 'No peace with the **Hohenzollerns**'. Wilson's reply effectively killed off the Papal Peace Note, yet the governments of the Central Powers did take their time to consider the Note and made a conciliatory but non-committal reply. At about the same time another peace proposal surfaced, this time from the socialist parties of Europe. Representatives from other countries were sent to the Stockholm Conference, but the US and Allied leaders refused passports for their socialists to attend. Many people who had been advocating a revision of war aims and a negotiated peace saw the rejection of these peace initiatives as most unfortunate. Europe was about to enter its fourth year of the war with no end in sight. Many predicted that the war would go on until 1920 at least.

**Hohenzollern** The ruling dynasty of Prussia, then of unified Germany after 1871. The dynasty dates its origins to the eleventh century.

Meanwhile, the Allies and the Central Powers were still holding out hope that they could break the stalemate. The Germans saw hopeful signs in the east, where the Provisional Government of Russia was finding it hard to keep up the war effort, while the Allies held out hope that the next great offensive at Passchendaele in October 1917 would finally see them break through the German lines.

## KEY QUESTIONS

### Researching and forming opinions

Find an online copy of the Papal Peace Note of August 1917.

1. What were the eight key points of the Pope's peace initiative?
2. How realistic do you think these proposals were?
3. What might such an early negotiated end to war have looked like?

## The Third Battle of Ypres (Passchendaele), 1 July to 6 November 1917

The British commander General Haig was determined to launch an attack further to the north in Flanders. Haig's plan was to break through the Germans' formidable in-depth defences around the Ypres salient with the aim of moving up the Belgian coast and capturing the German submarine bases there. On 31 July 1917 Haig launched the



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**SOURCE 11.68** The Third Battle of Ypres or Passchendaele, July to November 1917



**SOURCE 11.69** Lenin addressing a crowd in Red Square, Moscow, during the Russian Revolution in October 1917. On 7 November 1917, the day after the storming of the Winter Palace in St Petersburg, the Bolshevik-dominated Soviet government was established with Lenin (1870–1924) as Chairman.

Third Battle of Ypres, or Passchendaele. However, things did not go well from the start. The heavy artillery bombardment before the attack destroyed the whole drainage system and turned the area into a swamp. Also, weather reports correctly predicted heavier-than-usual rain in August.

Undeterred, Haig ordered further attacks. In early October, against advice from his subordinate generals, Haig decided to press ahead to try to capture the Passchendaele ridge to give the British an easier line to defend in the winter. So the campaign continued for another month into November. Even though some Canadian troops captured the ridge, the weather had turned bad again, so Haig decided to end the campaign. British casualties were more than 300 000 and German casualties were about 275 000. The British had gained some ground but the Germans were not demoralised and still held an unbroken front line. Haig had justified his massively costly offensives of the Somme in 1916 and Passchendaele in 1917 with the reasoning that they were wearing down the German army. However, to many people, including the Prime Minister Lloyd George, it looked as if this strategy would more likely wear down the British first.

## The Bolshevik Revolution, 7 November 1917

The situation did not look good for the Allies by the beginning of November 1917. A weakened Russia, teetering on the verge of collapse and seething with revolution, was now a weakened link for the Allies. The **Provisional Government** had warned their alliance partners since March 1917 that Russia could not keep up the war effort indefinitely. Again and again over the next few months, the Russian government requested that the Allies conduct a conference to discuss and revise their war aims. They reasoned that, as long as the Germans suspected that the Allied war aims involved the destruction and dismemberment of the Central Powers' territory, there was no way that the Germans would consider a negotiated peace. However, the other Allied leaders were not interested. Lloyd George, Orlando of Italy and Clemenceau of France were determined to fight to the finish and to fight for the spoils of victory that they had promised each other in the secret treaties.

**Provisional Government** the Liberal–Socialist revolutionary government that ruled Russia from March 1917 until their overthrow by the Bolsheviks in November 1917

So the Russian Provisional Government was forced to keep up the fighting on the Eastern Front despite the fact that the continuation of the war had become deeply unpopular in Russia. Then, on 7 November 1917, the **Bolsheviks** seized power in



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Russia. The revolutionary government ended Russia's participation in the war and signed an armistice with Germany. Things now looked very bleak for the Allies. The American troops had only trickled into Europe so far, so there was no way by which they would be able to plug the gap left by the Russian armies for many months yet. To make things worse, the Bolsheviks issued a joint peace decree inviting the other nations of Europe to end the fighting, and the Bolsheviks' revolutionary propaganda found many receptive ears in war-torn Europe.

> ... the final conclusion must be that certain personalities – not more than a score in number all told – were the real obstacle to the search for a negotiated peace during the years 1914–1918. Whatever their individual virtues, they devoted themselves to a cause which has time and again been fruitful only of evil results. Peace with victory has proved to be neither peace nor victory.

**SOURCE 11.70** Kent Foster, *The Failures of Peace*, 1941, p. 152

## 11.6 1918: Allied victory



**SOURCE 11.71** 1917: American troops arrive in France. The build-up of American forces in France was extremely slow. The Germans were determined to win a decisive victory in the spring of 1918 before the Americans could assemble a large enough army to have an impact on the Western Front.

At the beginning of 1918 Allied victory did not seem very likely at all. In fact, it looked as if the war could go either way. Russia had withdrawn from the war and was about to sign a harsh treaty in which a large amount of its territory and resources in Europe would have to be ceded to the Germans. Meanwhile the rate of arrival of American troops to France had been very slow, though it was now speeding up. However, the American General Pershing refused to allow his troops to join in the fighting yet. Pershing was waiting for enough US troops to be in France to enable the formation of a functioning American army. He was not going to allow US troops to be led by Allied generals. The **American Expeditionary Force (AEF)** therefore was occupied with training and occupying quiet sectors of the front line.

**American Expeditionary Force (AEF)** the name of the American army that was transported across the Atlantic during 1917 and 1918. The AEF did not become a fully functioning armed unit until the last months of the war.



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Compounding the Allied leaders' worries was the fact that they knew the Germans, freed from having to fight on the Eastern Front, would be able to transfer up to a million troops to the Western Front. Allied Supreme Command therefore expected a German offensive in the spring; that is, any time from March 1918. All the Allied commanders believed that victory was certainly not assured and that, provided they survived the expected German offensive, it would take until 1919 or 1920 to finally defeat the Germans.

**Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** the peace treaty concluded on 3 March 1918, formally ending Russia's participation in World War I. The treaty imposed extremely harsh conditions on Russia but the new Bolsheviks had no alternative but to agree.



**SOURCE 11.72** Negotiating the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Finally signed on 3 March 1918, the Treaty marked Russia's exit from World War I.

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Historical investigation**

What was the impact of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on the German home front?

### The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and German plans for an offensive

In March 1918 the Germans and Russians signed the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk**, which was a harsh and punitive treaty that the Bolsheviks were unable to do anything about. What the treaty meant for Germany was that it was now able to transfer at least a million troops to the Western Front. The German High Command had already decided how it was going to use the extra troops. General Ludendorff planned a massive military offensive for that spring. The aim of this offensive was to split the Allied lines, cutting the French and British armies off from each other and then to systematically destroy their armies before the American army became too strong.

## ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 11.9

> Had a less predatory eastern policy been adopted, it has been estimated that the Germans could have moved at least 500 000 [more] troops from Russia to the West. Yet, so implacable was Ludendorff's determination to achieve expansion in the east that he carried through his policy to the detriment of the war in the west. The folly of allowing the military to dominate all aspects of policy in Germany could not be better illustrated.

**SOURCE 11.73** Robin Pryor and Trevor Wilson, 'Winning the War' in *1918: Defining Victory*, 1998, p. 37

### Hypothesising

1. What criticisms do Pryor and Wilson make of Ludendorff's decision to impose the harsh Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on the Bolshevik government?
2. Comment on the wisdom of the German government's decision to impose such a harsh treaty on Russia.
3. What would an alternative strategy, involving a less harsh settlement on Russia, have looked like?
4. Could better statesmanship by Germany's leaders have helped in securing a better outcome to the war?



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## President Wilson's Fourteen Points speech, 8 January 1918



**SOURCE 11.74** 1918: American President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) with Colonel House. Wilson and House believed that the war would ultimately be won by the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) in 1919 or 1920. This fact, along with their belief that the Allies would be 'financially in our hands' due to their total reliance on American credit, gave them the confidence to push the American agenda from the beginning of 1918.

Ever since the Bolshevik revolution the Allied leaders had been worrying that they were losing the propaganda war with their own peoples, of whom increasing numbers were now suspecting their governments of prolonging the war to achieve imperialistic ambitions. This was not helped in November 1917 by the Bolsheviks' release of the secret treaties that had been locked up in the Tsar's files. These secret treaties were published in the world press and laid bare all the secret deals that the Allied countries had made with one another. Therefore, on 5 January Lloyd George gave a speech at Caxton Hall, in which he argued that the Allies' aims were clear and just. This was followed on 8 January by President Wilson's Fourteen Points speech, in which he spoke out against secret diplomacy and argued for a just peace based on some territorial adjustments and the creation of a League of Nations. Wilson's speech was directed at Lloyd George and Clemenceau just as much as it was directed at the German and Russian populations. The Fourteen Points has since become known as one of the defining documents of the war.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 11.10

Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points

1. No secret treaties
2. Freedom of the seas
3. Free trade and no economic barriers between countries
4. Reduction of armaments by all countries
5. Colonies to have a say in their future
6. German troops to leave Russia
7. Independence for Belgium
8. France to regain territory including Alsace-Lorraine
9. Italy's borders to be redrawn based on nationality
10. Self-determination for the national groups of Austria-Hungary
11. Self-determination of national groups in the Balkans
12. Self-determination of national groups in the Ottoman Empire
13. Poland to be an independent state
14. A League of Nations should be established to guarantee the peace.

Discuss which of the Fourteen Points was most important, and why.



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**SOURCE 11.75** The German Spring Offensive: reserve troops in St Quentin on their way to the front, March 1918

## Ludendorff's Spring Offensive, March 1918

On 21 March 1918 the Germans launched their Spring Offensive. The aim was to drive a wedge through the Western Front, divide the French from the British and drive the British into the sea. For the first time in four-and-a-half years the stalemate was finally broken and the conflict became a war of movement. Ludendorff's gamble to smash the Allied forces on the Western Front, before the American forces became a decisive factor on the Allied side, seemed to be paying off. The German forces swept across no-man's-land and advanced deep into Allied territory over the next few weeks and the British and French were forced to retreat. The American forces were now in France but they numbered less than two million, still at least half the number that were planned and, more significantly, they were not yet fully deployed and had not yet seen any action. Fortunately for the Allies, the Spring Offensive began to run out of steam due to the inability of the German supply lines to keep up with the advance. Also, the Germans were unable to quickly bring their heavy artillery to their new front line to support their own infantry. By July 1918 the war on the Western Front began to assume its static features once again. The Germans appeared to be running out of steam and resumed their highly effective defensive warfare techniques again.

## The Battle of Le Hamel







**SOURCE 11.76** General Sir John Monash was an Australian army officer who used new technological developments, such as the Mark V British tank, Vickers machine-gun and aerial bombing, to decisively win the battle of Le Hamel in 1918.



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On 4 July 1918 a small battle was fought at a place on the Western Front called Le Hamel. The battle was led by General John Monash, who had been appointed Commander of Australian troops on the Western Front. Though it was a relatively small battle it was a resounding success. It was all over in 90 minutes with the Australian forces having captured all their objectives. At last the Allies seemed to have a formula that could break the stalemate. A feature of the battle was the use of tanks. These British tanks were a vast improvement on the earlier prototypes, being faster and more manoeuvrable, and Monash had assigned groups of infantry to each tank and had them train with them. Monash's success was also attributed to meticulous planning and logistics and an effective combination of all the technological developments of the war such as artillery, tanks and aircraft. They had effectively taken a small portion of the German lines and held it. British commanders were ordered to study the tactics that Monash had used at Le Hamel.

## The Battle of Amiens, 8–11 August 1918

On 8 August 1918 the Allies launched an attack at Amiens. The battle was commenced by the now highly effective British artillery but spearheaded by the Australian and Canadian forces. The main feature of the battle was the mass use of tanks. After a three-day battle the Allied forces broke through the line and the Germans were forced into retreat. The Allies had originally only planned to bite into a part of the German line and hold it as they had done at Le Hamel, but instead they found the Germans in full retreat and decided to capitalise on it. This was the beginning of the Hundred Days Offensive in which the Allied forces relentlessly moved forward as the Germans retreated. The Allied casualties were still high but at least they were progressively moving forward. By now the Americans had also joined in full-scale fighting at last, though they did not experience great success. It was after this battle that Ludendorff was to have said that this was the 'black day of the German Army'.



**SOURCE 11.77** 11 August 1918: the British Front. One by-product of the spectacular Allied success in the Battle of Amiens was the large number of prisoners of war.

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Researching**

Go to the Australian War Memorial website.

Research the role of Australian forces in both Le Hamel and Amiens.

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Examining modernity**

**The Sir John Monash Centre**

In 2017 the Australian government announced plans to build a new museum at Villers-Bretonneux in France to pay homage to almost 300 000 Australian soldiers who fought on the Western Front. Construction began on the new Sir John Monash Centre, which will cost $100 million.

1. Why did the Australian government in 2017 make the building of this museum a priority?
2. What centenary commemorations of key 1918 battles were held in 2018 at this centre?
3. Comment on the desirability of such museums to honour soldiers from World War I.
4. In what other ways can the memory of those who died in World War I be honoured?



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**SOURCE 11.78** Allied soldiers on the Riqueval Bridge over the St Quentin Canal, which formed part of Germany's Hindenburg Line, broken on 29 September 1918

## The Allies smash through the Hindenburg Line, 29 September 1918

Though the Germans had retreated, their retreat had been orderly and they now resumed their positions in the highly-fortified Hindenburg Line. However, on 29 September 1918 the Allies smashed the massive concrete fortress at St Quentin and broke through the Hindenburg Line. The Germans resumed their retreat, though it was still an orderly retreat. They were still not beaten. Up to this point, the Germans had thought that they could hold their now vastly shorter front line, sit out the next few months and counter-attack with fresh troops in 1919.

However, after the battle of Mont St Quentin the German Supreme Command was shaken by the Allied advances. General Ludendorff believed that there was nothing that could stop the Allied advance. He recommended to the Kaiser that the German government seek a negotiated settlement, something that the German High Command and the political leadership had refused to consider over the previous years when all the various opportunities for a negotiated peace were presented. Now, with the failure of their last desperate gamble to win the war, they had little left to bargain with. The Germans could only hope that the Allies would grasp the opportunity for an early end to the war, because at this point the Allies did not believe that Germany was militarily beaten. Allied forces had still not advanced onto German soil. They had merely been recapturing what the Germans had grabbed at the beginning of the war. One hope that the Germans had was that they could ask for a peace based on Wilson's Fourteen Points.

## The new German Chancellor requests an armistice

On 3 October 1918 the Kaiser appointed the moderate Prince Max of Baden as Chancellor. Prince Max's first act was to send a note to President Wilson, via Switzerland, asking for the opening of peace negotiations on the basis of the Fourteen Points. Prince Max then began instituting the sweeping democratic reforms that the socialist-led Reichstag majority had been asking for since the Reichstag Resolution of July 1917. However, the Allies were not swift to respond to the request for an end to the war. First, the leaders of France, Britain and Italy were annoyed that the request for an armistice went to their meddlesome alliance partner, President Wilson. Secondly, they had the German military on the Western Front on the run and it was surely just a matter of time before the German Army was finished. It was the question of how much time it would take to thoroughly defeat the Germans that was the issue.



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For six weeks notes passed between Prince Max and President Wilson while Wilson each time had to run the latest proposals past Lloyd George and Clemenceau. Each time Wilson was forced to demand harsher and harsher conditions for the Germans, to satisfy the British and the French. Meanwhile, Prince Max's government was getting desperate as revolution was breaking out across Germany. The German government worried that, if Germany did not get an armistice, it would descend into anarchy. Finally, the Allies agreed to an armistice and a peace based on Wilson's Fourteen Points on one condition. The condition was that the Allied military conduct the armistice negotiations. The armistice negotiations were conducted by the French commander General Foch. Foch imposed harsh conditions for the armistice. Finally, at 11 am on 11 November 1918 the fighting stopped.



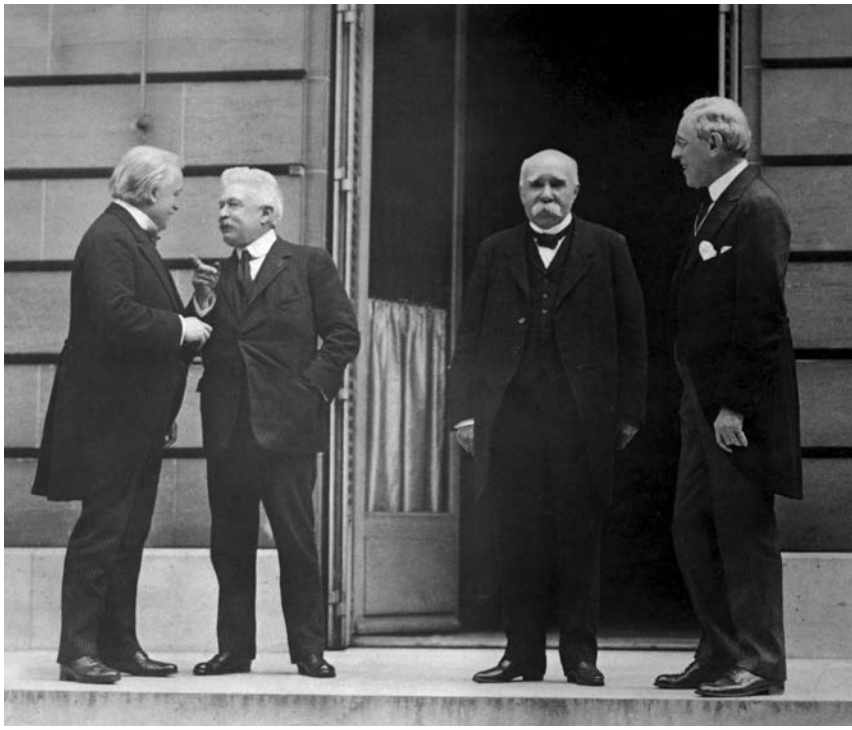
**SOURCE 11.79** Armistice negotiations, November 1918. French Marshal Foch and the German delegation, including new Chancellor Prince Max of Baden, at the signature ceremony of the armistice on 11 November 1918.

## 11.7 The end of the war and the making of the peace

### The Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles

The victorious Allies now positioned themselves for the peace negotiations. Preparations were made for a peace conference. However, the conference was delayed for months because Lloyd George wanted to hold a general election, the first in nearly eight years, while his government was still basking in the afterglow of victory and before the British people started asking any difficult questions about the conduct of the war and the appalling cost in terms of millions of their young men.

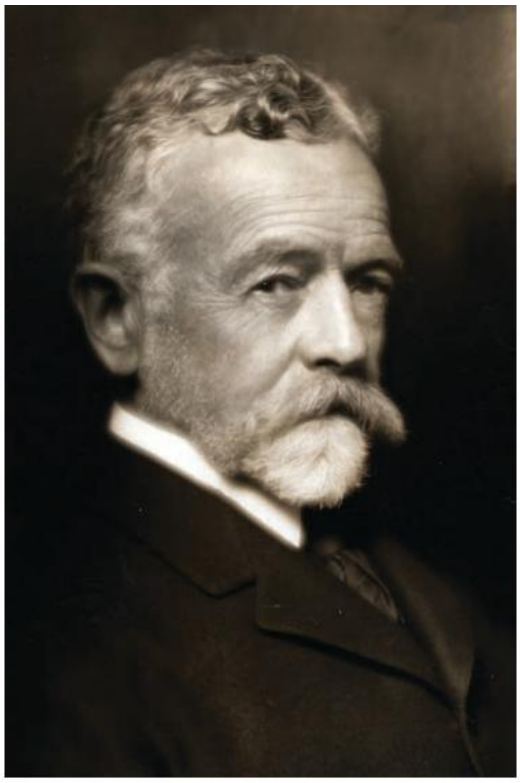
When the Paris Peace Conference did finally start in 1919, all aspects of the peace settlement were hotly debated. Wilson wanted a settlement that would treat Germany and its allies firmly but fairly without harsh and crippling economic penalties. Lloyd George and Clemenceau, by contrast, wanted a harsh



**SOURCE 11.80** 27 May 1919: British Prime Minister Lloyd George, Italian President Vittorio Orlando, French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau and American President Woodrow Wilson at the Hotel Crillon, Paris, just before the Versailles Peace Conference



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**SOURCE 11.81** Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (1850–1924), American Republican senator best known for his positions on foreign policy, especially his battle with President Woodrow Wilson in 1919 over the Treaty of Versailles

peace in which Germany lost significant territory and was destroyed as an economic competitor. Also, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and the Italian leader Orlando wanted the terms of their secret treaties honoured. They wanted to share the spoils of victory. Wilson, on the other hand, was implacably opposed to this, as it went totally against the spirit of a just settlement as laid down in his Fourteen Points. However, during months of dogged negotiations Wilson had to sacrifice many of his principles to secure the most important goal of all. Wilson firmly believed that, if another even more destructive world war in the near future was to be avoided, a League of Nations must be created.

Wilson had campaigned consistently for this since his League to Enforce Peace speech in May 1916. He had also made it the major foreign policy plank in his 1916 election campaign. He did finally secure his League of Nations. However, the Treaty of Versailles that the Germans were forced to sign on 28 June 1919, on the fifth anniversary of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was universally recognised to be a harsh and vindictive peace, especially when the massive reparations bill was added to it.

## The 'League Fight' in the US

The peace settlement turned sour for Wilson when he returned to the US. The Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. For the next few months what we now call the 'League Fight' was waged between the progressive-internationalist President Woodrow Wilson and die-hard unilateralists in the Senate led by Republican Party firebrand Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Though Lodge had been a supporter of the League to Enforce Peace, and US Entry into the war, he became implacably opposed to Wilson's version of a League of Nations. The furious American President went on a whistle-stop railway campaign across the US to secure enough public support for his League to shame the Senate into ratifying it. In September, while on the train, President Wilson suffered a stroke and his campaign came to an abrupt halt. He returned to Washington and suffered another stroke that paralysed him down one side of his body. Wilson was bedridden for the rest of his presidency and his Democratic Party lost the November 1920 election. With that election loss, the hopes of the US joining the League of Nations died. The US never signed the Treaty of Versailles.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Forming opinions**

Should the US have joined the League of Nations?



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# CHAPTER 11 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### THE COMPLEX NATURE OF WORLD WAR I

- The complexities regarding World War I become apparent when compared with World War II.
- The war aims, the turning-points and the reasons for ending both wars were far less complex for World War II.

### THE DESCENT INTO WAR

- The descent into war began with the German decision for war and the failure of the Great Powers' military plans.
- War aims were expanded by both sides.

### THE EXPANSION OF THE CONFLICT

- Secret treaties became an ongoing feature of the war.
- Peace groups explored ways of achieving a just and lasting peace.
- The International Women's Congress and the Ford Peace Ship were two examples of peace groups promoting neutral mediation.
- The Gallipoli campaign failed, Italy entered the war and poison gas was used for the first time on the Western Front.
- Both sides brought new thinking on how to wage war more effectively.

### STALEMATE

- Massive campaigns in Verdun, the Somme and on the Eastern Front resulted in enormous casualties with minimal strategic gains.
- Romania's entry into the war on the side of the Allies backfired as German forces quickly overran the country.
- The 'league of nations' idea was discussed at the highest levels and the idea of a negotiated peace was aired publicly in the German and American Peace Notes.
- With Lloyd George's 'Knock-out Blow Coalition' the British government was determined to ramp up the war effort in a fight to the finish.



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## HOPE AND DESPAIR

- The Allied reply to the American Peace Note and Wilson's 'Peace Without Victory' speech were followed by Germany's decision to escalate the war effort through unrestricted submarine warfare.
- On the Western Front the Germans retreated to the Hindenburg Line while the French suffered in massive campaigns led by General Nivelle and were on the verge of mutiny.
- The March Revolution in Russia and the US entry into war were both dramatic developments and both would have significant ramifications over the course of 1917.
- The Reichstag Resolution and the Papal Peace Note offered some hope that an early negotiated settlement was possible.
- The Third Battle of Ypres resulted in enormous casualties for the British and Germans for no strategic gain.
- The Bolshevik Revolution effectively took Russia out of the war and Germany could redeploy significant numbers of troops to the Western Front.

## ALLIED VICTORY

- Imminent Allied victory did not seem likely at the beginning of 1918.
- The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was harsh on Russia and the Ludendorff Spring Offensive was very successful but could not achieve a strategic breakthrough.
- The Battle of Amiens was followed by the 100 Days Offensive and on 29 September 1918, after the Hindenburg Line was breached, Ludendorff became convinced that Germany could not win.
- The new German Chancellor's request for an Armistice based on the Fourteen Points was accepted but the Armistice conditions were harsh.

## THE END OF THE WAR AND THE MAKING OF THE PEACE

- The Paris Peace Conference agreed to a League of Nations but President Wilson had to sacrifice many of his principles in the Fourteen Points in the negotiations, which resulted in a harsh treaty.
- After President Wilson's return to the United States, the US Senate blocked approval of the Treaty of Versailles (which contained the League of Nations). This led to the 'League fight'.
- President Wilson went on a nationwide tour to convince the public to back the League of Nations. On the tour, he suffered a stroke. The League lost its strongest proponent and Congress refused to budge, which resulted in the United States refusing to join the League of Nations.



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## Key terms and names

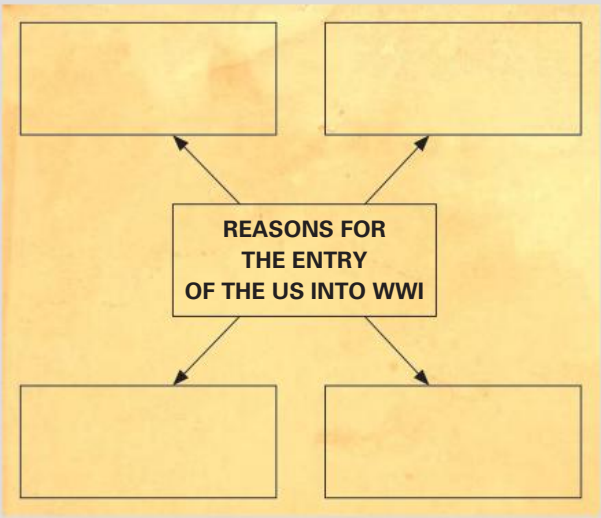
Write a definition in your own words for each key term below.

1) war aims
2) secret treaties
3) grand strategy
4) stalemate
5) total war
6) neutral mediation
7) negotiated peace

## Historical concepts

### 1 Causation

- Create a mind map that outlines the factors that led to the American entry into World War I.




### 2 Continuity and change

- What aspects of pre-war Great Power behaviour continued during the war?
- Identify how the strategic decisions of political leaders on both sides changed over the course of the war.

### 3 Perspectives

- Investigate the perspective of the women who were involved in the International Congress of Women at The Hague in April 1915.
- What was their view of the war? How could the war be stopped and how could a stable peace be built?

### 4 Significance

Briefly explain the significance of the points below for the outbreak of the Great War in August 1914.

- The Straits Agreement of 18 March 1915
- The sinking of the *Lusitania* on 7 May 1915
- President Wilson's War Speech on 2 April 1917
- The Bolshevik Revolution of November 1918

### 5 Contestability

> Between December 1916 and March 1918 there were no less than nine opportunities which, if followed up, might have led to an earlier and more satisfactory end of the War. By this time Mr. Lloyd George had become Prime Minister, and all these efforts were rejected.

**SOURCE 11.82** Viscount Philip Snowden, *An Autobiography: Vol. 1 1864–1919* (London, 1934), p. 358

- Identify the opportunities for an early end to the war mentioned in this chapter.
- Evaluate the author's view that Lloyd George becoming British Prime Minister in December 1916 was a factor in the war's continuation.

## Historical skills

### 1 Explanation and communication

In a short paragraph for each point, briefly explain the following:

- imperialism
- militarism
- nationalism
- internationalism
- multilateralism

### 2 Historical interpretation

> Here then lies the first future task of statesmanship; modes and instruments of policy must be formed for all ideals. The creation of a United States of Europe constitutes the only way out of this European State war. The extension of democracy ... the demand for a full communication of the lines of foreign policy, the growth of international exchange by the disappearance of tariff frontiers, and the cutting down of purely national forces in favour of something that we can truly call an international police, controlled by an international Parliament.

**SOURCE 11.83** 'The Europe of Tomorrow', Politics and Affairs, *The Nation*, 29 August 1914



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**Questions**

- In your own words, outline the vision for the future expressed in this article.
- Using your own knowledge, to what extent was any of this achieved at the peace settlement at the end of the war?
- Comment on the modernity of this newspaper editorial from 1914.

### 3 Analysis and use of sources

- Referring to Source A, outline its vision for the future and comment on its modernity.
- Referring to Source B, what criticism was levelled at government leaders?
- Referring to Source C, up to what year does this author think that the war will last? On what does he base this assessment?
- Referring to Source D, outline the military situation by the time of its writing. Comment on the author's assessment of the situation.
- Source E has no date. When do you think this might have been written?
- What frustration does the author of Source E express?
- All of these sources were written by people known as 'Radicals'. Using these sources and your own knowledge, summarise the Radical critique of the war.
- Using your own knowledge, discuss how these Radicals may have regarded President Wilson both before and after American intervention.

## SOURCE A

The provision both of a Central European Parliament for the determination of general political questions, and of an organ of conciliation and of arbitral law to decide disputed points and enlargement and re-endorsement, in fact, of the Hague Tribunal. ... We could then imagine a federation of European democracies.

'The Character of Modern War', Politics and Affairs, *The Nation*, 28 November 1914

## SOURCE B

If the moral courage of the government equalled the immortal military courage of their soldiers, private conversations between ministers might begin, and a basis for an honourable peace be found by nobler, saner methods than those that shock the world today.

Emily Hobhouse, 'A German official's view of the peace', Letters to the Editor, *The Nation*, 21 October 1916

## SOURCE C

A military decision, in all human probability, means two, if not three, years more. That is not a guess: it is the time required for America to become a military Power equivalent to a Russia which is for all practical purposes out of action.

'A covenanted peace', *The Nation*, 8 September 1917

## SOURCE D

The continuance of the war is a gambler's reckless adventure, and it is now quite evident that the only result of this continuance will be to make the position worse, the losses still greater, and the final ruin more complete.

HN Brailsford, 'What does Mr. Wilson Mean?', *Herald*, 8 September 1917

## SOURCE E

I believe that war between modern civilised states has become a crime and an absurdity: a crime because it involves virtually the whole population, the great bulk of which is opposed to war but has no effective control over the men and the policies responsible for permitting it; absurdity because it is unable to provide a solution for any single problem or combination of problems which may give rise from time to time.

ED Morel to William Cadbury, no date, Morel Papers F8/13



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## 4 Historical investigation and research

> I think the majority of Australians now are looking for a more mature, more reflective and a more searching way of looking at the memory of war.
>
> Professor Scates, 'Monash chair of History and Australian Studies slams "spectacle" of World War One commemorations,' *ABC News*, 11 September 2015

To what extent do you agree with this statement?

To help you answer this question, conduct historical research in your school or local library or online (from educational websites). In your investigation, be sure to include the following readings:

- the full article by Professor Scates
- James Brown, *Anzac's Long Shadow*, 2014
- Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *What's Wrong with Anzac?*, 2010.

  Also include in your investigation:
  - other relevant articles on the topic
  - a list of mini-questions you want to answer in your response (to break down the question into smaller parts)
  - a research plan (where will you conduct research; how many different sources of evidence do you want to consider?)
  - evidence from a range of sources (try to include some quotes from each source; be sure to use quotation marks)
  - acknowledge your sources appropriately (after a quote, list the source's author, title, date published, page number).

Present your research in the form of an essay, including an introduction, at least six body paragraphs, and a conclusion.

## 5 Further essay questions

- Explain how war aims and secret treaties tended to lengthen the war.
- What proposals to end the war through negotiation were promoted by various peace groups?
- Discuss the significance of the large military campaigns in 1916 for the course of the war.
- Compare the impact of American entry and Russian withdrawal on the course of the war from 1917. In what way did they increase or decrease the prospects of victory for the Central Powers?
- How did the idea of a 'league of nations' go from being a proposal by fringe peace groups to being a major war aim in 1918?
- Assess the various factors that contributed to Allied victory in 1918. Which were the most significant?
- Evaluate the contribution of the following individuals to the war: David Lloyd George, Bethmann-Hollweg, General Ludendorff, Pope Benedict XV, President Wilson.



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# CHAPTER 12

# World War I: the legacy of the war and its influence on modernity

*The twentieth century kept reshaping the Great War in its own light, with different nations and eras persistently reinterpreting the conflict through their own preoccupations … After 1939, the events of 1914–18 did look different when refracted through a new conflict, when the 'Great War' became the 'First World War'. For most of the nations involved the two world wars became symbiotic, with each understood in the light of the other. Only with the end of the Cold War … has it been possible to gain some detachment from that entanglement. The centenaries of the Great War from 2014 to 2018 offer opportunities for fresh reflections on the conflict's meaning and significance.*

David Reynolds, *The Long Shadow: The Great War and the Twentieth Century*, pp. 412–13

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

By using a range of historical sources, you will investigate World War I and its role in shaping the modern world, and develop an understanding of the legacy of World War I and its influence on modernity.

**KEY ISSUES**

You will explore:

- the legacy of World War I and its influence on modernity
- the continuing historical debate about World War I
- the origins of the League of Nations
- the controversy surrounding the Treaty of Versailles
- the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations
- the lessons of World War I

**1919** Treaty of Versailles
**1919** 10 May Movement – China
**1920** League of Nations
**1922** Mussolini – March on Rome
**1928** Armistice Day
**1929** The Wall Street Crash
**1933** Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany
**1934–1935** Peace Ballot
**1939** German invasion of Poland – WW2 begins
**1941** Atlantic Charter

**THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

**1915**

World War I 1914–1919
Russian Civil War 1918–1921
Roaring Twenties 1920–1929
Great Depression 1929–1939



**SOURCE 12.1** In this painting we see Dr Johannes Bell signing the Treaty of Versailles in the Hall of Mirrors, Versailles, France, 1919.

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# Europe in 1920




NOTE: This map shows the new countries established in Europe at the expense of Russia (which was still waging a civil war); the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was broken up along national lines; and the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, which was broken up and placed under Arab, British and French control.

**1942** Declaration of the United Nations



**1945** United Nations formed; Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki

**1991** Fall of the Berlin Wall; Soviet Union dissolved



**1993** Formation of the European Union

**2014** Centenary of the outbreak of WW1



**2015** Centenary of Gallipoli

**2018** Centenary of the Armistice

**2019** Centenary of the Treaty of Versailles

**2020** Centenary of the formation of the League of Nations

1945 1965 2015

World War II 1939–1945

Cold War 1947–1991

Post-Cold War 1991–2020



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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER




**SOURCE 12.2** A cartoon titled 'Overweighted', depicting US President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) handing a heavy olive branch, representing the League of Nations, to a dove of peace, 1919. The text dialogue reads: 'President Wilson: "Here's your olive branch. Now get busy." Dove of Peace: "Of course I want to please everybody; but isn't this a bit thick?" Original publication: *Punch* magazine, pub. 25 March 1919.

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

| What do you see? | What do you think? | What do you wonder? |
|---|---|---|



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# CHAPTER 12 Overview

## KEY IDEA

The Great War altered the course of European and world history. It undermined the class-based societies of the old world, dominated by their small privileged elites, and replaced them with mass society, democratic forces, technological marvels, powerful ideologies and ongoing conflict.

## WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

The legacy of the Great War has been felt in various ways across different periods of history of the twentieth century. Many aspects of the Great War still have relevance in the modern world.

## KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- Fourteen Points speech
- Ford Peace Ship
- Article 10
- Atlantic Charter
- liberal internationalism
- Treaty of Versailles

## *Painting the picture*

### The legacy of World War I and its influence on modernity

**INQUIRY QUESTION**

What lessons has the international community learned in dealing with war since 1919?

World War I looms large over the rest of the twentieth century and still resonates with us today more than one hundred years since that tragic conflict ended. There were both positive and negative aspects of the legacy that have reverberated down the years since then and there are certain unresolved issues from 1914–1919 that are still with us today.

The massive scale of the slaughter in the war years, aided by the latest advances in technology and commemorated on countless World War I battlefields, is still confronting for those who travel there to pay homage to those who were sacrificed. However, the violence unleashed by the war did not stop with the Armistice of 1918 but continued in different places for decades and increased in magnitude again from 1939.



**SOURCE 12.3** British soldiers marching towards the front line in 1916

Historians still vigorously debate many aspects of World War I from its origin, its conduct and its conclusion. Nevertheless, they do tend to agree that the punitive nature of the peace settlement and, more specifically, the Treaty of Versailles, sowed the seeds of the next war.

There was a positive legacy of World War I. The international community at last attempted to grapple with the age-old problem of war but with a much greater urgency. The struggle by peace groups during the war for a peace settlement that would guarantee a just and lasting peace was partly rewarded by the creation of the League of Nations. The League ultimately failed disastrously for a number of reasons. However, the idea of an international organisation was not



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discarded with the onset of World War II but was taken up again by leaders with foresight and vision who knew their history. The lessons of World War I were learned by leaders of the Allied nations during and after World War II.

After 1945, there was a great determination in the international community to learn the lessons of the past. As a result, over the last eighty years the international community has benefited from a much more stable world order with many shared values, such as human rights. The big challenge for the future is for us not to forget these post-1945 achievements and for the international community to work together in the twenty-first century to solve the problems of our age such as global warming, nuclear weapons, poverty and many more.

## 12.1 The historical debate continues

It has been over a hundred years since the Great War made its impact on the world and a whole generation, as no other previous conflict has done in human history. The scale of destruction wrought by this first truly global and mechanised war was staggering. Over the 1560 days of the war there were nearly 18 million deaths, and 6 million of these were civilians! About 2750 people perished every day, which roughly equates to the number that died on 11 September 2001 during the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington DC. This staggering level of destruction earned it the title of 'The Great War' because the world had experienced nothing like it before. Some people during the conflict consoled themselves with the hope that this would be the 'war to end all wars', for surely the world would learn the lessons of this horrible conflict and not repeat them. Yet many others were not convinced and believed that it was possible for such destruction to be repeated again and again, eventually leading to the end of human civilisation on earth.

Although, over the hundred years since World War I, tens of thousands of books and articles have been written about the war, in addition to countless primary sources and documents from the time, a shared understanding of what significance the Great War has for the modern world still eludes us. There is still no agreement on why the war started and there is vigorous debate about many aspects of the war from the way in which it was fought, its brutality and inhumanity, its continuation year after year, and its lasting legacy. As Christopher Clark stated in *The Sleepwalkers* (2014), the 'debate over why it happened began before the first shots were fired' and 'there is no reason to believe that it [the debate] has run its course.'

Despite all the vigorous debates about all aspects of the Great War for over a century, there is still no clear consensus on what it was all about and whether it was even necessary. Historians themselves are roughly lined up behind two views of the conflict:

- **Dire necessity:** the view that World War I was a necessary evil. The historians who subscribe to this view believe that the war had to be fought to the bitter end for the good of civilisation. Prolonged and bloody as the war was, it must be accepted as a dire necessity. We (on the Allied side) should therefore be proud of our victory and reject the view that the war was futile. In the words of Australian military historian Trevor



**SOURCE 12.4** At the historic Tower of London, some of the 888 246 ceramic poppies planted for the Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red exhibition marking the centenary of the start of World War I. The final poppy was 'planted' on Armistice Day, 11 November 2014.



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Wilson in his 1986 book *The Myriad Faces of War*, World War I could not really be described as 'a good war', but nevertheless it was 'one of freedom's battles'.

- **Tragic school:** the view of other historians who subscribe to the view that the outbreak of World War I was an avoidable tragedy and that there were other, preferable options than fighting the war to the bitter end. They are more conscious of the death and destruction and their regret over the war overshadows any pride. In the words of Australian historian Douglas Newton in his 2014 book *Hell Bent*, World War I:

> was eminently avoidable. Had politicians, diplomats, and strategists made different decisions, at a dozen different points, peace was achievable. The worst instincts of Europe only just overwhelmed the best. The European tragedy unfolded.
>
> Douglas Newton, *Hell Bent*, 2014, p. 255

## ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 12.1

> What are the real lessons of the Great War, for Australians, and for all? That war is a blunt instrument, unleashing all manner of evil. That unqualified loyalty to big and powerful friends means being trapped in their misjudgements. That the war aims declared to the people, and the war aims for which wars are prolonged, are seldom the same thing. That war is never a simple choice between victory and defeat. That peace by negotiation is the live, innovative and often the most courageous alternative to gambling again and again with the blood of the young. That wars are so destructive that victory itself can be impotent, providing no lasting peace and no vindication for the mechanised killing.

**SOURCE 12.5** Douglas Newton, 'The Great War. What we fought for and why were peace initiatives resisted for so long', johnmenadue.com, 7 May 2016, https://johnmenadue.com/douglas-newton-the-centenary-of-the-great-war-and-anzac/

1 What were the lessons of the Great War for Australians, according to Douglas Newton?
2 What was the problem with war aims?
3 What is his view of securing peace by negotiation?
4 What is often the problem with victory?
5 To what extent are such views about World War I discussed today?

## 12.2 The origins of the League of Nations

### The intellectual roots of the League of Nations

There were a number of forerunners to the idea of creating international machinery for the prevention of war and the peaceful settlement of disputes:

- The International Parliamentary Union (IPU) was established in Britain in 1889 as an international forum where governments could get together and discuss disputes instead of going to war.
- The International Peace Bureau (IPB) was established in 1891 to help coordinate the peace societies around the world and run their annual peace congresses.
- The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 dealt with codifying laws of war but also aimed to create a binding international mechanism for the peaceful resolution of disputes and the prevention of war.



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A voluntary Permanent Court of Arbitration was established based in The Hague. However, many supporters of these international forums hoped to create more robust and compulsory institutions in the near future. A third conference was planned for 1914, then postponed to 1915 because of the war. A small unofficial conference went ahead at The Hague in April 1915 and as a result, the 'Central Organization for a Durable Peace' was formed by representatives from nine European nations and the US. The Organization met throughout the war to put forward proposals for a durable peace. Many prominent American peace activists stayed actively involved.




**SOURCE 12.6** Though President Woodrow Wilson has been given much of the credit for the creation of the League of Nations after World War I, there were many other people and groups pursuing the same goal. For these people the goal could only become a reality if world statesmen took up the challenge. Woodrow Wilson took up the challenge and made it his main commitment for the rest of his life. This photo is from a painting hanging in Wilson House in S Street, Washington DC. Once a year members of the Polish community meet there to honour President Wilson, as he made the creation of an independent Polish state part of Allied war aims by making it the thirteenth point in his Fourteen Points speech.

From the outset of World War I there was a new urgency about creating international mechanisms to prevent another catastrophe after the current war ended. There was a vocal minority in both Britain and the US that believed it was imperative that the most important outcome from the war must be a complete transformation of the international system to do away with the causes of war, which they identified as imperial rivalry, the arms race, secret diplomacy and balance of power diplomacy. These people believed that something far more radical and decisive was needed. In 1915 a Cambridge academic, Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, coined the term 'league of nations'. The proposal was that this would be a permanent world body in which collective security replaced balance of power diplomacy. The idea of a 'league of nations' gained common currency among peace groups such as the Union of Democratic Control (UDC) in the first few months of World War I.

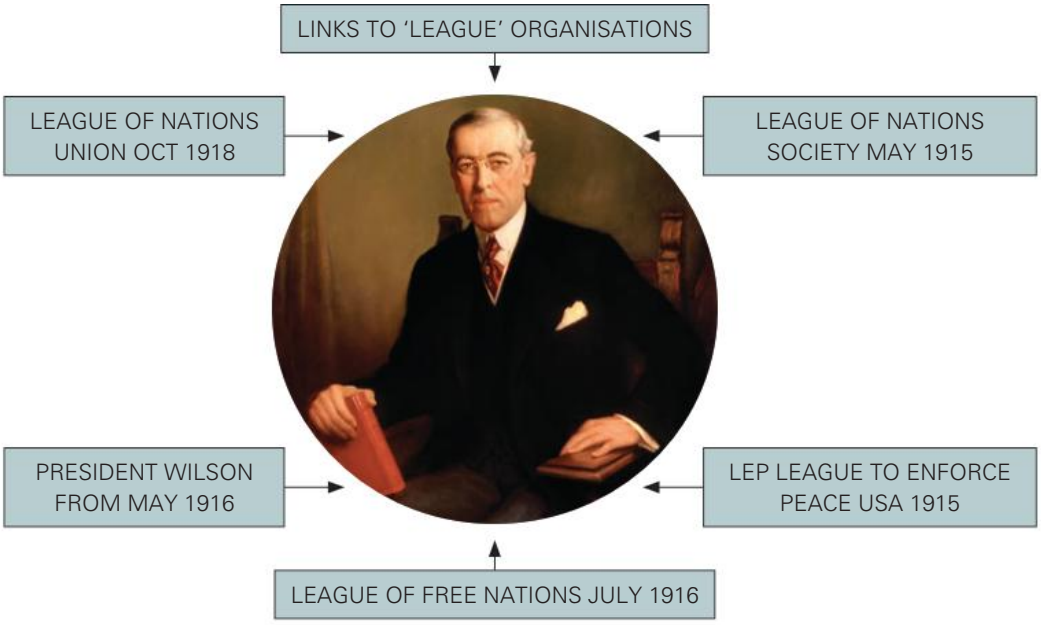
A number of organisations were set up in Britain from 1915 to 1918 to lobby for a 'league of nations'. Similar ideas surfaced in the US, where an organisation called the League to Enforce Peace was formed in June 1915 to popularise the idea of a league. The League to Enforce Peace was the largest of the pro-league organisations. When President Wilson began publicly promoting the idea of a 'league of nations' he was espousing ideas that were widely held in intellectual circles. The League to Enforce Peace was heavily influenced by the British UDC. Ideas about war aims, the terms of peace, international arbitration and the reformation of the international system were hotly debated by internationalists in Britain, Europe and the US.

## Other pro-league groups

Also significant for the intellectual development of the 'league of nations' idea was the International Women's Congress at The Hague at the end of April 1915. At this conference 1500 women met to try to mediate an end to World War I. The end result of their three-day congress was a list of twenty resolutions about reforming the international order. A number of these resolutions called for the establishment of a 'society of nations' and a permanent international court at The Hague. Two delegations of women were commissioned by the Hague Congress to visit the heads of state of Europe, of both the neutral and belligerent countries, to promote their plan. In Europe there were comparable groups advocating a 'league of nations'. One of the first was the Central Organization for a Durable Peace in the Netherlands.



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**SOURCE 12.7** League organisations grew in size and strength from the beginning of the war in both Britain and Europe. There was much cross-Atlantic dialogue on various ideas and schemes for creating a postwar society of nations to prevent war. President Wilson first publicly promoted the 'league of nations' idea on 27 May 1916, when he gave a speech to the US-based League to Enforce Peace, which was the largest of the league organisations.

Also, there were prominent authors, academics, journalists, politicians and political activists in both Britain and the US who discussed the war and how to end it and achieve a just and lasting peace. For example, Henry Massingham was the editor of *The Nation* newspaper in London. He encouraged many people with a diverse range of views to contribute to his newspaper. By the end of 1916 there was a growing consensus among many people who wrote in *The Nation* that a negotiated peace would create the best chance of achieving a just and lasting peace.

However, all the discussion about the formation of a postwar 'league' would have gone nowhere were it not for the decision by President Woodrow Wilson to make it his first priority.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 12.2

> All the nations must perish unless they devise a means of living together under a form of law approaching at least the degree of security they obtain under national law. ... Give society hope and it will outlast worse horrors than it is enduring and even be the stronger for them. Base it upon hatred, and build on that idea a wall of economic barriers, and hope will not come. ... And therefore credit will not revive, industry will not revive, the healing social forces will not revive. Europe will sink again beneath the rule of fear under which she entered upon the war; and her dead will have died in vain.

**SOURCE 12.8** Henry Massingham, *The Nation*, 26 August 1916



**SOURCE 12.9** Henry Massingham

1 Contrast the two alternatives that Massingham saw in the future.

2 What means does Massingham imply should be used to bring about a just and lasting peace? Explain.



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## Woodrow Wilson as champion of the League

President Woodrow Wilson was a passionate believer in the principles of **liberal internationalism**, which had their origin in the ideas of the British liberal icons Richard Cobden and John Bright. The British Radicals also drew their inspiration from the liberalism espoused by Cobden and Bright. This common ideological heritage led to a relationship of mutual influence between President Wilson and the British Radicals who were members of the UDC. The President was very much in agreement with the UDC's platform outlined in the Four Cardinal Points.

**liberal internationalism** a belief in international progress, interdependence, multilateral cooperation and international organisations

**Ford Peace Ship** an initiative financed by the industrialist Henry Ford to take a group of pacifists on a diplomatic mission to Europe in 1915 with the aim of making proposals to both sides to negotiate an end to the war

The Radicals urged the President to be forthright in spelling out the progressive internationalist vision for the postwar world and to mediate an end to the war. Wilson was under similar pressure from American peace activists, many of whom had been involved in the Women's Hague Congress and the **Ford Peace Ship** in 1915. President Wilson refused to give his backing to both of these initiatives, though he sympathised with their ideas. Finally, in May 1916, Wilson made a dramatic speech at a League to Enforce Peace meeting committing the US to the creation of a 'league of nations' at the end of the war. The 'League to Enforce Peace' speech represented the first time an international statesman had given backing to a 'league of nations'.

This commitment prompted vague public commitments to a future 'league' from British Foreign Secretary Lord Grey and German Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg as the war reached stalemate in the summer of 1916. On 22 January 1917, in a speech that was regarded as highly significant for progressive internationalists on both sides of the Atlantic, President Wilson gave his 'Peace Without Victory' speech in which he condemned both sides for the war and laid the blame for the war on imperialism, militarism and the arms race. All this league talk by international statesmen, particularly Wilson, gave a morale boost to the recently formed League societies in the US and Britain. However, Germany's announcement of a return to unrestricted submarine warfare in January 1917 ended any further discussion by Wilson about a 'league' for nearly a year.

After the US entry into the war in April 1917, President Wilson went strangely silent about the League for the rest of the year. It seems his strategy was to win the war first and then talk about a League of Nations. Others, however, did not remain silent about mediating an end to the war and proposing a reformation of the international order. In August 1917, Pope Benedict XV issued what has since become







**SOURCE 12.10** Though President Woodrow Wilson failed in getting the US to be a member of the League of Nations, he has been honoured around the world ever since for his efforts. This is particularly so in Geneva where a major historic hotel was named in his honour.



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known as the Papal Peace Note. The Pope included in his seven concrete proposals for a just and lasting peace the institution of international arbitration and collective security. Mysteriously, the President rejected this attempt to broker peace. However, following the Bolshevik Peace Offer of December 1917, coupled with the opposition from the British and French leadership to a moderate peace followed by the establishment of a League, Wilson decided to break his silence. In January 1918, President Wilson made his famous **Fourteen Points speech**.

These points were to be the basis of the coming peace settlement. The last of the points was the creation of a League of Nations. However, the British, French and Italian leaders were not interested in Wilson's Fourteen Points or his League; that is, until the German Government asked for an armistice on the basis of the Fourteen Points in October 1918. Then the Allied leaders were placed under real pressure by President Wilson to accept the Fourteen Points and bring an immediate and early end to the war. Only after protracted negotiations did the Allied leaders finally accept a peace based on the Fourteen Points, though not without some significant reservations. The war ended one week later.




**SOURCE 12.11** President Wilson was greeted as a hero when he arrived in Paris for a meeting of the League of Nations in 1919.

### THE FOURTEENTH POINT OF THE 'FOURTEEN POINTS'

A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

**SOURCE 12.12** The last point from Woodrow Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' speech of 8 January 1918

**Fourteen Points speech** a speech by Woodrow Wilson to the US Congress on 8 January 1918 that outlined a plan for the reconstruction of Europe and reformation of the international order after the war. The last point was the creation of a League of Nations.

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Drawing conclusions**

Assess Woodrow Wilson's role in the creation of the League of Nations.

## 12.3 The flawed Treaty of Versailles

The leaders of the Allied and Associated Powers were hardly of one mind when they came to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. President Wilson took it upon himself to get his League of Nations no matter what; whereas the other leaders, Lloyd George (Britain), Clemenceau (France) and Orlando (Italy) were more interested in acquiring the spoils of war than in establishing a League of Nations. The President found himself compromising on every one of his Fourteen Points except the last – the one that called for the creation of a League of Nations. On the creation of the League Wilson was absolutely determined. The American President ensured that the League was debated first before any of the other issues of the peace settlement. It is for this reason that the twenty-six articles of the League of Nations occupy the whole first section of the **Treaty of Versailles**.

**Treaty of Versailles** the treaty that officially ended World War I. It came into effect when it was signed by the nations involved in the war on 28 June 1919, which was five years since the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914.



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**SOURCE 12.13** In this painting, an artist depicts previous generations and the war dead looking on as the Treaty of Versailles is signed.



**SOURCE 12.14** 1944: Alexander Knox and Geraldine Fitzgerald star in the film *Wilson*, about the rise and fall of American President Woodrow Wilson. The film was directed by Henry King for 20th Century Fox.

The rest of the Versailles Treaty that was finally signed on 28 June 1919 bore little resemblance to the just peace that Wilson and other progressive internationalists had advocated during the war. To add insult to injury, not only was Wilson forced to compromise on every one of his principles to secure Allied agreement to a League, but he also had to appease the US Senate by inserting special clauses into the Treaty. However, this was not sufficient to win the two-thirds majority needed in the Senate for the US to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.

In defiance of the Senate, President Wilson embarked on an arduous nation-wide speaking tour in September 1919 to rally public support for the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. By late 1919 the whole battle for the League rested on the shoulders of one man, Woodrow Wilson. Finally it was all too much for him. After giving one of his most moving speeches in support of the League, he succumbed to a stroke that left him incapacitated for the last year-and-a-half of his presidency. In his sickbed Wilson refused to compromise on the League to secure support from the Republicans, led by Senator Lodge, who were particularly opposed to Article 10 of the League Covenant. Article 10 required League members to act collectively against aggression by any nation in the future. Wilson felt that Article 10 was the heart of the League and to compromise on it would render the League useless. As a result, the fight for the League was lost in the US. The US never ratified the Treaty of Versailles and refused to join the League of Nations.

> The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In any case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

**SOURCE 12.15** Article 10 of the League of Nations Covenant, 1919



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## RESEARCH TASK 12.3

### The film *Wilson*

The film *Wilson* was made in 1944 during World War II. After his failure to have the League of Nations accepted, President Wilson was regarded as a failure. His stroke in 1919, which disabled him, resulted in little being achieved in the last part of his term. He was rated as one of the worst presidents. However, his portrayal in the 1944 film *Wilson* transformed public opinion about him in the US. He was now regarded as being right about the League of Nations. This film helped make the idea of creating a United Nations very popular in the US.

Watch the film, available on Youtube. Search for 'Wilson 1944 full movie'. Start from about one hour and ten minutes in.

1. What is your impression of this portrayal of Woodrow Wilson?
2. How does Wilson react to the critical incidents involving the war?
3. What is your reaction to Wilson's confrontation with German Foreign Minister Bernstorff (from 1.35)? Did this confrontation really happen, or was it included for dramatic effect?
4. In his 'War Speech' of 2 April 1917, what important points does Wilson make about how the US will approach the war?
5. How does Wilson fare at the Peace Conference in Paris?
6. How is the 'League Fight' back in the US portrayed?
7. How is Wilson portrayed in the final scene?
8. Read the 1976 article about this film by Wilson historian Thomas Knock, titled 'History with Lightning: The Forgotten Film *Wilson*'.
9. What is Knock's assessment of the film?
10. Comment on Thomas Knock's concluding comment about the film: 'Although the motion picture is marred by many oversights and gloss, it is basically an honest film, commendable in its intent, inspiring in the ideals it professed.'

## 12.4 The failure of the League of Nations

The greatest problem faced by the League of Nations was that it was built on the harsh peace of the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. The Treaty had blamed Germany and the Central Powers totally for the war and its terms were designed to make the defeated powers pay reparations to partly compensate for Allied losses in the war. This was a far cry from the just settlement envisaged by those in Britain and the US, who supported the League of Nations and who also argued that Germany and its allies must be admitted to the League from its inception. However, this was not to be. It was to be six years before Germany was accepted as a member of the League of Nations. Furthermore, the League was hobbled from the beginning by the absence of the US due to its refusal to join. Also, the new Communist government of the USSR was not invited to be a member because the Allied nations feared the spread of a communist revolution. The League never really recovered from the failure to have the US and the Soviet Union as members.

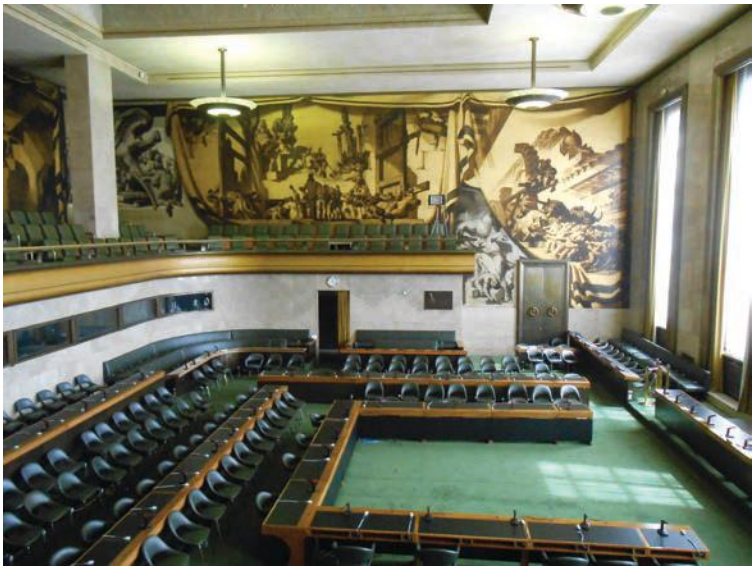
Nevertheless, during most of the twenties, League-optimism thrived. This was because there were many high hopes at its inception. Despite all of its flaws, the Covenant of the League of Nations was an impressive document and it appeared to really hold out the prospect of a world free of conflict and characterised by the rule of law. Furthermore, many high-profile people in leadership positions in the Allied countries had been won over by the idealism of the League of Nations and were therefore positively engaged in League work. The League of Nations also captured the imagination of many in the general



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**SOURCE 12.16** The first session of the League of Nations in the Salle de Reforme in Geneva, set up after World War I to maintain peace



**SOURCE 12.17** Inside the League of Nations building in Geneva

populace. There was much goodwill in the international community towards the new world body. Also, on the positive side, the US was not totally absent from involvement in international issues in the 1920s. The US was a party to the Washington Conference of Disarmament in 1921 and a signatory to the Kellogg-Briand Pact in 1928. There was hope that eventually the Americans would see that it would be advantageous for them to join the League. Many people genuinely hoped that the League would be able to prevent a recurrence of another world war and that this would give meaning to all the sacrifice of the war years between 1914 and 1918.

The League of Nations was responsible for the successful settlement of a number of disputes in the 1920s. The League had been successful in forcing smaller countries to give way, but in the twenties was lucky not to have to deal with aggression by a major power. Theoretically, the League could raise armed forces from member states, but the political leaders of the day were reluctant to do this.

However, out of the original 42 member nations of the League only Britain and France were powerful enough to play a significant role in security; but sadly neither of these countries was able to supply effective leadership and direction. In addition, both these nations were determined to avoid war at any cost. Britain tended to see the League as a place where grievances could be aired, while France expected the League to enforce the terms of the Versailles Treaty, which they felt had not gone far enough to weaken and punish Germany. This explains France's occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 in response to the German government defaulting on reparations. Nevertheless, membership of the League increased from 48 nations in 1920 to 54 in 1929, with Germany being admitted in 1926 followed by the USSR in 1934.

During the 1930s the League failed to live up to its main aim of preventing war. The flaws in its structure, its membership and the lack of political will of the leaders of democracies, but most importantly the unexpected onset of a global depression, doomed the League. A structural flaw was that all member states,



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regardless of size, had equal voting rights. Unanimous decisions were the requirement, in both the Assembly and Council, for any action to be taken. In the 1930s countries that disagreed with the League simply left it. Japan and Germany left in 1933, Italy in 1937, the USSR in 1939 and France in 1940.

As the international environment deteriorated in the 1930s, many hoped that the US might yet join the League to give added resolve to Britain and France as they grappled over what to do in response to blatant aggression by Japan, Italy and Germany. However, the Americans were not ready for their country to return as an active member of the international community. President Roosevelt was in favour of the US joining the World Court in 1935, but the Senate refused to ratify this. Congress then passed the Neutrality Acts, which prohibited trade with belligerent nations with the intention to prevent the nations from being dragged into another major war, as it had been in 1917. The US remained a spectator as Britain and France remained to give leadership to the League as it attempted to counter Japanese, Italian and German aggression from 1931 to 1939.



**SOURCE 12.18** League of Nations, 19 March 1936: the Council of the League of Nations meeting at St James' Palace in London. They are listening to the speech by Hitler's Ambassador, Herr von Ribbentrop giving Germany's reasons for its violation of the Treaty. Australia was an active participant in the League of Nations from its beginning. A number of Australians served in the League, the most notable being former prime minister Stanley Melbourne Bruce.



**SOURCE 12.19** The League of Nations building, Geneva



**SOURCE 12.20** Pupils from a British primary school at the World War I Thiepval Memorial, the largest British war memorial in the world – there were more than 57000 British casualties in a single day during the battle of the Somme.



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**Atlantic Charter** a joint declaration of broad war aims by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on 14 August 1941. This was influenced by Roosevelt's earlier 'Four Freedoms Speech' and was reflected in the Declaration of the United Nations on 1 January 1942.

## 12.5 The lessons of World War I

Learning the lessons of World War I is a rich and never-ending field of historical debate. However, many lessons from World War I were applied to the next war by world statesmen who knew their history. The two most notable world statesmen in this category were Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt. The initiative that they both took early in World War II to identify progressive war aims, first in the **Atlantic Charter** (1941) and then in the Declaration of the United Nations (1942) helped to create a large multilateral coalition that finally defeated the Axis Powers. Once defeated, the victorious nations set about ensuring that the foundations for a just and lasting peace would be laid.

### HISTORIAN'S PERSPECTIVE 12.4

Peacemaking after 1945 drew on ideas, institutions and personnel shaped by the First World War and its aftermath. The reconstruction of the European economy with American aid, the integration of national economies of Europe, the promotion of transnational civil society, tying the Federal Republic of Germany into the Atlantic world, the support for democracy in western Europe echoed ambitions of a previous generation of politicians. The founders of the United Nations learned from the flaws of the League of Nations and drew on the expertise of League officials.

**SOURCE 12.21** William Mulligan, *The Great War for Peace*, 2014, p. 373

1 Outline two aspects of the peace settlement after World War I that the founders of the United Nations aimed to do very differently.
2 Compare Germany's treatment by the victorious powers after each of the two world wars.

### Comparison with World War II

One way of understanding our view of World War I is to compare it with World War II as shown in this table below:

| | World War I | World War II |
|---|---|---|
| **Causes** | Causes were complex. Blame for the war can be shared between a group of diplomats and political leaders of the Great Powers. | The cause was blatant aggression by Italy, Japan and Germany. |
| **War aims** | The real (annexationist) war aims were hidden from the people on both sides of the conflict for most of the war.<br>Only near the end of the war did the Allies appear to adopt fair war aims with President Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' but Entente Powers were not committed to these as their war aims. | The war aims of Nazi Germany came straight out of *Mein Kampf* (1924) and involved the conquest of Europe and large sections of the USSR.<br>The Allied war aims, on the other hand, were summed up in the 1942 Declaration of the United Nations and reflected the progressive vision contained in the Atlantic Charter. |



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| | World War I | World War II |
|---|---|---|
| **Legacy** | A League of Nations was created to preserve the peace between nations, but it was undermined from the start due to the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles and the absence of both the US and the Soviet Union from the organisation. The international system created at the end of the war began to break down after only 10 years. | A United Nations was agreed to in principle in 1942, and operated as a multilateral alliance for the rest of the war; then a permanent organisation was created in 1945. The United Nations and key UN treaties signed after 1945 became the legal and moral foundation of the international system for over 70 years. |

Despite the fact that World War II was far more destructive than World War I, its positive legacy has been far more enduring in the decades following, compared with the decades that followed World War I. The United Nations has proven to be far more successful than the League of Nations in dealing with the many problems that have confronted the world over the more than 70 years of its history.

After World War II the international community was faced with many serious problems but there was a greater sense of a better world being created and over time there was far more stability, even after the onset of the Cold War. The legacy of World War I was very much a lost peace while the legacy of World War II was of hope borne of international cooperation and a determination to create a better world. This determination was evident in the key international documents agreed to after World War II. These laid the legal and moral foundation of the postwar order. These treaties were:

- the Charter of the United Nations (1945)
- the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
- Genocide Convention (1948)
- the Geneva Conventions (1949)
- the Refugee Convention (1951).

In addition to these treaties there was what became known as the 'Bretton Woods system', which involved the creation of two global institutions to ensure global financial stability. These institutions were:

- the International Monetary Fund (IMF)
- the World Bank or International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).



**SOURCE 12.22** Panoramic view inside the Opera House full of delegates in a plenary session deciding vote on the UN Charter in a conference at the end of World War II in San Francisco, CA



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**SOURCE 12.23** Mount Washington Hotel in New Hampshire, where the Bretton Woods Conference took place in July 1944




**SOURCE 12.24** Jeffrey Sachs speaking to the press at the United Nations following a special meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) dedicated to addressing inequality as a means of achieving Sustainable Development Goals

These institutions were created at a conference held at the Mount Washington Hotel in the US state of New Hampshire between 1 July and 22 July 1944. The reason that these new institutions were considered essential to world order was the lessons learned from the 1930s. These lessons were that the policies adopted during this time to deal with the Depression, such as high tariffs, currency devaluations and trading blocs, had fostered international instability and made the effect of the Depression worse. The US policy-makers at the Bretton Woods Conference returned to President Woodrow Wilson's idea that free trade promoted international peace and security, as well as global prosperity. The countries represented at Bretton Woods believed that international economic cooperation was the key to achieving peace and prosperity for all. Since their creation these two institutions have played important roles in ensuring global financial stability in the world.

In addition to the treaties and the economic institutions, the role of the US, as the richest and most dominant economic power, in underwriting the liberal international order has been crucial to the maintenance of a level of relative international peace and security since 1945.

Many people would agree that to a great extent the international community did finally learn the lessons of World War I but not until World War II. The big question today is: has the world forgotten the lessons of World War II? Also, does the international community take for granted what was achieved in the post-World War II settlement?

Finally, we have international law, if we choose to use it. The belligerents in Europe and Asia 100 years ago could not turn to the UN Security Council and UN General Assembly, venues where diplomacy, rather than war, can be the true continuation of politics. We are blessed with the possibility to construct peace through a global institution that was founded to help ensure that global war would never recur.

As citizens of the world, our job now is to demand peace through diplomacy, and through global, regional, and national initiatives to address the scourges of poverty, disease, and environmental degradation. On this hundredth anniversary of one of the greatest disasters of human history, let us follow tragedy not by farce or more tragedy, but by the triumph of cooperation and decency.

We have had the opportunity to learn a thing or two about the stupidity and uselessness of organized collective violence.

The next global war, in this nuclear age, would almost surely end the world.

Today, with our wondrous technologies, we have every opportunity to solve the underlying problems of poverty, hunger, displacement, and environmental degradation that create so many dangerous tinderboxes.

Finally, we have international law, if we choose to use it.

**SOURCE 12.25** Jeffrey Sachs, 'The Waste of War', 21 July 2014



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# CHAPTER 12 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### THE HISTORICAL DEBATE CONTINUES

- There still remains a lack of consensus about what the Great War was all about and its significance.
- Historians line up roughly equally in subscribing to either the 'dire necessity' or the 'avoidable tragedy' view of the war.

### THE ORIGINS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- There were many people and groups making proposals about international machinery to prevent war before 1914.
- During the war 'league' groups in Britain and the US grew in influence.
- Many prominent authors, academics, journalists, politicians and political activists in both Britain and the US discussed the war and how to end it and explored the idea of a 'league'.
- From May 1916 President Wilson gave his backing to the creation of a 'league of nations' after the war.
- After entering the war in 1917 President Wilson went silent about the 'league' but returned to promoting it from January 1918 on with his Fourteen Points speech.

### THE FLAWED TREATY OF VERSAILLES

- The leaders of Britain, France and Italy were more interested in dividing the spoils of war than in establishing a League or ensuring a just settlement.
- President Wilson had to compromise on many of his principles in the Fourteen Points to gain acceptance of the League by the other members of the Big Four.
- President Wilson ensured that the League was included in the Treaty of Versailles.
- The final text of the Treaty of Versailles bore little resemblance to the just peace that President Wilson had been advocating since 1916.
- During the 'League Fight' in the US, President Wilson failed to get two-thirds of the US Senate to support the Treaty of Versailles.
- President Wilson suffered a stroke while campaigning in the US for acceptance of the League.
- The US never signed the Treaty of Versailles and never joined the League of Nations.

### THE FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- The main problem with the League was that it was part of what came to be regarded as a very harsh peace treaty.
- Significant problems were that the US was not a member; Germany had to wait 6 years and Russia had to wait 15 years before becoming members.
- Despite its flaws, the League thrived in the 1920s; there was both optimism about its role and much international goodwill towards it.
- The League helped settle some disputes in the 1920s.
- In the 1930s the League failed to live up to its main aim of preventing war and major powers left it.



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## THE LESSONS OF WORLD WAR I

- Many lessons from World War I were applied by statesmen during and after World War II, particularly President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.
- The United Nations has been far more successful than the League of Nations in dealing with major problems confronting the world.
- There was a greater determination in the international community after World War II to learn the lessons of both wars and to create a better world.
- Five key international documents after World War II laid the moral and legal foundation of the postwar order.
- Learning the lessons of the Great Depression, the Bretton Woods system returned to President Wilson's belief that free trade promoted international peace.
- The Bretton Woods system made a significant contribution to global financial stability in the post-1945 world.
- The US underwrote the liberal internationalist order with its military might.
- Does the international community today take for granted what was achieved in the post-World War II settlement?



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# MODERN HISTORY TRANSFORMED

## YEAR 11

## DIGITAL CONTENT

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# CHAPTER 3

# The representation and commemoration of the past – *The Day After*: a film that made history

*Usually, people wait for things to occur before trying to describe them. (Futurology has never been a very respectable field of inquiry.) But since we cannot afford under any circumstances to let the holocaust occur, we are forced in this one case to become the historians of the future – to chronicle and commit to memory an event that we have never experienced and must never experience.*

Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth*, 1982, p. 21

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

Students develop an understanding of the way in which a realistic scenario of nuclear war was represented in the past.

**KEY ISSUES**

Students will:

- investigate the impact of a significant mass media event on the public in the 1980s
- investigate how a historical scenario was represented in *The Day After*
- critically analyse *The Day After* as a representation of public concern about nuclear war in the 1980s
- consider the historical significance of *The Day After* within the context of the global peace movement of the 1980s
- assess the degree to which *The Day After* had an influence on public views about nuclear war at the time



**Dec 1979** Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

**20 Jan 1981** Ronald Reagan becomes US President



**2 Dec 1981** Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign opens in St Louis, US



**25 March 1982** 100000 people in Palm Sunday marches in Australia

**23 March 1983** Reagan announces the 'Strategic Defense Initiative' program popularly known as the 'Star Wars' program

**THE DAY AFTER**

1979 1980 1981 1982 1983

**Dec 1979** NATO's 'dual track decision' and planned deployment of Pershing II missiles in Europe

**5 Sept 1981** Greenham Common protest in Britain: 30000 women set up camp to protest against nuclear weapons



**12 June 1982** A million people march against nuclear weapons in New York



**8 March 1983** Reagan's 'evil empire' speech

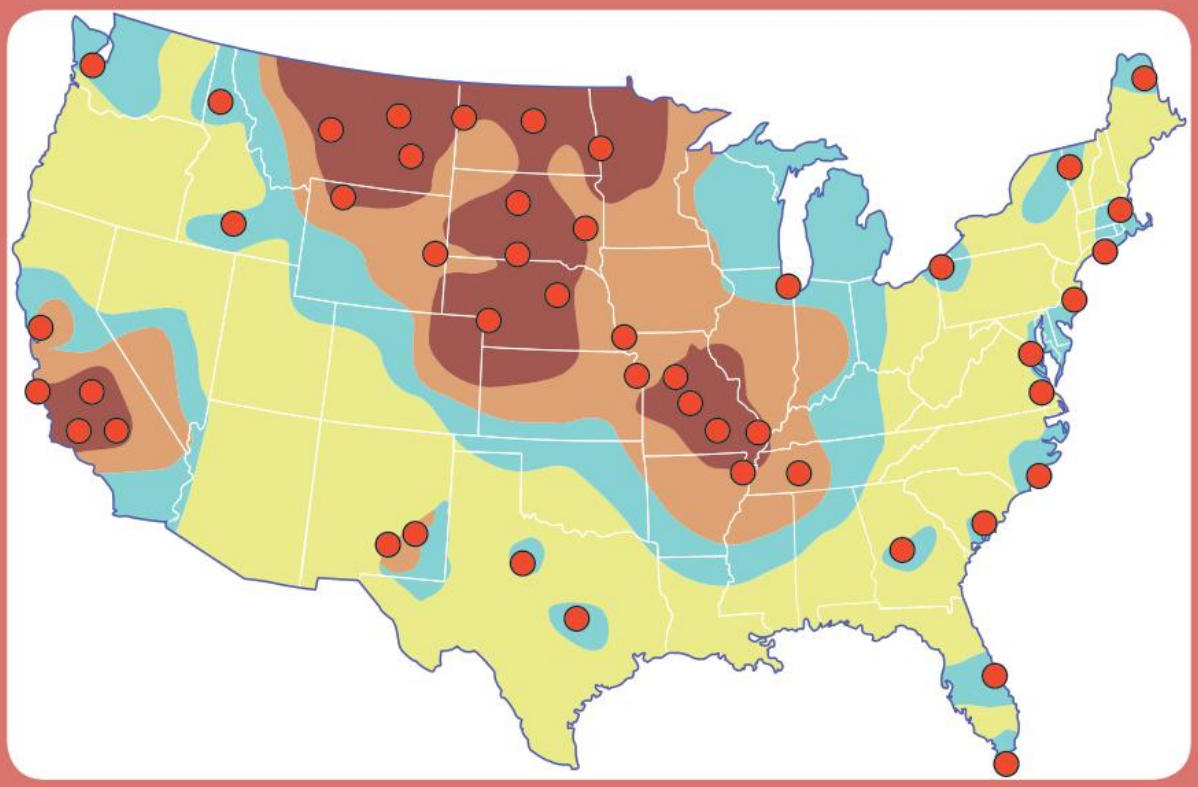


**SOURCE 3.1 The ABC Television movie *The Day After* screened to an audience of 100 million viewers on 20 November 1983. It was a graphic, disturbing film about the effects of a devastating nuclear holocaust on the small town of Lawrence, in the eastern part of the midwestern state of Kansas in the US.**

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Primary target locations (in red) for Soviet nuclear strikes during the 1980s, showing the resultant fallout. The darkest areas are considered 'lethal'; the yellow zones are comparatively 'fallout-free'. Based on an image published in 1984 by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)



**21 June 1983**
1400 antinuclear demonstrators demanding an end to the arms race are arrested as 944 activists try to block a major technology centre in California. The protests for the 'International Day of Nuclear Disarmament' are held at research labs, submarine bases and other nuclear facilities in at least 18 states, including Florida



**26 Sept 1983**
Stanislav Petrov and the Serpukhov-15 incident

**2–12 Nov 1983**
NATO's Able Archer 83 military exercise



**20 Nov 1983**
The film *The Day After* is watched by 100 million people in the US



**25 Jan 1984**
President Reagan's State of the Union Address in which he says that 'a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought'

## 1984



**1 Sept 1983**
KAL passenger airliner shot down by Soviet fighters

**10 Oct 1983**
President Reagan writes in his diary that he was 'greatly depressed' after a private viewing of *The Day After*



**Late Oct 1983**
President Reagan is shaken after taking part in SIOP briefing

**18 Nov 1983**
President Reagan learns that the Soviet forces had been placed on high alert during NATO's Operation Able Archer

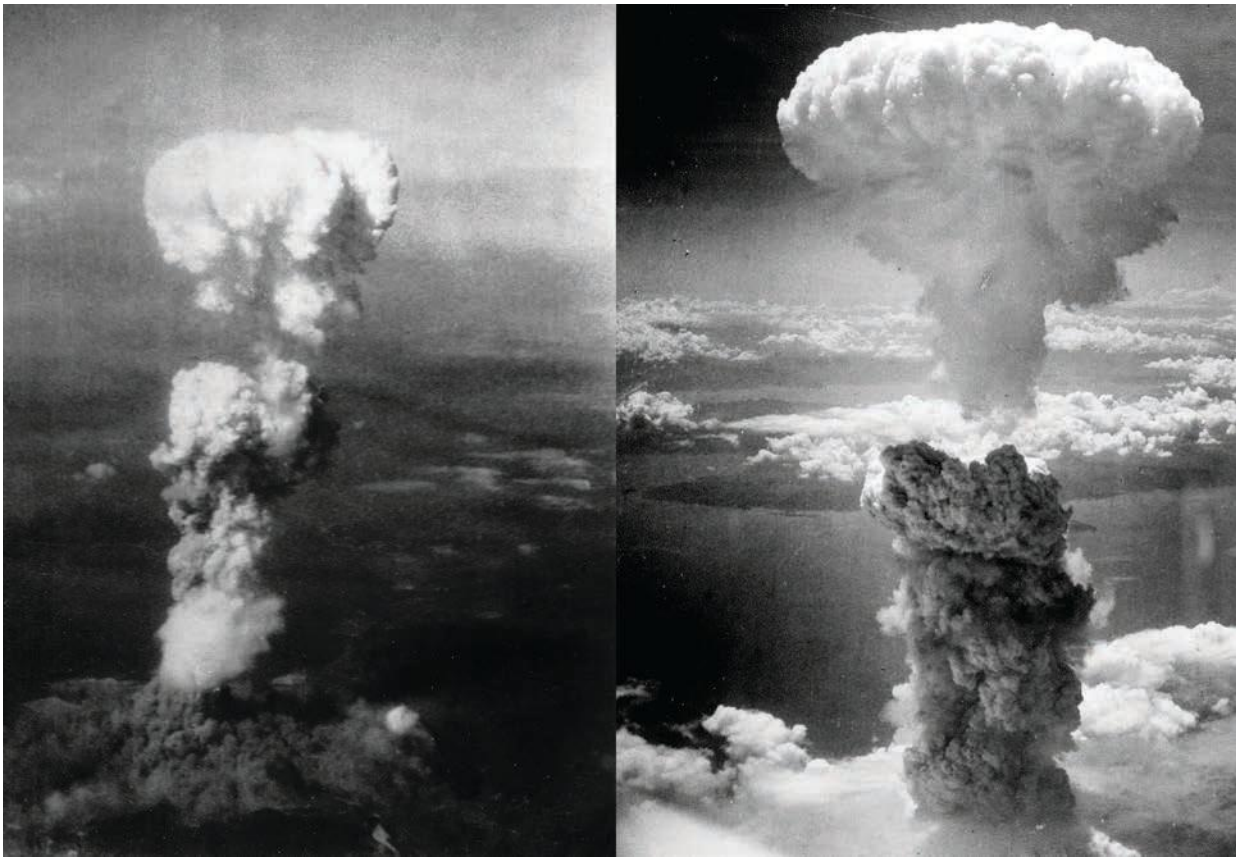
**16 Jan 1984**
President Reagan's 'Address to the Nations and Other Countries on US–Soviet Relations'



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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



**SOURCE 3.2** Atomic bombing of Japanese cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 9, 1945.

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

| What do you see? | What do you think? | What do you wonder? |
|---|---|---|



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# CHAPTER 3 Overview

## KEY IDEA

The 1983 film *The Day After* made history because it was seen by more people on TV than any other program up to that time, and it influenced the thinking of many people about the reality of nuclear war.

## WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

Over 35 years later, nuclear war still represents the greatest **existential threat** to all life on the planet.

## KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- existential threat
- unsafe history
- scenario
- hibakusha
- nuclear holocaust
- superpowers
- atomic bomb
- nuclear arms race
- hydrogen bomb
- nuclear weapons
- Humanitarian Impact Initiative
- Nuclear Freeze
- Doomsday Clock
- nuclear winter

## *Painting the picture*



**SOURCE 3.3** A scene from *The Day After*, a graphic, disturbing film about the effects of a devastating nuclear holocaust on small-town residents of eastern Kansas

## INQUIRY QUESTION

What role did *The Day After* play in changing American attitudes to the threat of nuclear war?

**existential threat** a global catastrophic event that has the potential to wipe out all of humanity

### *The Day After*: a film that made history

On 20 November 1983 a film was screened to 100 million viewers across the United States of America. This film presented a scenario of what the effects would be on a small city in Kansas, with a population of around 52 000, of a nuclear attack on the US. The film focused on a few fictional characters in Lawrence, Kansas, and their struggles to survive the aftermath of a nuclear missile exploding over their city. Americans



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**SOURCE 3.4** The city of Lawrence in the state of Kansas is the sixth biggest city in Kansas and close to Kansas City.

had learned to live with the threat of the bomb since the beginning of the nuclear arms race, which had started with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) exploding their first atomic bomb in 1949. The population had lived with the possibility of an all-out nuclear war for over thirty years. The US government had steadfastly assured the people that in the unlikely event of such a nuclear war there were civil defence precautions that could be taken and a nuclear attack was survivable if you knew what to do.

Over thirteen days in October 1962 during the event remembered as the Cuban Missile Crisis, the American people stared Armageddon in the face. Due to the wise handling of the crisis by President John Fitzgerald Kennedy, plus a lot of luck, both the US and the Soviet pulled back from the brink of World War III. In the sixties and seventies US–Soviet relations in the Cold War were never cordial, but the two **superpowers** had become resigned to coexistence and had a respect for each other's **sphere of influence**. There was an easing of Cold War tensions between them from about 1969 to the late seventies. However, this all changed with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the election of the hawkish Ronald Reagan as the new President of the US. The President characterised the Soviet Union as the 'evil empire' and committed the US to a whole new class of nuclear missiles in Europe as part of a massive arms program. Thus, at the opening of the eighties decade, the world entered the most dangerous phase of the Cold War.

**superpowers** the US and the USSR after World War II. Both countries were far more powerful than any previous great power in history, so they were referred to by this term.

**sphere of influence** a region in which political and economic influence or control is exerted by one nation over another nation or nations

**nuclear disarmament movement** since the atomic bombing of Japan in World War II, groups around the world have campaigned for global nuclear disarmament.

It was in this context that in 1982 Nicholas Meyer agreed to direct a film based on a best-selling book, *The Fate of the Earth*, written by Jonathan Schell. The filming started in August and the resulting movie, *The Day After*, was broadcast nationwide by the American Broadcast Corporation (ABC) network on 20 November 1983. Well before the national screening of the film it was steeped in controversy and the press coverage surrounding it was unprecedented. In fact, the **nuclear disarmament movement** adopted the film as its own, and the film was attacked by those on the



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right wing of politics for being a piece of propaganda for the nuclear disarmament movement. Others attacked the film for the potential impact it would have on the people who were to view it, especially children. As a result, the ABC network went to great lengths to prepare for the screening of the film and to allay concerns about its impact. A Viewer's Guide was produced and sent out to schools and other educational institutions and warning letters sent out to parents advising that young children should not watch the film. On the night of the screening the ABC aired a live debate, hosted by Ted Koppel, with a panel including respected scientist Carl Sagan and conservative writer William F Buckley.

*The Day After* was a national event. It had brought the reality of nuclear war into the living rooms of a generation of Americans. It made many people realise that the heightened level of nuclear confrontation since the beginning of the decade could suddenly lead to the unspeakable horror of all-out nuclear war. The film even had an impact on the President of the US, Ronald Reagan. As we know, there was no nuclear war in 1983 but – unknown to the public at the time – nuclear war nearly occurred twice in that year on 26 September and during the Able Archer NATO military exercises in November. It was to be some time before experts became aware of the details of these two close calls and, it must be said, the seriousness of these events has never been brought home to the public since then.



**SOURCE 3.5** Nicholas Meyer, who had just directed the Star Trek movie *The Wrath of Khan* (1982), was chosen to direct *The Day After*.

For one night in November 1983 the American people caught a glimpse of the sheer horror of what it would be like if they were the target of a nuclear attack. For one night they were woken from their slumber and confronted with what the logical outcome of massive stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction by the governments of their nation and the Soviet Union would be. Since the dropping of the atomic bombs by their nation's military on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the habit of non-use of **nuclear weapons** had enabled them to banish the thought of nuclear peril from waking life. For a brief moment this normality, of pushing thoughts of nuclear peril out of our minds, was revealed, in the words of Jonathan Schell as a sort of 'mass insanity'. 'This was an insanity,' Schell said, 'that consisted not in screaming and making a commotion but precisely in *not* doing these things in the face of overwhelming danger, as though everyone had been sedated.' For a brief time, *The Day After* had altered the consciousness of the American people. For a brief time, dark thoughts about the peril of nuclear warfare were not relegated to the fringes of society and to antinuclear activists, but were experienced by the mainstream.

**nuclear weapons** refers to any type of weapons using nuclear process and so includes atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs and neutron bombs in any form of delivery, whether by plane, missile, torpedo, depth charge, artillery, suitcase etc



**SOURCE 3.6** The 1984 British nuclear war movie *Threads* was considered by many to be a more realistic scenario of a nuclear attack.

It takes more than just a film to turn a society around. In the 1980s fiction



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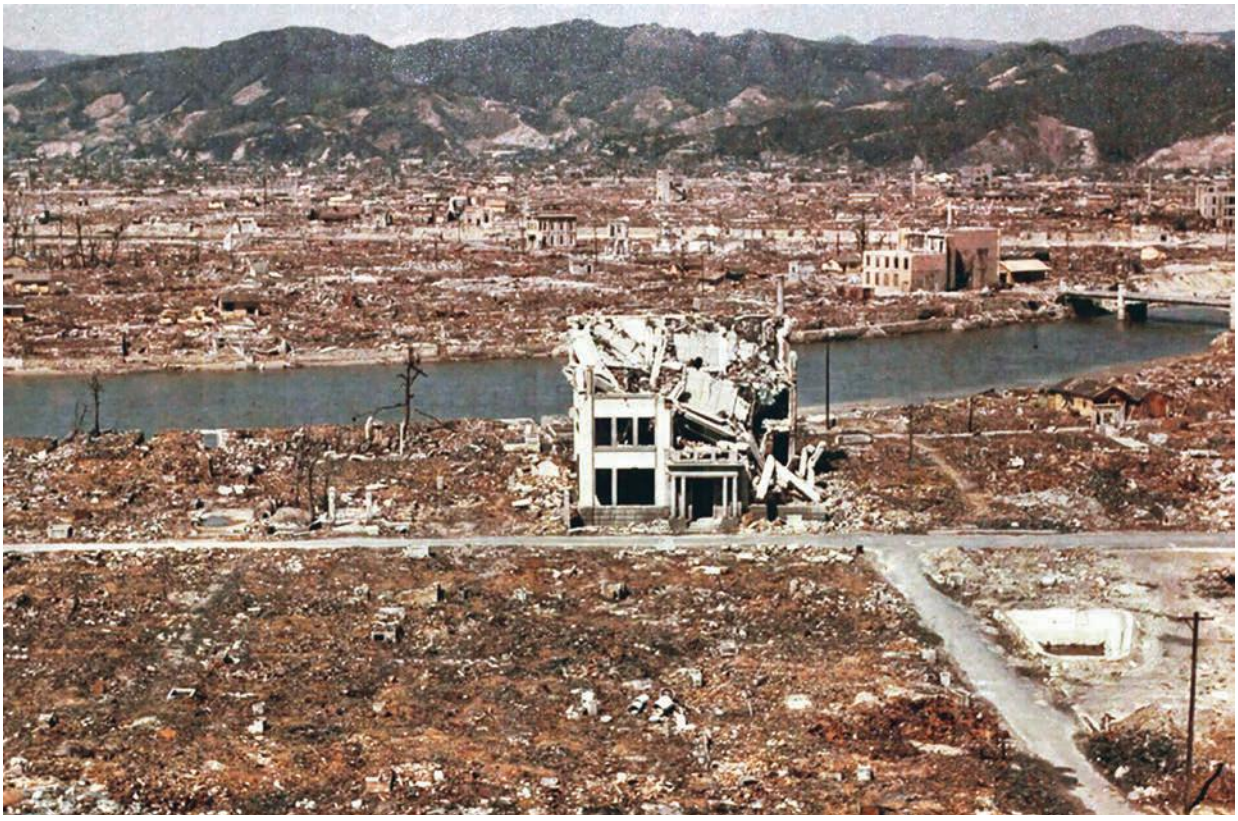
films such as *The Day After*, and *Threads* in the UK, generated controversy and heated debate, and for some it motivated them into action. By the time these films were aired in 1983 and 1984, the largest mass protest movement in history was well under way. This movement changed the political landscape to such an extent that political leaders around the world were placed under great pressure to respond. So when President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev first met in Geneva in November 1985 there were high hopes that these two would end the threat of nuclear war. One of these two men had viewed *The Day After* back in 1983 and had been affected by it. After further summits these two world leaders effectively decided to end the nuclear arms race. Thus the film *The Day After* had contributed to changing the conversation about nuclear weapons in the 1980s, and to the disarmament movement that pressured the political leadership to effectively end the nuclear arms race.

One other effect of *The Day After* and other nuclear-themed films in the 1980s was to bring an end to civil defence educational programs. Governments no longer found that they could produce credible educational material to prepare their populations for the unthinkable: a nuclear attack.

## 3.1 Nuclear attack

### *Nuclear quiz*

1 What you know about nuclear war?
2 Have you ever had a serious discussion with anyone about nuclear war? If you have never had a discussion about nuclear war, then why have you avoided it?
3 When did you first learn about nuclear weapons? What was your source of information about the topic?
4 Do you have an idea of what nuclear war would be like? What books, articles, television shows, movies, people or social media sources have helped you form an idea of what nuclear war would be like?



**SOURCE 3.7** How World War II ended: the aftermath of the detonation of the atom bomb in August 1945, Hiroshima, Japan



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5 What do you know about the nuclear arms race in the Cold War?
6 What were the most dangerous times during the Cold War?
7 Approximately how many nuclear weapons are there in the world today?
8 Which nations possess these weapons?
9 How would you rate the threat of nuclear weapons today?
10 How likely do you think it is that nuclear weapons could be used today? In what circumstances?
11 If there was a nuclear war, do you think that you and your family could survive?
12 Do you think that there is anything that individuals can do about nuclear war today?

**hibakusha** literally 'bomb-affected people', survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945

**Human Impact Initiative** since 2010 governments, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement, various United Nations agencies and non-governmental organisations have worked together to reframe the debate on the catastrophic, persistent effects of nuclear weapons on our health, societies and the environment. This led to the creation of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) on 7 July 2017.

## The nuclear attack scene in *The Day After*

The nuclear attack scene from the 1983 film *The Day After* is a scenario of what a future nuclear war would be like. No one has ever filmed an actual nuclear attack on human beings before. The reason is that there have been only two nuclear attacks on human beings in history. In August 1945 the US dropped atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, utterly destroying them and killing up to 150 000 people in Hiroshima and 80 000 in Nagasaki. World War II ended a month later. There was no one filming these nuclear attacks. However, we do have the accounts of survivors of the bombing. It is from the accounts of these survivors that a picture of what it must have been like for the victims of the atomic blasts can be constructed.

Since 1945 there have been many accounts of the effects of the atomic bombings in Japan based on the testimonies of survivors. American journalist John Hersey was the first person to put together survivors' accounts in a book. John Hersey's *Hiroshima* was first published in *The New Yorker* magazine in August 1946, one year after the Hiroshima bombing. Hersey documented the effect of the atomic bombing as seen through the eyes of a number of witnesses. There have been many other accounts and re-creations of the bombings since then. Also, the survivors, who have come to be known as the **hibakusha**, have been telling their stories to visitors at the bombing sites and some have been actively involved in nuclear disarmament campaigns. Though many have now died of old age, Setsuko Thurlow is one example of a surviving hibakusha who continues to campaign and has been most prominent in the recent **Humanitarian Impact Initiative**.



**SOURCE 3.8** Nagasaki, Japan, August 1945. Dr Takashi Nagai of Nagasaki Hospital is seen inspecting damage caused by the atomic bomb in the Matsuyama District. The ruins of the Nagasaki Medical College, where he had worked as a radiologist since 1928, are behind the trees in the centre right. Dr Nagai would die of radiation poisoning a few days after this photo was taken.



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**SOURCE 3.9** Setsuko Thurlow is a survivor of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. Survivors of the atomic bombing of Japan are known as hibakusha. Here she is participating in March 2016 in the United Nations negotiations to ban nuclear weapons. In her speech she said: 'Those of us who survived became convinced that no human being should ever have to experience the inhumane and unspeakable suffering of nuclear weapons.'

There is another source of personal testimony about the effect of a nuclear bomb. This is from countless individuals who have been affected by the 2055 nuclear tests that have been conducted by eight of the nine nuclear-armed nations since 1945. Many of these people were local inhabitants in the vicinity of the tests, such as Aboriginal peoples in Australia, the people of the Marshall Islands, and the people of Kazakhstan. Also affected were many military servicemen involved in conducting, facilitating and monitoring the nuclear tests. From these people additional information has been collected about the effects of radiation on humans. This sums up all the evidence we have in terms of direct human experience of a nuclear explosion. All this evidence was known at the time of the making of *The Day After*.

In addition to human eyewitness accounts there is a massive amount of scientific evidence about the impact of nuclear weapons on human beings and on the environment. At the time of the making of *The Day After* this scientific information was widely known in the scientific community and to a lesser extent

## NOTE THIS DOWN

### Note-taking

List each of the scenes in the four-minute nuclear attack scene from the film *The Day After* from the 57:00 minute point. There should be about 30 scenes to list. The first few and the last few are done for you. Then in the right column write down any thoughts or questions you have about what you have seen.

| Scene | Coments/questions |
|---|---|
| • cars crashing<br>• panic in city street<br>• masses of people running<br>• explosive blast high in the sky over a city<br>*Fill in with at least 20 scenes that you observe in between these*<br>• everything quiet and it is snowing<br>• destroyed car and blackened corpse | |

## ANALYSING SOURCES 3.1



**SOURCE 3.10** A still from the nuclear attack scene in *The Day After*

### Task

1 Find the full version of the film *The Day After* on YouTube. Search for 'The Day After 1983'.

2 Watch a four-minute segment of the film from the 57:00 minute point until 1:01:38. Stop watching after the scene where it is snowing.

3 Watch this segment a second time and make notes on what you see. (See Note This Down for guidance.)



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by the general public. In fact, it was Jonathan Schell's book *The Fate of the Earth*, published in 1982, that updated the public with the latest scientific information. In the first chapter of this book, across 96 pages or 40 per cent of it, Schell documented all the possible effects of a nuclear war. However, he issued a note of caution, pointing out that there were so many variables that it was impossible to say exactly how a global nuclear war would play out, though one thing was certain: the end result would be the extinction of human beings as a species.

## What would a nuclear war mean for people?

> Part of the horror of thinking about a holocaust lies in the fact that it leads us to supplant the human world with a statistical world; we seek a human truth and come up with a handful of figures. The only source that gives us a glimpse of that human truth is the testimony of the survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings.

**SOURCE 3.11** Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth*, p. 36

One of the problems of understanding the effects of nuclear war is that it is beyond our comprehension. In describing the impact, we are reduced to describing the event in statistics or in looking at film footage of nuclear explosions. One way around this is to listen to the accounts of survivors of a nuclear weapon attack. The only survivors we have are the hibakusha from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and these are dwindling in numbers as this event occurred over 80 years ago. There is an added problem: the vast majority of nuclear weapons today are much more destructive than what some experts have referred to as the 'baby nukes' that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The other big difference between 1983 and 1945 is that, if nuclear weapons had been used in a war in 1983, thousands would have been used, destroying the entire US. The same destruction would have been levelled on the Soviet Union as well, and such a massive number of detonations would have made their impact on the entire planet, possibly annihilating the human race.

So how do we comprehend such an event? One way is through fiction, by constructing a future scenario in which this event occurs. To help people understand the real human consequences of such an event fictional characters, based on people from different walks of life, can be used. This is indeed what the creators of the film *The Day After* did. However, the film-makers' future scenario was based in a real city, Lawrence, in the state of Kansas.

## The fictional characters in *The Day After*

### NOTE THIS DOWN

#### Note-taking

Instead of making a documentary about nuclear war the creators of the *The Day After* have created a work of fiction into which they have inserted characters from a number of different walks of life. In doing this they hope that we will be able to identify with one of more of these characters. By empathising with these characters we will get a much greater appreciation of the human dimension of nuclear war.

| Character | Description | How they coped after the attack and their eventual fate |
|---|---|---|
| Dr Russell Oakes | | |
| Helen Oakes | Wife of Russell | |
| Billy McCoy | | |
| Hendry family | Lived on a farm next to a missile silo | |



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| Character | Description | How they coped after the attack and their eventual fate |
|---|---|---|
| Jim Dahlberg | | |
| Eve Dahlberg | | |
| Denise Dahlberg | | |
| Bruce Gallatin | Boyfriend/fiance of Denise | |
| Joleen Dahlberg | | |
| Danny Dahlberg | Youngest son of Jim and Eve | Permanently blinded by the flash of the nuclear blast |
| Sam Hacniya | Resident physician at the hospital | |
| Stephen Klein | | |
| Nurse Nancy Bauer | | |
| Alison Ransom | Pregnant woman | |
| Joe Huxley | Played by John Lithgow | |

Watch the first part of *The Day After* up to and including the nuclear attack (which you will now see for the third time) and up to the point where it is snowing (at 1:01:38).

Draw up a table like the one above. Make some brief notes on the characters in the second column. Leave the third column for now. Some of this has been done for you.

## Putting fictional characters though the hell of a nuclear attack

> We knew the score. We knew all about bombs. We knew all about fallout. We knew this could happen for 40 years. Nobody was interested.

**SOURCE 3.12** Alison to Dr Oakes in *The Day After*



*The Day After* builds up a picture of each of its characters in the first hour of the film, then follows them as they are confronted by the nuclear attack, which is the climax of the film, and then proceeds to follow the characters as they try to survive in the ruins of their community. The film-makers drew on the evidence of the hibakusha as well as the text of the book, *The Fate of the Earth*, in order to show as realistically as possible the many perils and problems faced by those who survive the initial blast. In the 97 pages of the first chapter of *The Fate of the Earth*, titled 'A Republic of Insects and Grass', Jonathan Schell paints a detailed picture of what it could be like for the survivors of a nuclear blast. However, Schell cautions his readers that there is a high degree of uncertainty about what a nuclear holocaust may be like. This is why he says that 'some analysts of nuclear destruction have resorted to fiction, assigning to the imagination the work that investigation is unable to do.' Inspired by reading *The Fate of the Earth*, this is in fact what the creators of *The Day After* have attempted to do.

**SOURCE 3.13** Steve Guttenberg as Stephen Klein in a scene from *The Day After*.



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Jonathan Schell also reminds us that, in creating a fictional account of a **nuclear holocaust**, there is always going to be some falsification:

**nuclear holocaust** a large-scale nuclear war involving massive destruction of human life and the environment

> The other obstacle to our understanding is that when we strain to picture what the scene would be like after a holocaust we tend to forget that for most people, and perhaps for all, it wouldn't be *like* anything, because they would be dead. To depict the scene as it would appear to the living is to that extent a falsification, and the greater the number killed, the greater the falsification. The right vantage point from which to view a holocaust is that of a corpse, but from that vantage point, of course, there is nothing to report.

**SOURCE 3.14** Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth*, p. 26

## ANALYSING SOURCES 3.2

Watch the second hour of *The Day After* from the attack scene through to the end (58:00–2:06).

Fill in the rest of table created previously in Note this Down.

### Questions

1. With which character did you most identify in the first half of the movie? Why?
2. With whom did you identify in the second half of the film? Why?
3. At the empty missile silo Billy says, 'The war is over.' What does he mean? Do you agree with him? What would you do in this situation?
4. What are the EMP (Electro Magnetic Pulse) effects shown in the film?
5. Were the Dahlbergs well prepared with their shelter? What issues were they confronted with?
6. How did the medical staff and the other workers adapt to the new situation?
7. What symptoms of radiation sickness were portrayed?
8. What does the President say in his statement? What does the President not say? What is your opinion of the President's statement?
9. The President does not reveal who started the war. Would this matter?
10. Which groups give leadership in the film?
11. Which scenes show hostile and aggressive behaviour?
12. What problems are the survivors of Lawrence confronted with that no one in history has faced before?
13. What evidence is there in the film that there were civil defence plans at that time?
14. To what extent is there a danger of nuclear war today?
15. Does Australia have a civil defence plan to deal with a nuclear attack?

## ANALYSING SOURCES 3.3

*Threads* was screened in Britain in 1984. Find the review on YouTube comparing the two films. Use the following search term to access the clip:

'Threads' (1984) vs 'The Day After' (1983) – an in-depth analysis

### Questions:

1. What observations are made about both films?
2. How do the reviewers rate the effectiveness of each film?



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## 3.2 Cold War tensions

### The origins of the Cold War and the arms race

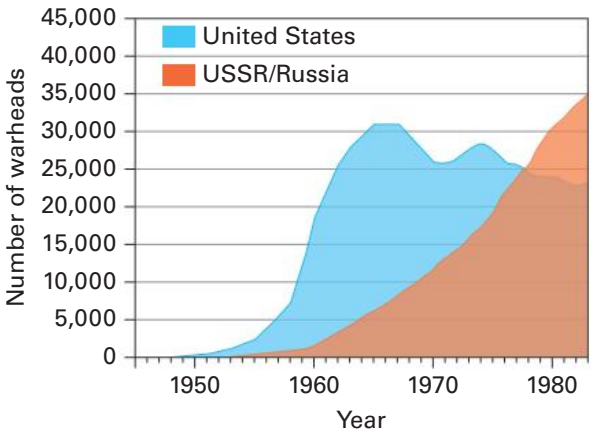


**SOURCE 3.15** Moscow, Soviet Union, November 1971: tanks and trucks carrying missiles on display during the annual November parade in Red Square

*The Day After* is set in the context of the **nuclear arms race** in the **Cold War** between the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, which is also known as the Soviet Union. The Cold War started around 1947 and is usually marked by a speech given by US President Harry Truman on 12 March 1947, in which he declared that the US would support any country resisting the threat of an armed communist takeover. This became known as the 'Truman Doctrine' and it amounted to a de facto declaration of a Cold War on the USSR, with the latter being viewed as the director of all communist activity in the world.

The US successfully exploded the first **atomic bomb** in the desert of the state of New Mexico in July 1945. On 6 and 9 August 1945 US bombers dropped atomic bombs on two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This was a factor that contributed to Japan's unconditional surrender to the US, and World War II was brought to an end. During World War II the USSR was an ally of the US. However, the US decided not to share the information on how to make the bomb with their Soviet allies, as they believed that after the war the USSR might become their rival. The US also did not share information about the atomic bomb with their other main ally, Great Britain, even though British scientists had helped them to develop it.

After the end of the war, President Truman's attitude hardened against his wartime ally, the Soviet Union. He feared the enormous **conventional forces** that the USSR now had in Europe and decided to keep reminding his former ally that the US was building up a stockpile of nuclear weapons. Truman hinted that he would be prepared to use them if the Soviets attempted an invasion of western Europe or anywhere else. Truman was sure that it would be many years before the Soviet Union could develop the technology to create its own nuclear weapons. On this point Truman was very wrong. In 1949, the USSR detonated its first atomic bomb. There were now two nuclear powers in the world. The nuclear arms race had begun. Both superpowers now raced to develop more nuclear bombs and to improve their delivery systems.




**SOURCE 3.16** Nuclear weapons stockpiled since 1945

**nuclear arms race** the competition between the US and the USSR to build and deploy more nuclear weapons and to constantly update and improve these weapons and their delivery platforms

**Cold War** the tensions that existed between the US and the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1991

**atomic bomb** a bomb that gets its destructive power from the sudden release of energy through nuclear fission causing heat, blast and radioactivity

**conventional forces** non-nuclear arms, weapons and military forces



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## 'Hiroshima was peanuts': rising Cold War tensions

The mushroom cloud in Source 3.17 was produced by the first explosion by the Americans of a **hydrogen bomb** at Eniwetok Atoll in the South Pacific. The yield of the weapon was 10.4 **megatonnes**, more than the total of all the high explosives detonated in the entire duration of World War II.

In a scene during the *The Day After* one of the characters, Dr Landowska, makes the following statement:



**SOURCE 3.17** A mushroom cloud from the first test of a hydrogen bomb, 1952

> There is a rumor that they are evacuating Moscow. There are people even leaving Kansas City because of the missile base. Now I ask you: to where does one go from Kansas City? The Yukon? Tahiti? We are not talking about Hiroshima any more. Hiroshima was ... was peanuts!

**SOURCE 3.18** Dr Landowska in *The Day After*

The movie *The Day After* is set in the early 1980s. The nuclear bombs that had been developed since 1952 were far bigger in size and destructive power than the two atomic bombs dropped on Japan in 1945. As destructive as they were, these bombs were tiny compared to the big strategic **nuclear warheads** in the 1980s that still exist today. In the film, when Dr Landowska says Hiroshima was 'peanuts' he means in comparison to the hydrogen bombs that filled the nuclear arsenals of the US and the USSR at that time. In using the impact of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to create a scenario for a nuclear attack, the makers of the *The Day After* were all too aware that the effects of a hydrogen bomb would be far more horrific. The rivalry of the Cold War drove the US and the USSR to build massive nuclear arsenals.

During the 1950s tensions rose as disputes between the two superpowers threatened to turn into a hot war. In 1948, the Berlin Blockade was set up by the Soviet Union to block access to Berlin by Great Britain, the US and France; then in 1949 the Communists came to power in China, adding a major country to the side of the Soviet Union. Tensions were heightened again when communist North Korea invaded South Korea and the Americans came to the aid of South Korea. When China joined in to help North Korea the US considered using nuclear weapons against China, but in the end decided against this.

**hydrogen bomb** a bomb created by the nuclear fusion process, which is far more powerful than that of the atomic bomb, which is created using nuclear fission. The explosive power for many hydrogen bombs is measured in megatonnes. It is also known as a thermo-nuclear bomb.

**megatonnne/megaton** the destructive force of a nuclear bomb equal to one million tonnes/tons of TNT

**nuclear warhead** the explosive part of a nuclear bomb that can be used in a number of delivery systems

At the same time, there were big advances being made in the nuclear arms race. In 1952, the US developed and tested a new weapon: the hydrogen bomb. This bomb used a different process (nuclear fusion rather than nuclear fission) and was far more powerful than the original atomic bombs. The Soviet Union followed with its own hydrogen bomb in 1953. From now on these improved weapons were referred to as nuclear weapons. Both superpowers deployed their nuclear bombs on bomber planes and had them ready to take off with their weapons at a moment's notice and fly into enemy territory.



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In 1959, both superpowers developed the ability to place nuclear warheads on rockets, which could be fired at an enemy across continents and oceans and anywhere on the globe within a short period of time. These missiles became known as intercontinental ballistic missiles or simply **ICBMs**. This new system of delivery made the Cold War even more dangerous because some missiles could reach enemy territory within 30 minutes, depending on the location that they were fired from. This drastically reduced the warning time that the leaders of the superpowers had to respond.

From 1954, the term 'massive retaliation' was adopted by the Americans as their policy for responding to a Soviet attack, even a conventional one. Both superpowers developed elaborate plans to fight a nuclear war using the different arms of their nuclear defence. Nuclear weapons could now be delivered by bomber aircraft, from submarines (in the form of **SLBMs**) and from land, either from missile silos or mobile missile-carrying lorries. Both sides also had smaller **tactical nuclear weapons** designed to be used on the battlefield. **Strategic nuclear weapons**, which had the largest destructive power, measured in megatonnes, were reserved for enemy cities and military and industrial centres. The capability of ICBMs grew so that they had the capacity to destroy targets up to 8000 kilometres away. In 1961, the USSR detonated its biggest bomb ever, which measured as 58 megatonnes – more than all the explosives used in World War II. To prepare for the possibility of a nuclear war, governments on both sides developed civil defences plans to protect their civilian populations.

**ICBM** an intercontinental ballistic missile, which can travel over continents and oceans in a very short time

**SLBM** a submarine-launched ballistic missile, which can be fired from a submarine while still submerged

**tactical nuclear weapon** a small nuclear weapon designed for battlefield use

**strategic nuclear weapon** a larger nuclear weapon designed for the destruction of cities

## Civil defence

From the 1950s elaborate civil defence programs were created to deal with the possibility of a nuclear attack. These plans involved building fallout shelters and setting up educational programs for the public and



**SOURCE 3.19** A pair of US Air Force captains standing beside a Minuteman nuclear missile in its silo in 1964

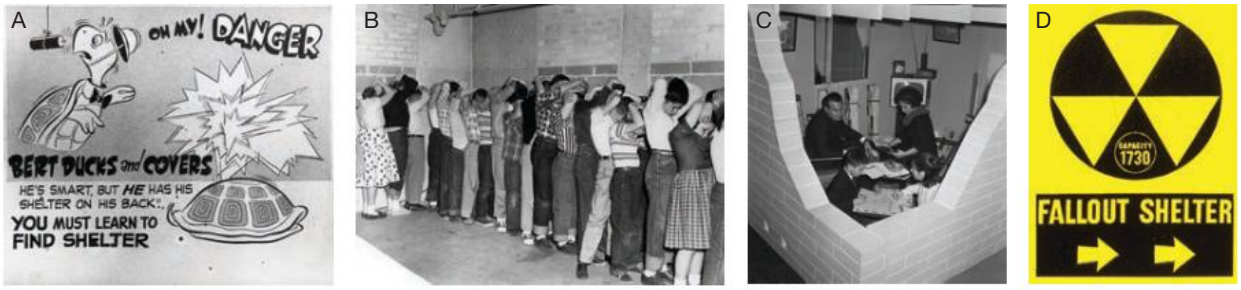


**SOURCE 3.20** A submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) can be fired from a submarine while still hidden under the water.



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for school students on how to survive a nuclear attack. At first, educational programs and civil defence measures were taken very seriously, but eventually a great deal of scepticism developed concerning the effectiveness of these measures in a real nuclear war. The 'Duck and Cover' cartoon and song that had played a central role in the educational program in the 1950s was now held up to ridicule in the 1980s. By the time of the screening of *The Day After*, there had been more evidence presented to the public about the futility of civil defence measures in the form of books, films, speeches and nuclear disarmament group publications. The documentary *The Atomic Café*, released in 1982, was simply a collection of 1950s film clips by the US government about the nuclear bomb, its effects and civil defence measures. There was no commentary, just the original footage, arranged in a way that highlighted the absurdity of a civil defence program that seemed to be more about reassuring the public than actually protecting them. To audiences of the early 1980s, the civil defence program looked increasingly absurd. Nevertheless, civil defence preparations for a nuclear war had changed little. The main difference was that people were no longer as naive as they had been in the fifties.



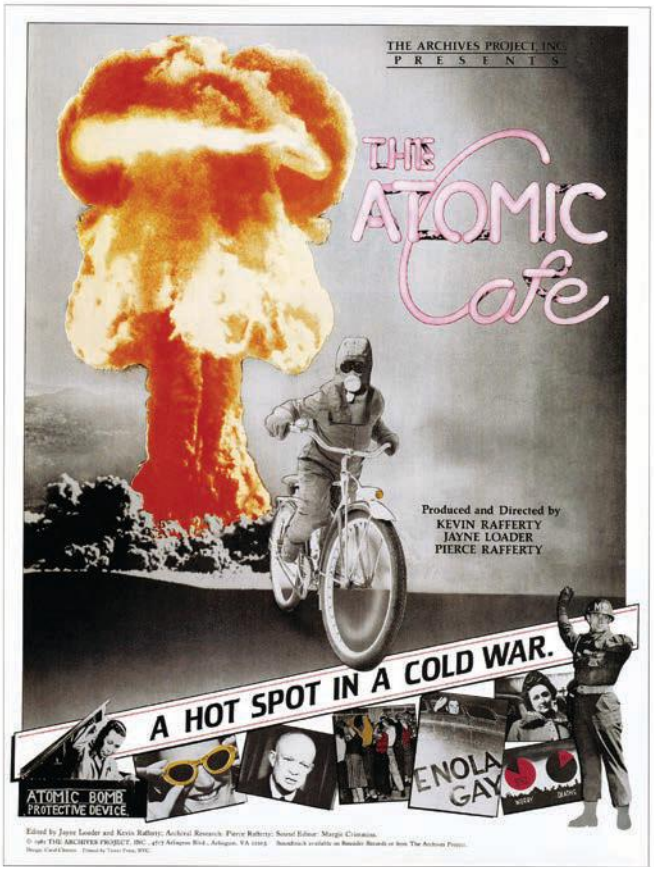

**SOURCE 3.21** Source A (left): 'Duck and Cover' defence poster. This is a comic treatment of *Duck and Cover*, a 1950 movie that depicted the danger from a Soviet nuclear attack. Source B (centre): atomic bomb drill. Students in the 1960s 'duck and cover' their heads in the hallway of their school during an atomic bomb drill. Source C (right): 1960, a family sitting in a model fallout shelter. The family settles into a deluxe fallout shelter on display at Civil Defense headquarters in New York City. The shelter is designed as a family room during peace time and a protective shelter against fallout during a war. Source D (far right): 1952, a fallout shelter sign.

## RESEARCH TASK 3.4

1. Refer to Sources A and B. Find a film clip of a 'Duck and Cover' cartoon. Comment on its effectiveness for:
   - **a)** increasing children's awareness about the dangers of nuclear war
   - **b)** increasing the likelihood of survival in a nuclear attack.
2. Research the effects of nuclear radiation and nuclear fallout.
   - **a)** What are the effects of nuclear radiation?
   - **b)** What measures need to be taken to protect oneself from radiation?
   - **c)** How were the effects of nuclear radiation on people portrayed in *The Day After*?
3. Referring to Source C, research what would be needed to make a fallout shelter effective in a nuclear attack. Comment on the effectiveness of the Dahlbergs' family fallout shelter in *The Day After*.
4. What structures were used as makeshift nuclear fallout shelters in *The Day After*?
5. Referring to Source D, have you seen signs like this anywhere? If you have, what sort of structure was the shelter? Comment on the level of protection that this structure might give.
6. Research whether Australia:
   - **a)** had a civil defence program similar to that of the US
   - **b)** has an active civil defence program for nuclear war today.



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**SOURCE 3.22** This documentary was released in March 1982. It simply pieced together archival footage related to the nuclear bomb with a particular focus on America's civil defence plans.



**SOURCE 3.23** President Kennedy proclaiming in a televised speech on 22 October 1962 that Cuba had become an offensive Soviet base, capable of mass destruction. Kennedy prescribed a seven-step program regarding Cuba, including a quarantine.

## From the Cuban Missile Crisis to détente

The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 was the closest the world had come to nuclear war since the beginning of the Cold War. In a televised address to the nation, President Kennedy threatened a 'full retaliatory response' if the Soviet Union did not remove its nuclear missiles that it had secretly installed on the island nation of Cuba, which is just 500 kilometres from the US coast. A 'full retaliatory response' was code for a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. For thirteen days in October 1962 there was a tense stand-off between the US and the Soviet Union as President Kennedy enforced a naval blockade to prevent any more missiles being shipped to Cuba. Many people living at the time remember how close they seemed to have come to a nuclear war and how relieved they were that it was resolved peacefully with the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, who effectively backed down and had the nuclear weapons removed from Cuba. In *The Day After* there is a scene in which Dr Oakes and his wife Helen reflect on their experience back in those tense days in October 1962 during this crisis.

After the Cuban Crisis relations between Kennedy and Khrushchev improved, which resulted in a telephone hotline being installed for direct communication between the Kremlin and the White House as well as the negotiation of the Partial Test Ban Treaty in 1963 that banned all testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. However, the assassination of Kennedy in November 1963 ended this cooperation.

Lyndon Johnson, who took over from Kennedy, was determined to fight communism in Vietnam and as a result escalated US military intervention in that country, which led to a war that raged from 1964 to 1975. During the sixties both superpowers continued expanding their nuclear arsenals in both the quantity and the type of weapons and delivery systems.



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They also developed highly complex plans to wage nuclear war. From 1961 on, the US had the Single Integrated Operations Plan or **SIOP**. This plan gave the President a range of targeting options and it integrated the **nuclear triad** of land-based ICBMs, submarine SLBMs and bombers. The problem was that, in a crisis that involved responding to an attack or imminent attack from the other side, the leaders of both the US and the USSR would have barely ten minutes to make the decision about whether to attack and what to target. All new presidents were put through a simulation involving use of the SIOP so that they were familiar with the process in case they were suddenly placed in the position of deciding whether or not to launch possibly thousands of nuclear weapons.

One positive development in the late 1960s was the development of a legal treaty aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. This was known as the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)**, which was created in 1968 and came into force in 1970. This treaty was in its essentials a bargain between the five countries that had nuclear weapons by then (the US, USSR, Great Britain, France and China), known as the Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) and the rest of the countries of the world that did not have them. The NWS promised to eventually get rid of their nuclear weapons and in return the rest of the countries undertook not to obtain nuclear weapons. This was an encouraging outcome, as it stopped many countries from developing their own nuclear weapons, including Australia. If it weren't for the NPT there could have been up to 40 countries possessing nuclear weapons today. However, the downside was that the NWS have failed to live up to Article VI of the NPT, which states that they should progressively reduce the number of their nuclear weapons.

**SIOP** an abbreviation for Single Integrated Operations Plan, which was a plan giving the President a range of targeting options for launching a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union, or any enemy

**nuclear triad** refers to the nuclear weapons delivery of a strategic nuclear arsenal that consists of three components: land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), strategic bombers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)

**Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** a treaty drawn up in 1968 that came into force in 1970 and aimed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons to countries other than the five that already had them



**SOURCE 3.24** The nuclear triad is a strategic nuclear arsenal that consists of three components: land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) and strategic bombers.



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**SOURCE 3.25** Red Army tanks move into Afghanistan in the Soviet invasion of 1979.

The easing of tensions between the superpowers from the late sixties was known as détente, which literally means 'loosening' or 'relaxing' in French. In this period there was a gradual increase in trade and cooperation. The superpowers signed treaties in which they promised to limit their nuclear weapons. These were called 'Strategic Arms Limitation Talks' and became known as SALT I and SALT II. However, this period of détente dramatically came to an end with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. The US response to the Soviet invasion was swift. President Carter requested the Senate to postpone action on the SALT II Treaty, recalled the US ambassador from the Soviet Union, enacted economic sanctions and called for a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics. This marked the end of détente. At the end of 1980, Ronald Reagan was elected President of the US and took office in January 1981. Reagan promised and delivered a much more aggressive anti-communist foreign policy.

## Hyping up the Cold War

Ronald Reagan was the most right-wing and hawkish president in American history up to that time. During his election campaign in 1980 Reagan made a number of alarming remarks, such as:

- quoting from the Bible to link nuclear weapons to Armageddon
- saying he would build and deploy a range of new nuclear weapons and delivery systems that included the B-1 Bomber, the Trident submarine and the MX missile



**SOURCE 3.26** On becoming US President in January 1981, Ronald Reagan embarked on a combative foreign policy and was confrontational in his dealings with the Soviet Union, which he called the 'evil empire'.



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**SOURCE 3.27** (Left) two Pershing missiles being launched, February 1966. (Centre) a pacifist protester is arrested by policemen during a demonstration against the installation of American Pershing missiles in Ramstein, Germany. (Right) a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament protest organised in the streets of London.

- denouncing the Soviet leaders as 'monsters' and 'godless communists'.

After his inauguration as President, Reagan pursued controversial policies such as:

- dramatically increasing US military spending
- advocating a missile defence system, known to the public as 'Star Wars', which the Soviet Union thought would enable a first strike by the US in a nuclear war
- beginning the deployment of Pershing II missiles in Europe
- allowing people in his administration to talk about winning a nuclear war.

At a time when there were more than 50 000 nuclear warheads in the world, Reagan's policies alarmed and frightened many people everywhere. It was President Reagan and his policies that really fired up the nuclear disarmament movement as nothing had fired it before. In Europe, the US and many other countries around the world, the nuclear disarmament movement experienced a massive boost. In Europe a new movement emerged called 'Europeans for Nuclear Disarmament,' or simply END. Its counterpart in the US was the 'Nuclear Freeze'.

## Nuclear Freeze

'Nuclear Freeze' was a movement that suddenly appeared at the end of 1981. It was centred on a simple proposition, put forward by Randall Fosberg, that the US and Soviet Union should freeze production and deployment of any new nuclear weapons and reverse the arms race. Nuclear Freeze was initially linked to local initiatives in a decentralised way, but by the end of 1982 it had turned into a national campaign with 20 000 activists in 40 states. All American peace and disarmament movements eventually focused their efforts on the Freeze. Simultaneously, there were massive antinuclear movements hitting the headlines in Europe and many other countries around the world, including Australia.




**SOURCE 3.28** A nuclear disarmament rally. Demonstrators march hand in hand towards Central Park under a large banner reading 'FREEZE THE ARMS RACE' during a massive rally, in which about a million people gathered to demand a nuclear arms freeze in New York City, New York state, 12 June 1982.



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On 12 June 1982, one million people turned out for a march in New York in what was the largest political rally ever held in American history, under the banner 'Freeze the Arms race – Fund Human Need'. Senator Ted Kennedy was one of the politicians who led the Freeze campaign in the Congress, sponsoring Freeze motions. The Freeze delivered petitions of 2.3 million people to the US and Soviet mission at the United Nations. By November 1983 the Freeze was endorsed by 370 city councils and 71 county councils. Over 60 per cent of voters supported the Freeze, and in opinion polls over 1983 the Freeze achieved an average of 72 per cent in support and 20 per cent in opposition.

One reason for the massive support for the Nuclear Freeze movement were the aggressive policies and rhetoric of the new Republican President, Ronald Reagan. The Nuclear Freeze soon became a target for Reagan, who struck out at the Nuclear Freeze movement saying that it was 'a very dangerous fraud' that was weakening America. He accused the Freeze leaders of being communist sympathisers and said that some were 'foreign agents'. It was in this context that the film *The Day After* was made. It too was attacked by the Reagan administration.



**SOURCE 3.29** (Left) women in a sit-down protest at the Greenham Common Women's protest against the American cruise missile base in the UK. (Right) 25 March 1982: 100 000 people marched in the Palm Sunday antinuclear marches in Australia.

## 3.3 The making of *The Day After*

> When one tries to face the nuclear predicament, one feels sick, whereas when one pushes it out of mind, as apparently one must do most of the time in order to carry on with life, one feels well again. But this feeling of well-being is based on a denial of the most important reality of our time, and therefore is itself a kind of sickness. A society that systematically shuts its eyes to an urgent peril to its physical survival and fails to take any steps to save itself cannot be called psychologically well. In effect, whether we think about nuclear weapons or avoid thinking about them, their presence among us makes us sick, and there seems to be little of a purely mental and emotional nature that we can do about it.

**SOURCE 3.30** Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth*, 1982, p. 8

### The idea

The original idea for the film came from Brandon Stoddard, who was the president of the **ABC**'s (American Broadcasting Company's) motion picture division. Stoddard was very impressed after watching the 1979 film *The China Syndrome*, which was about a meltdown at a nuclear power plant, and decided that he wanted to create a film about the effects of a nuclear war on the US. Stoddard wanted to make an apolitical film that would appeal to ordinary Americans. He chose the title *The Day After* because he wanted it to be about the aftermath of a nuclear attack. In an ABC interview, Stoddard said that the film would

**ABC** the American Broadcasting Company, which is one of the oldest and largest television networks in the US



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provide an 'unrelenting and detailed view of three nuclear explosions in and around Kansas City, and what the effects might be for average American citizens, far removed from political origins or explanations'. Stoddard declared that it was 'not a story of war rooms, hot lines and cabinet meetings, but a drama about ordinary people immediately before, during and after a massive nuclear attack.' He went on to say: 'it is hoped that *The Day After* will inspire the nations of this earth, their people and their leaders, to find means to avert the fateful day.'

In 1981, Stoddard hired Edward Hume to write the screenplay. Before commencing writing, Hume did a lot of in-depth research into the topic of nuclear war including interviewing government officials, consulting with scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and reading books on the subject of nuclear war. He also made use of **FEMA** (Federal Emergency Management Agency) pamphlets on how to survive a nuclear war. Nothing that Hume read gave any support to the idea that a nuclear war could be survivable, as had been suggested by some in the Reagan administration.



**SOURCE 3.31** The film was set and filmed in Lawrence, Kansas. The film-makers repainted signs in the street, broke shop-front windows and put smashed cars and other wreckage all over the main street.

Hume wanted the film set in the geographic centre of the US, so he chose the Midwest state of Kansas. Originally the film was set in the area around Kansas City, but then Hume decided to locate the film in the satellite city of Lawrence, though it was called 'Hampton' in the script. The city of Lawrence offered better sites for filming such as the hospital, the football stadium and the surrounding farms on flat countryside. Also, in a real nuclear war Lawrence would be a prime target due to the 150 Minuteman missile silos on the outskirts of the city. Later, the people of Lawrence urged that the city's real name be used for the film, not a fictional one. During the filming thousands of people from Lawrence volunteered to be extras and many of the speaking roles were played by Lawrence residents.

**FEMA** the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which was created in 1978 to coordinate disaster relief. It oversaw civil defence plans in the event of a nuclear attack, and also provided educational materials.

## SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

### Jonathan Schell (1943–2014)

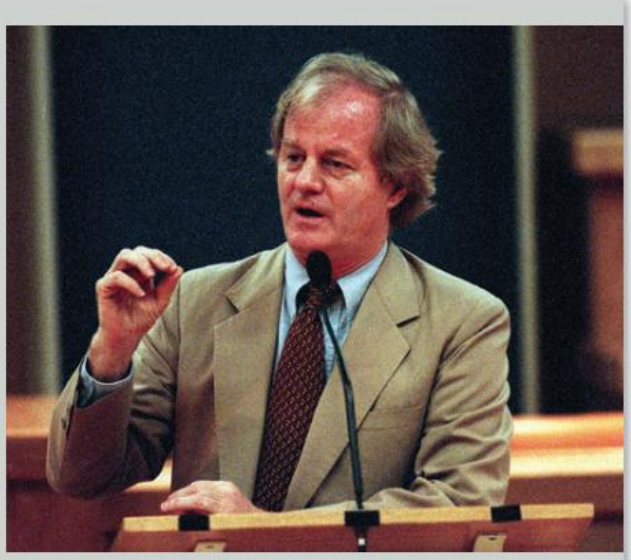
Jonathan Schell came to public notice in 1967 with his first book, *The Village of Ben Suc,* which was about the destruction of a Vietnamese village by the American military during the Vietnam War. Then in 1982 he achieved international fame with the publication of *The Fate of the Earth*, a study on the extreme dangers of the nuclear arms race, after the book remained on *The New York Times* top-selling book list for many months. *The Fate of the Earth* helped rally ordinary people around to the nuclear disarmament



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movement. This book was an inspiration for the movement and many felt that its bleak picture of the aftermath of a nuclear war was brought to life in the television movie *The Day After*.

For the rest of his life, Schell devoted himself to alerting the public to the threat of extinction by nuclear war through his journalism, teaching at university and writing books. *The Seventh Decade*, written in 2007, was Schell's last book. In this book he warned that 'the awful facts of nuclear life have repeatedly been taught and learned, only to be forgotten again, in a pattern of boom and bust' and that we are drifting into 'nuclear anarchy'. According to Schell, only total abolition of nuclear weapons will secure the world's future and solving all other planetary crises depends on it: 'The abolition of nuclear arms should be seen as an indispensable foundation for dealing with this larger planetary crisis [of climate change].' This book was praised by nuclear establishment experts George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger and Sam Nunn in a 2007 *Wall Street Journal* article titled 'A World Free of Nuclear Weapons'. Jonathan Schell passed away on 26 March 2014.



**SOURCE 3.32** Author Jonathan Schell, a leader in the fight against nuclear weapons ever since writing the nuclear war classic *The Fate of the Earth* in 1982, speaking here at All Saints Church in Pasadena in May 1998

## Production and filming

> I cannot live with myself if I don't make this movie.

**SOURCE 3.33** Nicholas Meyer, *Production Diary*, 19 November 1983

Nicholas Meyer, who had directed the Star Trek movie *The Wrath of Khan*, was chosen to direct the film. After spending several months doing his own research about nuclear weapons, Meyer became quite depressed but also more determined to make the film. From the start, Meyer did not want this to be just another feature film or disaster movie with famous stars. He simply wanted to present the facts about nuclear war. Though Meyer insisted that there be no famous TV stars in the movie, ABC management insisted that there must be at least one. So Meyer enlisted Jason Robards, who liked the social conscience of the film, to play one of the main characters, Dr Oakes. Meyer was also concerned that there might be government and/or network attempts to censor the film.

Filming began on 16 August 1982. They filmed for six weeks during August and September 1982. They used up to 500 extras each day, all residents of Lawrence and many of



**SOURCE 3.34** Jason Robards and Georgann Johnson starred as Dr Russell Oakes and his wife Helen.



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them university students. In all, a total of 2500 Kansas University students worked as extras. The extras were made up with latex scar tissue and burn marks, had artificial mud thrown all over them and were told not to bathe over the days of the screening. Meyer knew that they couldn't go too far in terms of authenticity without alienating his viewers. He had seen the horrific images of the victims of Hiroshima, such as photographs of people with their eyeballs melted in their heads, but he knew he could not show these. He wanted to 'create reality, but not horror'. 'My purpose was not to make viewers sick.' However, it was decided to put a disclaimer at the end of the film that indicated that the film was very much a toned-down portrayal of what a nuclear war would be like: 'The catastrophic events you have just witnessed are, in all likelihood, less severe than the destruction that would actually occur in the event of a full nuclear strike against the United States.'



**SOURCE 3.35** Residents of Lawrence volunteered as extras in the film. They were made up with injuries, scars and burns, and told not to have a bath for days.



**SOURCE 3.36** The mass exodus scene in *The Day After*

The entire city of Lawrence was mobilised for the filming. They took over an IGA supermarket for the panic-buying scene, and shut down a five-kilometre stretch of a freeway jammed with a massive line of cars for the mass exodus scene. A partly demolished hospital was used for scenes of destruction. Key public buildings, such as the football stadium and the basketball area, were taken over for various scenes. However, the military would not allow the use of any military footage of US nuclear explosions, so these had to be done with special effects. They achieved this by injecting coloured ink into a tank of water and filming it at high speed with an upside-down camera. Also, file footage of fire and disasters from varied sources was used, interspersed with new film on location. The last scene of the film, in which Jason Robards is looking out over devastated Kansas City, is a doctored photograph of Hiroshima in 1945 just after the bombing. The filming was finished by May 1983, but due to arguments about editing it was not screened until November.

## Editing fights

Originally the film was going to be a four-hour two-part movie. However, it was decided to cut it down to two hours. The cutting process left a lot of the personal stories in the second half of the film unresolved. However, as the public controversy surrounding the film became heated, ABC management grew increasingly



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nervous about what still remained in the film, so they made some big cuts. Meyer fought back and demanded that 40 of these cuts to the film be restored. In the end, management agreed to restore 38 cuts. One scene left out was of a child having a nightmare about nuclear war.

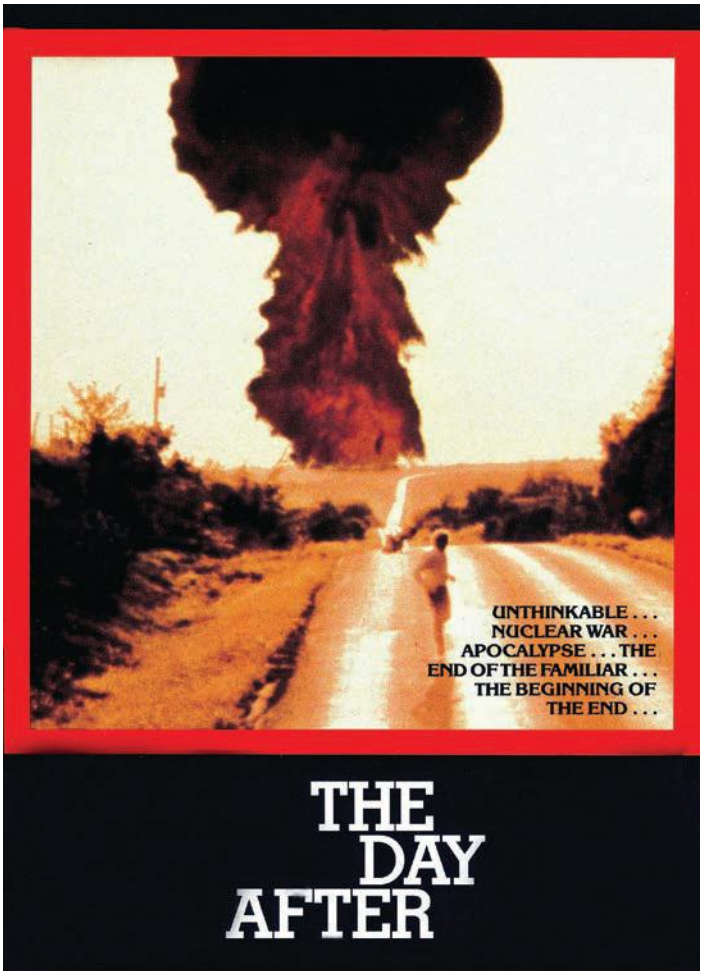
One thing that Meyer would not compromise on, and which was not shown, was who was to blame for starting the war – the US or the Soviets. He did this because in the end it didn't really matter, as the effect would be the same. Also, his reading made him aware that a nuclear war could be started by an accident or a computer glitch, or to pre-empt an expected enemy attack.

Whatever the finished product's shortcomings, the film was a powerful indictment of the Reagan government's civil defence policies, which were designed to give the impression that a nuclear attack was survivable. By showing such utter death and destruction, the film brought home the horrible reality of nuclear war. After nine months of post-production editing it was decided to screen the film on 20 November 1983. The controversy now moved from the studio to the nation.

## 3.4 Screening and controversy

### Controversy

The pre-screening of *The Day After* was unprecedented. For months there was spirited debate in the press; so much so that the film was being viewed as a national event. The ABC network had its own marketing plan, but this became redundant as press coverage of the film took on a life of its own and became a source of heated debate in the community. Day after day in the months and weeks before the screening there were newspaper articles discussing the film. Even celebrities like Paul Newman and Meryl Streep joined the antinuclear bandwagon and promoted the film. Former Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern said that 'there is no role for nuclear war. If the film can get that across, maybe it will contribute to world peace.'




**SOURCE 3.37** A publicity poster for *The Day After*, November 1983

Meanwhile, Nuclear Freeze activists hailed *The Day After* as shockingly realistic and adopted the film as part of their propaganda war against the Reagan administration. Peace activists circulated bootleg copies of the film in the two months leading up to the screening and in the weeks before the public screening they got nuclear disarmament literature out to households all over the country. All this was too much for people of right-wing persuasion, who attacked the film for being a 'two-hour commercial for disarmament' and many Reagan supporters were enraged and staged protests outside ABC offices.

Meanwhile, the White House and leading conservatives were upset by the message of the film. They were upset by the idea of moral equivalence between the freedom-loving US and the evil and totalitarian Soviet Union. Furthermore, they objected to the film's underlying message that the nuclear weapons themselves were inherently evil. Also, the film was an affront to the rhetoric of the



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Reagan administration in its first two years, which had officials saying that a nuclear war was 'winnable' and that America could 'bounce back' from a nuclear war.

The film also made the Reagan administration's civil defence plans for nuclear war seem laughable. Early in 1982, Reagan himself had proposed to spend $4 billion on a plan to evacuate major cities in the lead-up to a nuclear attack and to house refugees from bombed cities in above-ground shelters. Reagan's FEMA distributed leaflets to local government authorities declaring that 'with reasonable protective measures, the United States could survive nuclear attack and go on to recovery within a few years.' Going along with the government line, one conservative commentator, TK Jones, even claimed that everyone could make their own nuclear shelters by digging a hole in the backyard, taking the doors off the house and covering them with dirt. On top of all this was the Reagan administration's 'peace through strength' policy and its belligerent rhetoric towards the Soviet Union and the planned deployment of nuclear-tipped Pershing II missiles in Europe. To many people in government and conservative circles, *The Day After* seemed like an outright attack on the whole approach to nuclear policy being pursued by the White House.



**SOURCE 3.38** The Reverend Jerry Falwell (left) tried to organise a boycott of the ABC Network and its sponsors for showing the film *The Day After*. Falwell's lobby group, Moral Majority, was a strong supporter of President Reagan and his nuclear policies. Standing next to Falwell in this photo are Benjamin and Fleur Netanyahu from the Israeli Embassy.

Debate escalated. The Reagan administration was forced to comment. Administration spokesman Mr Gregen said that the film was a very 'powerful graphic, but it leaves unanswered the central question: How do we prevent this from happening?' Reverend Jerry Falwell, leader of the Christian right lobby group Moral Majority, demanded air time to offer their point of view in opposition to the film and threatened to boycott the 16 companies that dared to sponsor it. In a speech in Kansas City, Falwell accused the film of being a 'pre-emptive strike' in the debate over nuclear weapons. Phyllis Schlafly, representing a pro-family lobby group with 50 000 members, also demanded air time to give a contrasting view to what she called a 'two-hour political editorial'. As the controversy raged corporate sponsors dropped away, which no doubt pleased government supporters. The ABC was forced to cut its prices for a 30-second commercial to bargain rates. The advertisers got a great deal in the end when the film screened to 100 million people while the ABC just stood to break even after international sales.

In response to all the attacks, Meyer said in an interview to *Time* magazine:

> We never intended the film to be a political statement. The movie says simply that war is horrible. That is all it says. This is a very safe statement. *The Day After* does not advocate disarmament, build-down, build-up, or freeze. I don't want to alienate any viewers.

## The ABC's nervousness

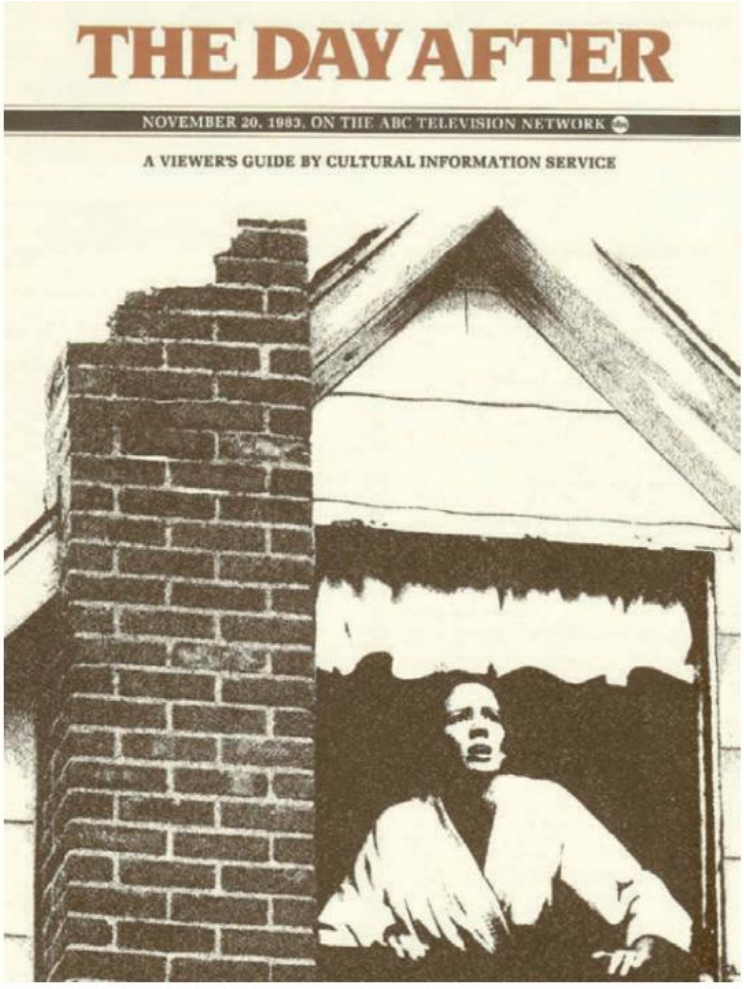
All the criticism gave the ABC management the jitters. To head off further attacks the ABC arranged advance screenings for political, religious and community leaders, and even President Reagan. Publicly Reagan said that he 'welcomed the nation-wide dialogue *The Day After* was anticipated to prompt'. Just



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before the movie screened it was seen by the **Joint Chiefs of Staff**, who sat stony-faced throughout the screening. The White House complained about the Reaganesque voice of the President in the scene near the end of the film in which the President makes an announcement to the nation. In response, the ABC changed the voice.

The ABC management did everything it could to help deal with the anticipated social impact of the upcoming public screening. Special 1800 number telephone hot lines, manned by hundreds of crisis specialists, were set up. A disclaimer was filmed as a prologue to the film in which John Cullum, an actor in *The Day After*, cautioned parents to use discretion in allowing their children to watch it. Also the network commissioned a post-screening national survey of 2000 adults and children to determine the impact of the film on children and families. Half a million copies of the Viewer's Guide were printed and distributed to high schools, libraries and community and religious groups across the US. The Viewer's Guide encouraged parents to watch the film with their children. Finally, a special edition of the ABC news program *Viewpoint* was broadcast immediately following the screening.




**SOURCE 3.39** The ABC produced a Viewer's Guide to be used by schools and community groups before and after the screening of *The Day After*.

**Joint Chiefs of Staff** the heads of the army, navy and air forces, who advise the President on national security matters

## ANALYSING SOURCES 3.5

### Disclaimer preceding the broadcast of *The Day After*

Find the film clip for the disclaimer that was screened for *The Day After* on YouTube using the following search term:

'11/20/1983 The Day After intro and disclaimer ABC'

### Questions

1. What do you think was the aim of this disclaimer?
2. How effective do you think this would have been?
3. Do you think this disclaimer was necessary, or was ABC management being overly sensitive to concerns about the film?
4. Can you think of any controversial films that need a disclaimer or warning to viewers?



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## Teachers' efforts

The upcoming screening of *The Day After* made its mark on schools. Many school districts issued warnings to parents, and in some cases letters were sent to parents advising them not to allow their children to watch the film. Many school principals were concerned that children might be left to watch the film at home alone. Meanwhile, teachers and educators responded in two ways to *The Day After*. Some were motivated by public warnings from educational experts and child psychologists that viewing the film might be harmful to children, particularly those under 12 years of age, while others welcomed this opportunity to educate their students about nuclear war. Many teachers used the Viewer's Guide to prepare students in advance for the screenings and then to debrief them back at school on Monday 21 November, the day after.

## 20 November 1983: the night of the screening

On 12 October 1983, five-and-a-half weeks before its screening, film-makers gave 2000 residents of Lawrence a sneak preview of the film. On 20 November, the night of the screening, nearly 40 million households were riveted to the film on 62 per cent of all televisions, equating to about 100 million viewers, which was a record audience for a made-for-television film. This was the most watched made-for-TV movie up to that time. Today, television events of a similar type would be lucky to achieve an audience of 20 million viewers. On that night in 1983, in most cases, it was families who gathered together to watch the film. Also, antinuclear groups held 'viewing parties' to help further mobilise the nuclear disarmament cause. This was truly a national event and it had provoked a worldwide political debate in a way that other similar, and maybe better, movies had failed to do. The film ended with the following statement:

> It is hoped that the images of this film will inspire the nations of this earth, their peoples and leaders, to find the means to avert the fateful day.

Immediately following the film, as promised, the ABC broadcast a special of the news program *Viewpoint*. This was hosted by well-known ABC newsman Ted Koppel and the guests were:

- US Secretary of State George Shultz, representing the Reagan administration
- Henry Kissinger, a former Secretary of State
- William F Buckley, a leading conservative commentator
- Robert McNamara, a former Defence Secretary under Kennedy and Johnson
- Carl Sagan, a scientist
- Elie Wiesel, an author.



**SOURCE 3.40** On the *Viewpoint* program that was aired directly after the screening of *The Day After*, astronomer Carl Sagan mentioned 'nuclear winter' as a recently discovered after-effect of a nuclear war. This was the first time that the general public had been made aware of this after-effect of nuclear war. None of the nuclear civil defence plans had taken this into account.

The panel was weighted towards the conservative side. In the program, George Shultz was in full damage control mode as he attempted to defend the nuclear policies of the Reagan government. Unconvincingly, Shultz stated: 'the only reason we have for keeping nuclear weapons is to see to it that they are not used.' Then Henry Kissinger accused the film of being 'a very simple-minded notion of the nuclear problem' and William Buckley attacked the film because it 'seeks to debilitate



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**nuclear winter** the scientific theory that all of the firestorms created by even just a hundred cities hit with nuclear bombs will send so much soot and debris into the atmosphere that the sun will be blocked out for months, resulting in plummeting temperatures that in turn will destroy all agricultural production

the United States'. However, Carl Sagan, the only scientist on the panel, introduced Americans to the concept of a '**nuclear winter**' and pointed out that biologists agreed that a nuclear war would probably see the extinction of humanity.

> CARL SAGAN: The 'nuclear winter' that will follow even a small nuclear war, especially if cities are targeted, as they almost certainly would be, involves a pall of dust and smoke which would reduce the temperatures not just in northern and mid latitudes, but pretty much globally to sub-freezing temperatures for months. In addition, it's dark, the radiation is much more than we've been told before. Agriculture will be wiped out, and it's very clear that beyond the one or two billion people who would be killed directly in a major nuclear war – five to seven thousand megatons, something like that – that the overall consequences would be much more dire and the biologists who have been studying this think that there is a real possibility of the extinction of the human species from such a war.

**SOURCE 3.41** Carl Sagan, 'Full transcript: Discussion panel held immediately after the broadcast of *The Day After*', *ABC News Viewpoint*, 20 November 1983

Even more controversially, Carl Sagan used a disturbing analogy to explain how nuclear deterrence worked at that time:

> CARL SAGAN: Imagine a room awash in gasoline, and there are two implacable enemies in that room. One of them has 9000 matches. The other has 7000 matches. Each of them is concerned about who's ahead, who's stronger. Well, that's the kind of situation we are actually in. The amount of weapons that are available to the United States and the Soviet Union are so bloated, so grossly in excess of what's needed to dissuade the other, that if it weren't so tragic, it would be laughable. What is necessary is to reduce the matches and to clean up the gasoline.

**SOURCE 3.42** Carl Sagan, 'Full transcript: Discussion panel held immediately after the broadcast of *The Day After*', *ABC News Viewpoint*, 20 November 1983

After the screening that night, there were candlelight vigils held in many places, and a few in Kansas City and its neighbouring areas. In Lawrence, Kansas, 5000 people congregated and held a candlelight vigil at which the mayor said that he 'did not want this film to be a preview of coming attractions. We must not wait till the day after.' There were a number of rallies and forums held around Lawrence over the following days.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 3.6

### The *Viewpoint* TV program

'The Day After' Nuclear War/Deterrence Discussion Panel – ABC News 'Viewpoint' (November 20 1983)
Find this program on YouTube. Make brief notes on each of the panellists.

### Questions

1 Which speakers impressed you the most?
2 How useful would this program have been to allay people's fears about the subject matter of *The Day After*?



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 3.7

### Final words from *The Day After*

*The Day After* ended with the following statement:

> It is hoped that the images of this film will inspire the nations of this earth, their peoples and leaders, to find the means to avert the fateful day.

**SOURCE 3.43** Epilogue from *The Day After*

### An 8-year-old's perspective: Alexander Zaitchik recalls watching *The Day After* as a child.

> Ignoring my parents' orders, I furtively watched parts of the film through the banisters and listened to the rest from the top of the stairs. I had never seen portrayals of the things in my pamphlets: disintegration by flash; bomb shelter stillbirths; untreated first-degree burns; slow-motion starvation; mass, late-stage leukemia; total social collapse and despair. But it wasn't just the postwar carnage of the film's second half that terrorized. So did the slow build-up to normalcy's end. I will never forget the scene of the farmer's wife continuing to go about her chores and then screaming in denial as her husband wrestles her into the basement bomb shelter. Even in made-for-TV form, nuclear war was every bit as horrifying as I imagined it.

**SOURCE 3.44** Alexander Zaitchik, 'Inescapable, apocalyptic dread: The terrifying nuclear autumn of 1983', 30 September 2013

### Questions

1. Referring to Source 3.43, from your own knowledge, do you think this film would motivate national leaders and ordinary people to take action to prevent a nuclear war from happening:
   - in 1983?
   - today?
2. Referring to Source 3.44, how would you have reacted to seeing this film at 8 years of age?
3. At what age do you think it would be appropriate to see the film today?

## 3.5 After *The Day After*

> The message that 100 million Americans are left with at the end of *The Day After*? That the Earth will be a giant graveyard. That there is no hope. That mankind is doomed to failure. This is the message that so many of us took to our second-grade classes the next morning. We'd spend the next few years staring into the sky, waiting for that bomb to drop. An airplane would fly over, and we'd be frozen, waiting for the end. Every Wednesday at noon, that siren would blare, and our hearts would seize for a few seconds before we realized what time of week it was. And in school, an alarm would signal – we quickly learned the difference between a tornado drill and one signaling the end of time – and we'd act accordingly. Scramble into the hall for the tornado, head tucked between our legs, or scurry under our desks for the nuclear war drill, though we knew by then that nothing could protect us from the annihilation of a nuclear bomb.

**SOURCE 3.45** Dustin Rowles, '*The Americans* explores the most depressing movie of all time,' *Pajiba*, 11 May 2016



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## A significant cultural event

*The Day After* was more than just a popular made-for-television movie; it was also a cultural event. It brought people, families and communities together. In the lead-up to the screening it was discussed in the press and debated by politicians, doctors, psychologists and other experts. Schools and households across the nation prepared children for the film. On the night of the screening many people stayed tuned to watch the discussion on *Viewpoint*. There was little negative feedback after the film. There were only a handful of callers on the hotlines concerned about the impact on children. In the survey commissioned by the ABC after the screening, most viewers evaluated it favourably and the majority felt that children coped well with it, helped no doubt by the efforts of teachers and schools. In fact, a large number surveyed reported to have discussed the film in schools and indicated that the Viewer's Guide was helpful in guiding discussion. Seventy-five per cent of those surveyed thought the film should be shown more and 85 per cent thought it should be shown overseas. There had been many warnings about the potential harm of the film but no evidence emerged from any research, or even anecdotal accounts, of any harm. On the surface, the film did not immediately increase antinuclear sentiment or change people's political views, though it had conditioned the population to consider the idea of a nuclear freeze.

**IRBM** intermediate range ballistic missile

A report of the film was glowing in its praise:

> The public's reaction to the television film 'The Day After' demonstrates that when television responsibly and sensitively presents a controversial yet thought-provoking issue, an educational and enlightening experience can result.

**SOURCE 3.46** Guy Lometti, 'Broadcast preparations for and consequences of *The Day After*', November 1983

> The making of the film was to date the most worthwhile thing I ever got to do in my life ... Any movie that the President of the United States winds up saying changed his mind about the idea of a winnable nuclear war is not an insignificant achievement.

**SOURCE 3.47** Nicholas Meyer, from Jon Niccum, 'Fallout from The Day After,' *Lawrence.com*, 2003





**SOURCE 3.48** (Left) Pershing II missile. This was a new intermediate range ballistic missile (**IRBM**) that was deployed by NATO in Europe from November 1983 to 1988. (Centre) a Pershing II missile base in Heilbronn (West Germany). (Right) protests against the installation of Pershing missiles in West Germany.

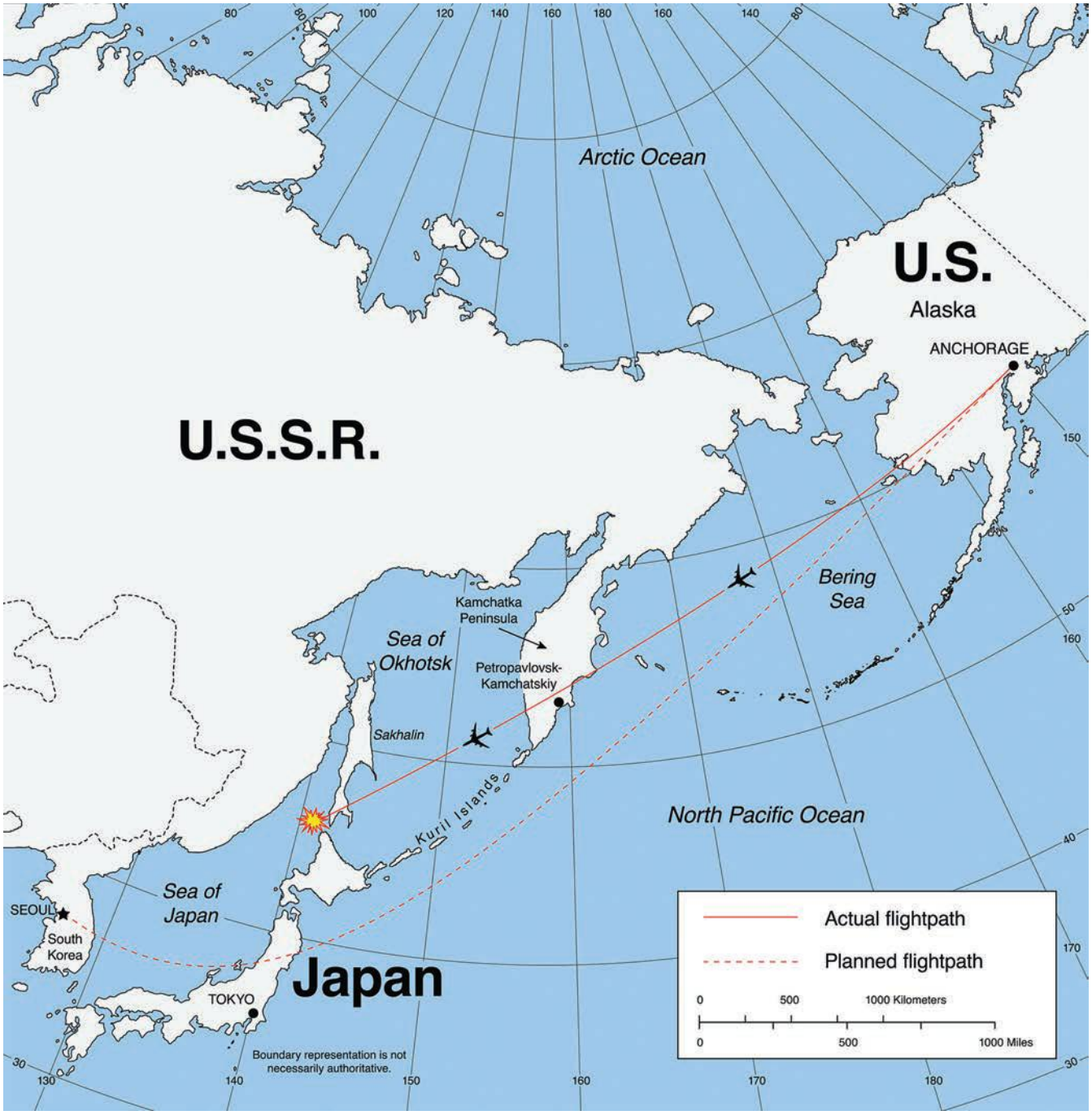


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## Ronald Reagan and the great reversal

There was no response from President Reagan following the public screening of *The Day After*. To the public it seemed as if it was business as usual, as far the government was concerned. On 22 November 1983, two days after the public screening, President Reagan ordered the immediate deployment of Pershing II missiles to West Germany. As usual, this was met by outrage from the Nuclear Freeze movement and in Europe there were mass protests. However, there was something happening with Reagan.

In September 1983 KAL 007, a Korean passenger airliner, was shot down by a Soviet fighter jet. At the time President Reagan had harsh words to say, calling it the 'Korean Airline massacre', a 'crime against humanity that must never been forgotten', and an 'act of barbarism and inhuman brutality'. However,




**SOURCE 3.49** A map showing the planned and actual flight paths of KAL flight 007



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Reagan afterwards learned that this had occurred due to human error on the part of the Soviets. Reagan wondered what would have happened if the Soviets had a human (or computer) error with their nuclear weapons. (Of course, what Reagan did not know, and in fact no one was to know for many years, is that this was exactly what had happened on 26 September 1983, when a computer error nearly led to the launch of the Soviet nuclear arsenal.) From that point on, Reagan began to seriously contemplate the possibility of a human error causing a launch of nuclear missiles. It was in this darkened mood that President Reagan had the chance to view an advance screening of the controversial film, *The Day After*.

The President had been given a copy of *The Day After* on videotape weeks before the public screening. On Monday morning 10 October, while staying at Camp David, Reagan decided to watch the film. In his diary for that day he said:

> It has Lawrence, Kansas wiped out in a nuclear war with Russia. It is powerfully done – all $7 mil. worth. It's very effective & left me greatly depressed ... My own reaction was one of our having done all we can to have a deterrent & to see there is never a nuclear war.

**SOURCE 3.50** Ronald Reagan's personal diary entry about *The Day After*, 10 October 1983

The interesting thing about Reagan's diary is that this is the only time in his entire diary that he expressed any emotion. His diary entries were very short and matter-of-fact and he rarely revealed his feelings, even about difficult matters. One of his biographers, Edmund Morris, said that the normally optimistic President remained depressed for days. Morris speculated that the film led Reagan to pursue talks with the Soviet Union. However, there were other influences on Reagan at this time. Two weeks after viewing *The Day After*, Reagan received a full Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP) briefing, the US secret nuclear war plan, which involved a role-play of presidential decision-making in such a crisis. During this briefing the President was informed that the US would be targeting over 50 000 military sites in the Soviet Union, half of these being cities and population centres. Reagan was shaken by this briefing and wrote in his diary that: 'In several ways the sequence of events described in the briefings paralleled those in the ABC movie. Yet there were still some people at the Pentagon who claimed a nuclear war was "winnable". I thought they were crazy.'

The October 1983 SIOP briefing had been in preparation for his role in the Able Archer 83 NATO military exercises that were to occur between 2 and 11 November. However, on 18 November 1983, after the exercises had been completed, President Reagan received a secret briefing that the Soviet Union had placed their nuclear forces on high alert during the Able Archer military exercises. He couldn't believe it! The President's advisers reported that the Soviet leader, Andropov, had been convinced that the military exercise would be a cover for a first-strike nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. As a result, the Soviets had placed their forces on high alert from 2 to 11 November 1983.

Taken together, the following were factors in President Reagan's reversal policy on nuclear weapons:

- the shooting down of KAL 007 on 1 September 1983
- his watching *The Day After* on 10 October 1983
- the SIOP briefing in October, a few weeks later
- realising that the US and Soviet Union had come close to nuclear war during the Able Archer military exercises between 2 and 11 November 1983.

Added to these four factors is one other:

- the Nuclear Freeze – the movement had been placing the Reagan administration under constant pressure over its nuclear expansion policies.

As a result of the above four events, along with the constant pressure of the Nuclear Freeze movement, President Reagan made a dramatic policy reversal, which was reflected in two speeches. On 16 January 1984, in his Address to the Nation and Other Countries on US–Soviet Union Relations, President Reagan talked



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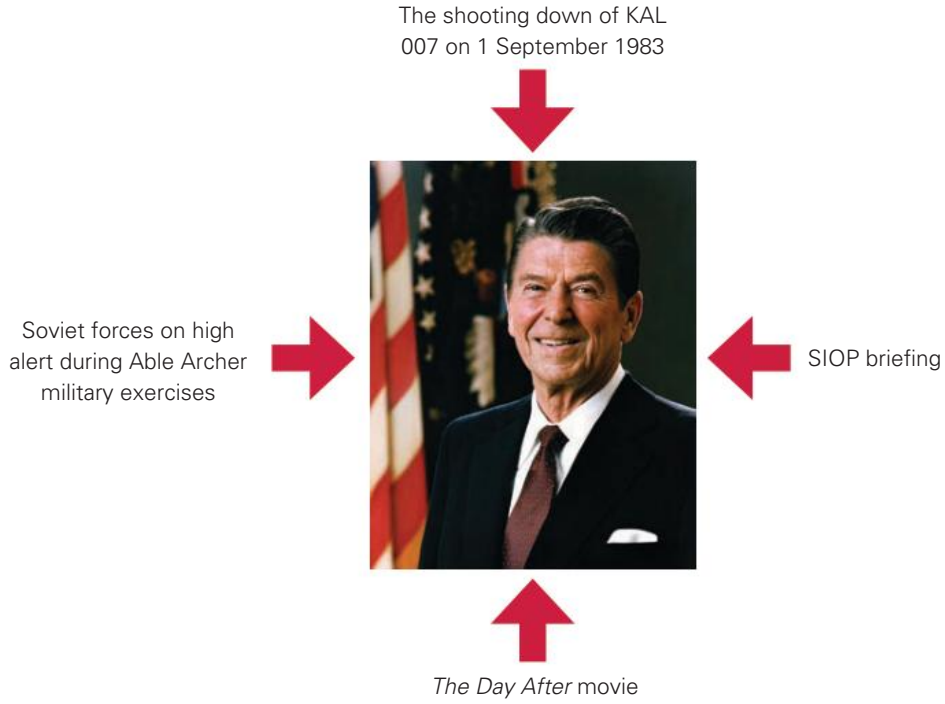
of 'reducing the chances for dangerous misunderstandings and miscalculations', talked about the dream of 'eliminating the risk of nuclear war' and talked of joining together with the Soviet Union to fight their 'common enemies of poverty, disease, and above all, war'.

On 25 January 1984, in his State of the Union address, President Reagan called for peace with the Soviet Union and for a nuclear-free world.

> Tonight, I want to speak to the people of the Soviet Union, to tell them it's true that our governments have had serious differences, but our sons and daughters have never fought each other in war. And if we Americans have our way, they never will.
>
> People of the Soviet Union, there is only one sane policy, for your country and mine, to preserve our civilization in this modern age: A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. The only value in our two nations possessing nuclear weapons is to make sure they will never be used. But then would it not be better to do away with them entirely?

**SOURCE 3.51** President Reagan's address before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union, 24 January 1984

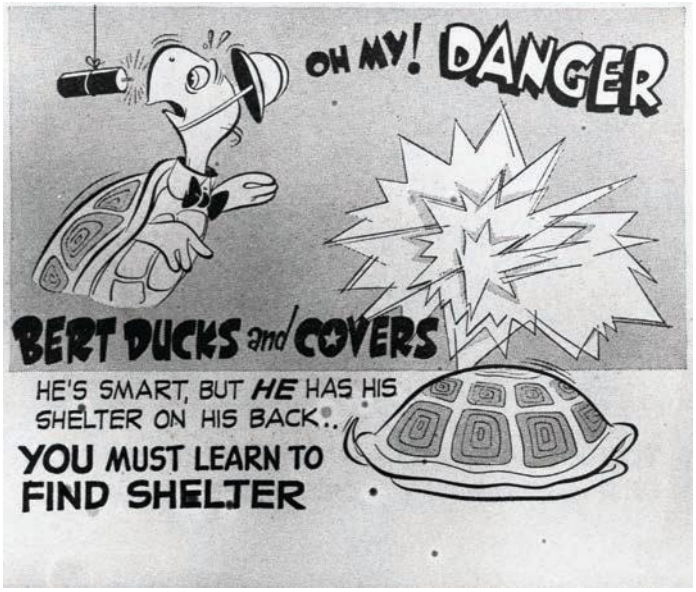
This speech appears to have been a sincere gesture, and after this Reagan dropped his inflammatory rhetoric about the Soviet Union and he continued raising the possibility of nuclear disarmament negotiations. In her book *The Reagan Reversal* (2000), Beth Fischer argued that Reagan started to pursue a more conciliatory policy with the Soviet leadership after these two speeches. Fischer claimed that this January 1984 reversal could be interpreted as being the 'beginning of the end of the Cold War'. However, at the time the Soviets made no response. It would not be until 1985, when Gorbachev became Soviet leader, that the Soviets responded to Reagan's attempts to reach out on the issue of nuclear disarmament. Fischer wondered 'whether the progress that was made during the Reagan–Gorbachev years would have occurred in the absence of the previous reversal in US policy'. One thing is for certain, however, and that is that the film *The Day After* played a role in changing Reagan's policy towards the Soviet Union and nuclear weapons.




**SOURCE 3.52** The movie *The Day After* was one of a number of influences that explain President Reagan's changed attitude to nuclear weapons in 1984 and his more conciliatory approach to the leadership of the Soviet Union. In addition to these four infuences was the constant pressure of the Nuclear Freeze movement on the Reagan administration.



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**SOURCE 3.53** 'Duck and Cover' Defense Poster. This is a comic treatment of *Duck and Cover*, a 1950 movie that depicts the danger from a Soviet nuclear attack.

## The slow death of nuclear civil defence

One effect of *The Day After* and films like it in the eighties is that they killed off any notion that a nuclear war could be survived, or would be worth surviving. The old civil defence plans and educational material seemed absurd now that people had a much clearer picture of what a nuclear war would really be like. As a result of this more realistic view, civil defence plans in countries around the world gathered dust. By the end of the eighties, governments were hard pressed to develop credible civil defence plans and educational material about them that would not be torn to shreds by the experts and by anyone with just a rudimentary knowledge of nuclear weapons. Governments no longer identified underground levels of certain buildings in the CBD suitable to use as shelters in the event of a nuclear attack.

The Humanitarian Impact Initiative held three international conferences between 2013 and 2014 in Oslo (Norway), Nayarit (Mexico) and Vienna (Austria) during which all the evidence about the impact of nuclear weapons on people and the environment was surveyed. At the end of the Vienna conference it was agreed by 160 countries that there was no humanitarian response to the explosion of even just one nuclear weapon, let alone hundreds or thousands. This led to calls for a treaty to ban nuclear weapons. The idea of civil defence in the event of a nuclear war died in the 1980s, thanks partly to films like *The Day After*. However, the idea that a few countries possessing nuclear weapons keep us safe has not yet died.




**SOURCE 3.54** ICAN Civil Society Forum, Vienna, 6–7 December 2014. (Left) Sue Coleman-Haseldine spoke about the impact of British nuclear testing in Australia on its people. (Centre) the audience. (Right) the author of the book *Command and Control*, Eric Schlosser, spoke about the many accidents and mishaps involving nuclear weapons in the nuclear age, and what happens when deterrence fails.

## Commemoration

*The Day After* has become a part of American popular culture, but has also been viewed around the world. Millions more people saw the film when it was screened in Europe in 1984 and it was even screened in the Soviet Union after 1987. It is now an important source for understanding the most dangerous year in the Cold War and how the prospect of nuclear war hung like a dark cloud over ordinary people. Many people who watched the film in 1983, whether as adults or as children, remember that event as one of significance. Over the 35 years since the original screening of *The Day After* many people have been affected in some



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way by the film. The screening of the *The Day After* on Sunday 20 November 1983 was in itself a national event. On that night 100 million American people were confronted with the horror of nuclear war. This had a lasting impact on the nation and was one factor that influenced President Reagan to change his approach to the Soviet Union and to nuclear weapons.

The impact of the screening of the *The Day After* on the night of 20 November 1983 was re-created recently in the TV series *The Americans*. Episode 9 in Season 4 was screened in the US on 11 May 2016. The climax of this episode shows the Jennings family and their neighbours huddled in the living room watching *The Day After*. As one reviewer stated, this episode 'stitches the characters together through the depiction of destruction, mutual and perhaps assured'. Furthermore, the reviewer stated that the four minutes of *The Day After* that appeared in this episode 'typifies *The Americans*'s treatment of television not as mere chronological marker, but as cultural hearth, worthy of examination in its own right'.




**SOURCE 3.55** An electric billboard advertising the television show *The Show*, a critically acclaimed thriller about husband-and-wife KGB agents who kill, spy and lie in suburban Washington DC, used *The Day After* as the focus of an episode in the fourth series, which aired on TV in the United States on 11 May 2016.

Dustin Rowles in a review of the *The Americans* episode said that this episode had brought back a forgotten aspect of the eighties in 'full force'. He remembered that as a child:

> ... out in the heartland of the country, grade-schoolers – kids in the second grade – had nuclear war drills, where we'd hide under our desks in preparation for *the* bomb. Those in D.C. or New York City – they didn't even bother. If there was a nuclear bomb, they were under no misconception that a school desk could save them. In most cities, an emergency siren would blare once a week, presumably just to test it in the event it was needed in a real World War III situation to let us all know that our lives would soon be over. But it also served as a weekly reminder that our existence was on the precipice. That was some heady stuff if you were eight years old.

**SOURCE 3.56** Dustin Rowles, '*The Americans* explores the most depressing movie of all time', *Pajiba*, 11 May 2016

## 3.6 Safe versus unsafe history

> The nuclear autumn of 1983 was arguably the tensest and most dangerous season of the entire Cold War. It involved at least two close calls. It was bookended by a diplomatic crisis and a destabilizing missile deployment. The popular culture was drenched to the bone in nuclear dread – a dread so deep it deeply affected the political development not just of third graders like me ...

**SOURCE 3.57** Alexander Zaitchik, 'Inescapable, apocalyptic dread: The terrifying nuclear autumn of 1983,' 30 September 2013

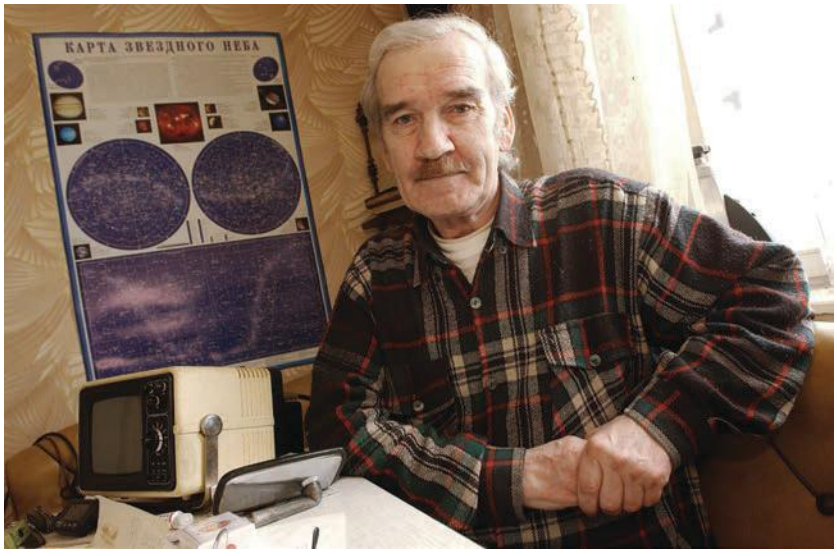


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**SOURCE 3.58** North Korea has been trying to develop an ICBM that can carry a nuclear warhead with the aim of being able to reach the US and its allies. This is just one of the threats posed by nuclear weapons today. While a nuclear attack by North Koreans with one or a few warheads would be an absolute humanitarian catastrophe, the US and Russia still have enough nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert to annihilate all life on the planet.

Today we know that 1983 was the most dangerous period of the Cold War. However, at the time the public had no idea how dangerous it was. They did not know what we know now – that there were *two* serious incidents in the second half of 1983 in which the US and Soviet Union came close to full-scale nuclear war. The first was during the Able Archer military exercise that Reagan had learned about soon after (which is described on pages 368–9). The second incident was not known about until 1998.




**SOURCE 3.59** Former Soviet Colonel Stanislav Petrov sits at home on 19 March 2004 in Moscow, Russia. Petrov was in charge of Soviet nuclear early warning systems on the night of 26 September 1983, when a false 'missile attack' signal appeared to show a US nuclear launch and he dismissed the warning. He is feted by nuclear activists as the man who 'saved the world' by determining that the Soviet system had been deceived by a reflection off the earth. Sadly, Petrov passed away in May 2017.

## The incident at Serpukhov-15, 26 September 1983

On 26 September 1983 Colonel Stanislav Petrov was on duty at Serpukhov-15, a Soviet top-secret early warning command centre, where computers analysed data from satellites to detect a pre-emptive nuclear first strike from the US. In the early hours of the morning the alarm went off and red lights flashed warnings that US missiles were heading for the Soviet Union. The alarms went off several more times and the atmosphere in the facility was tense. Everyone knew that if this was the real



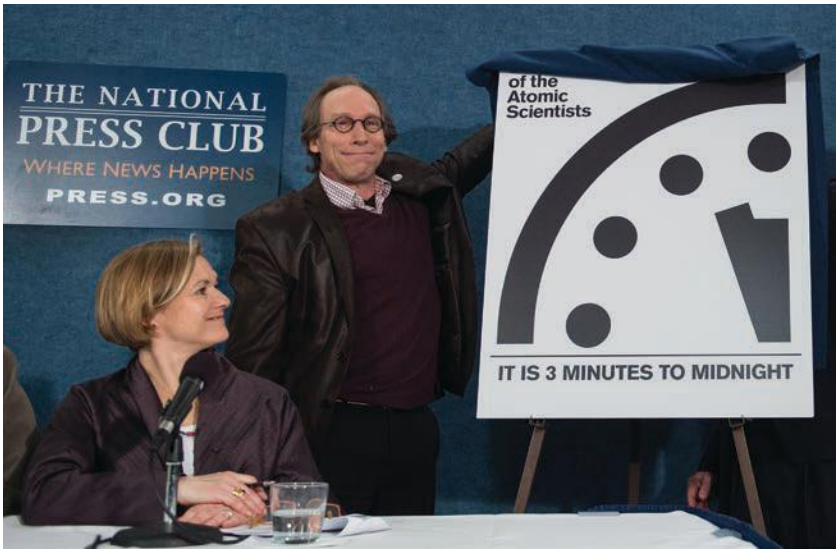
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thing, the full-scale nuclear war that everyone had been dreading for decades would be a reality. Petrov's job was to report enemy missile launches to the Soviet command. Petrov knew that, if he informed his superiors, they would launch a massive nuclear attack against the US. So Petrov reported that it was a false alarm, even though he had nothing to confirm that. They then had to wait 15 minutes to verify whether he was right. If he was wrong that would be the end of all of them. As it turned out, it was a computer error. The satellites had picked up flashes of lights on the horizon that turned out not be missile launches but the sun rising and sunlight reflecting off the horizon. The computer had interpreted these flashes of light as missiles being launched.

The story of Stanislav Petrov on the night of 26 September 1983 remained buried in the archives. Petrov was reprimanded by his commanding officer for not following protocol. The incident was forgotten until 1998 when Petrov's commanding officer, Yury Votintsev, revealed details of the incident in his memoir. Journalists eventually tracked down Petrov and he was later flown to the United Nations in New York in 2006 to receive an award from *The Association of World Citizens* for being 'the man who saved the world'. In 2014, a documentary film was released on Petrov and this incident, titled *The Man Who Saved the World*.

## The Doomsday Clock

According to the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 1984 was one of the most dangerous years of the Cold War. Yet we now know that the year before, 1983, was far more dangerous than was known at the time. The 100 million viewers who had watched *The Day After* were horrified at the prospect of a nuclear war, yet one wonders how they would have reacted if they had known that they had come close to nuclear war a few weeks before the screening and also back in September. The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* continues to monitor the level of threat from nuclear weapons. In 2016, the time on the Doomsday Clock was set at three minutes to midnight. Since then the nuclear threat level has increased. However, there is minimal public awareness of the serious threat that nuclear weapons still pose to our world today.




**SOURCE 3.60** Lawrence Krauss, chair of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* Board of Sponsors, unveils the '**Doomsday Clock**' showing that the world is now three minutes away from catastrophe during a press conference of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists in Washington, DC, on 26 January 2016. On 26 January 2017 the clock was again changed to two-and-a-half minutes to midnight.

The story of *The Day After* is part of nuclear history. Nuclear history is **unsafe history**. A historical period or era is 'unsafe' if its underlying forces have still to be played out. World War II is an example of 'safe history' because it is over and the conflicts of that time have been resolved. Nuclear history is unsafe history because the dynamics unleashed by the invention of the atomic bomb have not yet been resolved in a satisfactory way. The nuclear age started with the explosion of the first atomic bomb in the desert of New Mexico on 16 July 1945. The nuclear age will end through the annihilation of all life on the planet in nuclear war, or when every nuclear weapon is destroyed and a system put in place to ensure they never get built again.

**Doomsday Clock** a process set up by the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* in 1947 to assess the likelihood of a global catastrophe caused by human means. The closer the minute hand is to midnight on the clock the closer the world is to catastrophe.

**unsafe history** an era of history that is still unresolved and that can have an impact on us today



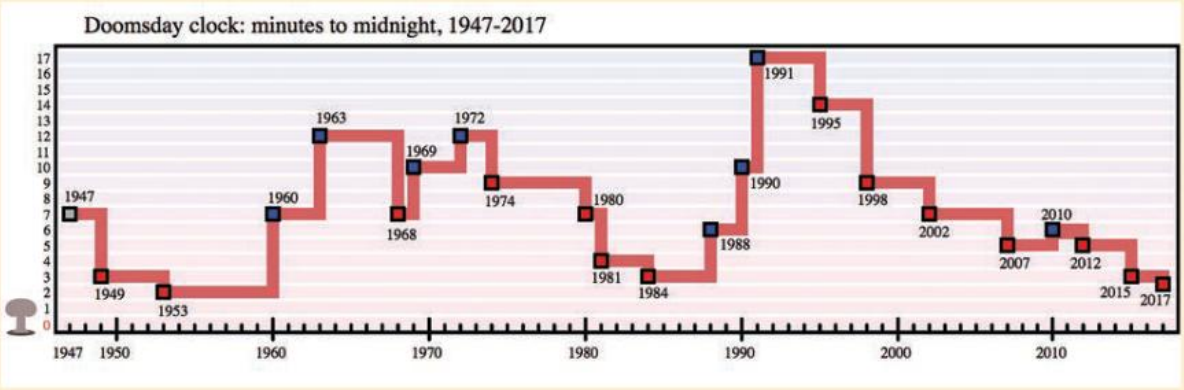
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In the words of Jonathan Schell:

> The choice is really between two entire ways of life. One response is to decline to face the peril, and thus to go on piling up the instruments of doom year after year until, by accident or design, they go off. The other response is to recognise the peril, dismantle the weapons, and arrange the political affairs of the earth so the weapons will not be built again.

**SOURCE 3.61** Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth*, 1982, p. 148

## ANALYSING SOURCES 3.8




**SOURCE 3.62** Doomsday Clock graph, 1947–2017. The lower points on the graph represent a higher probability of technologically or environmentally induced catastrophe and the higher points represent a lower probability.

> I still think right now, the most urgent pressing concern is nuclear weapons. For nuclear weapons are still there and they're something we can still do something about. It's something we're not doing anything about. Seventy years ago Einstein said, 'Everything has changed save the way we think.' We're still thinking the same way. No one is talking about disarmament. The nuclear countries are actually violating the Non-Proliferation treaty, in my opinion. Part of it is not having North Korea and Iran getting nuclear weapons; the other part of the treaty is that the countries that have nuclear weapons have to work to disarm. Instead, both the US and Russia are spending [money to modernise nuclear weapons]. The US has a $1 trillion dollar program to modernize nuclear weapons.

**SOURCE 3.63** Lawrence Krauss, *Q and A*, ABC, 22 May 2017

### Questions

1. Referring to Source 3.62, at what time were the minute hands on the Doomsday Clock in:
   - **a)** 1983?
   - **b)** 1984?
2. What argument could be made to reverse the times for 1983 and 1984?
3. During which two periods was the time on the Doomsday Clock set closest to midnight?
4. When were the minute hands on the Doomsday Clock furthest from midnight? How do you account for this?



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5 Referring to Source 3.63, what does Lawrence Krauss think are the most pressing concerns about nuclear weapons today?

6 Does Lawrence Krauss think that something can be done about the nuclear threat, and what does he think is stopping us?



**SOURCE 3.64** US actor and United Nations (UN) Messenger of Peace Michael Douglas arrives with International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) executive director Beatrice Fihn prior to a press conference on nuclear disarmament at the United Nations Office in Geneva on 12 May 2016. ICAN's aim was to achieve a treaty that will ban the possession and use of nuclear weapons. The Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) was agreed to by a UN conference on 7 July 2017 and supported by 130 countries. On 5 November 2017 ICAN won the Nobel Peace Prize for its role in achieving this treaty.



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# CHAPTER 3 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### NUCLEAR ATTACK

- The film *The Day After* is a future scenario of what a nuclear attack would be like.
- The evidence for what a nuclear attack would be like is gained from the victims of the atomic bombs dropped on Japan, the victims of many of the 2055 nuclear tests conducted by eight of the nine nuclear-armed nations since 1945 and scientific data.
- Placing fictional characters in a nuclear attack scenario assists our understanding of something so horrific.

### COLD WAR TENSIONS

- *The Day After* was set in the context of one of the most dangerous times during the Cold War.
- The Reagan administration pursued a more aggressive policy towards the Soviet Union that involved building and deploying more advanced nuclear weapons.
- The Nuclear Freeze movement put immense pressure on the Reagan administration over its nuclear policies.

### THE MAKING OF *THE DAY AFTER*

- The idea for *The Day After* came from Brandon Stoddard of the ABC motion picture division, who wanted to create an apolitical film about the effects of nuclear war on ordinary Americans.
- The film was set in the small city of Lawrence, Kansas. The film took six weeks to shoot. Many of the residents were involved in the film as extras and some had speaking roles.
- Nicholas Meyer, the director, did not want to make 'a good movie' but wanted his film to be a public service announcement. He had to fight editing cuts demanded by a nervous ABC management.

### SCREENING AND CONTROVERSY

- *The Day After* stirred up immense debate and controversy in the media.
- The ABC network's management instituted many measures to deal with the expected social impact of the film.
- One hundred million Americans watched *The Day After* with the majority doing so in family or community groups; schools followed up the next day with classroom discussions.

### AFTER *THE DAY AFTER*

- *The Day After* was a significant cultural event.
- *The Day After* played a part in changing President Reagan's attitude to nuclear weapons and his approach to the Soviet Union.
- Civil defence plans and educational programs for a nuclear war disappeared by the end of the eighties, partly due to *The Day After* and other similar films.



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## SAFE VERSUS UNSAFE HISTORY

- We now know that the second half of 1983 was the most dangerous period in the Cold War when the world came close to a nuclear war twice, with the incident at Serpukhov-15 and during the Able Archer military exercises.
- The Doomsday Clock was set at two-and-a-half minutes to midnight in January, 2017, the closest it has been since 1953.
- The nuclear age is unsafe history, as the forces unleashed with the invention of the atomic bomb in 1945 have yet to be played out.

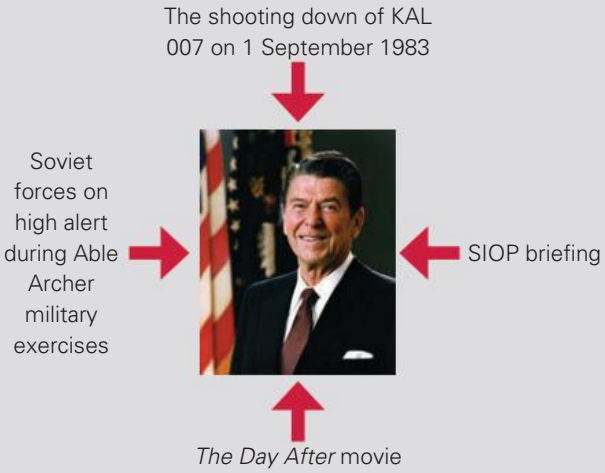
## Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below:

- Cold War
- nuclear arms race
- nuclear holocaust
- SIOP
- unsafe history

## Historical concepts

### 1 Causation




- Using the diagram, research these four influences on President Reagan and assess the importance of each one in changing his thinking about nuclear weapons.
- How would you rank these influences in importance?
- Assess the significance of *The Day After* as a factor in changing President Reagan's views. (Hint: was Reagan more influenced by visual material than by books or reports?)
- Research the extent to which President Reagan was already thinking about a different approach to nuclear weapons before October 1983. (Hint: look at his Strategic Defense Initiative proposal.)

### 2 Continuity and change

- To what extent did the Nuclear Freeze movement contribute to change in the Reagan administration's approach to nuclear weapons and in dealing with the Soviets?
- Assess if the threat of nuclear war still exists today. What has changed since 1983, and what remains the same?

### 3 Perspectives

Find 'The Day After: Australian Documentary' on YouTube.

- Summarise the various perspectives on the screening of *The Day After* presented in this documentary, making notes on the following points:
  - Lawrence, Kansas: the impact of the film on the residents
  - Lawrence residents' attitudes to the film
  - candlelight vigils
  - civil defence plans
  - Nicholas Meyers: his aim in making the film
  - the Nuclear Freeze movement
  - opposition to the Nuclear Freeze movement
  - President Reagan and pro-government groups
  - debate on how best to deal with the Russians.
- Discuss the various perspectives on the film, the Nuclear Freeze movement and the Reagan government's policy in dealing with the Soviets.

### 4 Significance

Write a brief response for each of the following activities:

- What was the significance of the Reagan administration's decision to deploy Pershing II missiles in Europe?



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- What was the significance of Stanislav Petrov's decision on the night of 26 September 1983?
- Explain the significance of President Reagan's diary entry for 10 October 1983.
- Assess the significance of President Reagan's State of the Union Address on 25 January 1984.

### 5 Contestability

Read the article by historian Lawrence Wittner, 'How disarmament activists saved the world from nuclear war' in *Peace Magazine*, 2013: peacemagazine.org/archive/v29n4p06.htm

- What role did the 'massive grassroots' nuclear disarmament movement play in reducing the threat from nuclear weapons in the 1980s?
- Research historians who believe that Ronald Reagan deserves most of the credit for ending the Cold War and reducing the threat of nuclear weapons.
- Compare both viewpoints and discuss to what extent they are compatible or in conflict with each other.

## Historical skills

### 1 Explanation and communication

- Research the various types of nuclear weapons and delivery systems in use in 1983.
- Create a five-slide PowerPoint presentation with each slide devoted to a different nuclear weapon, including a photo or diagram and a few key facts.
- Referring to the PowerPoint presentation, give a talk explaining the role of each of these weapons.

### 2 Historical interpretation

Research the views of FOUR historians on the presidency of Ronald Reagan.

- Which historians have an overall positive assessment of the Reagan presidency?
- Which historians have an overall negative assessment of the Reagan presidency?
- What is your assessment of President Reagan in regard to nuclear policy from the beginning of his presidency to 1984? To what extent do you agree or disagree with the four historians' assessments of Reagan's overall presidency?

### 3 Analysis and use of sources

Answer these questions using the sources below:

**a)** In Source A, identify how many possible causes of death are mentioned.

**b)** List the various causes of death that you observed in *The Day After*.

**c)** What injuries is the victim in Source B afflicted with? What is his likelihood of survival?

**d)** Read TWO stories of hibakusha from the website.

**e)** What experiences in Source C mention causes of death listed in Source A?

**f)** Referring to Source D, explain the difference in nuclear warfare between Hiroshima and the decade in which the film was set.

**g)** Compare the reactions of *The Day After* in Sources E and F.

**h)** What was Nicholas Meyer trying to achieve with *The Day After*?

**i)** Referring to Sources A to G and your observations of *The Day After*, write an extended response of about 300 words to the following question:

Assess the degree to which The Day After was a reasonably faithful portrayal, for its time, of the effect of nuclear war on a community.

## SOURCE A: THE POSSIBLE CAUSES OF DEATH IN A NUCLEAR ATTACK

The following is an extract from the book *The Fate of the Earth*, written by Jonathan Schell in 1982. The film is based on this book.

Let us consider, for example, some of the possible ways in which a person in a targeted country might die. He might be incinerated by the fireball or the thermal pulse. He might be lethally irradiated by the initial nuclear radiation. He might be crushed to death or hurled to his death by the blast wave or its debris. He might be lethally irradiated by the local fallout. He might be burned to death in a firestorm. He might be injured by one or another of these effects and then die of his wounds before he was able to make his



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way out of the devastated zone in which he found himself. He might die of starvation, because the economy had collapsed and no food was being grown or delivered, or because existing local crops had been killed by radiation, or because the local ecosystem had been ruined, or because the ecosphere of the earth as a whole was collapsing. He might die of cold, for lack of heating and clothing, or of exposure, for lack of shelter. He might be killed by people seeking food or shelter that he had obtained. He might die of an illness spread in an epidemic. He might be killed by exposure to the sun if he stayed outside too long following serious ozone depletion. Or he might be killed by any combination of these perils. But while there is almost no end to the ways to die in and after a holocaust, each person has only one life to lose: someone who has been killed by the thermal pulse can't be killed again in an epidemic. Therefore, anyone who wishes to describe a holocaust is always at risk of depicting scenes of devastation that in reality would never take place, because the people in them would already have been killed off in some earlier scene of devastation.

Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth*, pp. 24–5

## SOURCE B: THE DAY

**The Hiroshima atomic bomb**



A man with burns over his entire body at the Army Transport Quarantine Station on Ninoshima Island, August 1945. This man was exposed within one kilometre of the hypocentre of the atom bomb dropped on 6 August 1945. Persons so close to the hypocentre who received direct heat rays suffered skin-destroying burns and damage to their internal tissues and organs. Most died immediately or within a few days.

## SOURCE C: THE HIBAKUSHA

Stories of the survivors of the Hiroshima atomic bombing.

Meet the hibakusha on the *Hibakusha Stories* website.

## SOURCE D: A MISSILE CARRYING A NUCLEAR WARHEAD



Cobra Skin missile being launched in 1964 at Vandenberg Air Force Base, California, US



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## SOURCE E: *THE DAY AFTER* (NUCLEAR ATTACK SEGMENT)

This frightening excerpt from the 1983 TV-movie *The Day After* (which aired exactly 25 years ago on this day) is of the nuclear attack scene (featuring John Lithgow and Jason Robards). This was a very controversial movie at the time, ... dealing with the effects of nuclear war and its terrifying aftermath of radiation sickness, burnt victims and general mass hysteria.

I remember watching this movie as a teenager, when it first came out. Yesterday, I found this clip and watched it again. The scene of the mushroom cloud (with Robards in his car) was exactly like I had remembered it. But it was also much more disturbing and depressing to watch now. There was some criticism at the time of the movie not being accurate enough, but this scene is very accurate. It literally shows what 'hell on earth' would be like.

Watching this movie again, I realize that some of it seems kind of implausible. I don't think Jason Robards' character or the black soldier could have survived as long as they did, considering that they had been walking in the streets, breathing in tons of radiation fallout. They probably would have been immediately puking their brains up. Despite not going far enough in its depiction of the true horrors of the aftermath of a nuclear explosion, the movie still holds up though and is worth seeing. And the ending is very sad and poignant.

Source: *The Beat Patrol*, 20 November 2008

## SOURCE F: FILM REVIEW

*The Day After* exists more as a controversy than it does as a film. Originally made as a tv movie, it promised to deliver a no-holds barred treatment of nuclear war ...

*The Day After* is disappointingly superficial ... the film's problem is that characters are blank identities full of even more banal responses. Events happen – bomb explodes, people fight for water – but there is no drama here.

Perhaps most obvious is the fact that the film soft-pedals the nuclear holocaust. Meyer simplistically draws on cliches of Midwest Americana – perhaps the reason why the film was perceived to have such shock value is that it sets up what America regards as its emotional heartland and smalltown characters and shows them reduced to rubble. As the end credits note, the attack shown is actually far less devastating than any real nuclear strike would be. One of the scenes that has proven of great amusement to lovers of the unintentionally ridiculous is Jason Robards' ability to survive a nuclear firestorm simply by ducking down in the front seat of his car.

Source: Richard Scheib, Moria: The Science-Fiction, Horror and Fantasy Film Review site

## SOURCE G: FILM DIRECTOR NICHOLAS MEYER

As a movie, I was well aware even at the time of its shortcomings. There is a paradox about nuclear war in that it is the most urgent problem that has ever confronted the human race ... but at the same time it's such a terrible dilemma that none of us can really bear to think about it. So if you make a movie about it, the audience will go anywhere their minds can rationalize to avoid confronting the movie. They'd rather talk about the music or talk about how Jason Robards was brilliant – anything other than the subject. So as a director I found myself engaging in a counterintuitive exercise of trying NOT to make a good movie.

I didn't want people talking about Jason Robards. I didn't want people talking about the music – which is why after the opening credits there is no music. I viewed myself as not wanting to make a movie but a public service announcement. If you have nuclear war, THIS is what it's going to be like ...

Source: Jon Niccum, 'Fallout from *The Day After*', Lawrence.com



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### 4 Historical investigation and research

Research Stanislav Petrov and his role in the incident at Serpukhov-15 on 26 September 1983. Start with the information on the Bright Star Sound website.

- What international day is linked to Stanislav Petrov's decision on 26 September 1983?

The film *The Man Who Saved the World* was made about Stanislav Petrov. This is also about the threat of nuclear war. Find out the details of this film.

- What is the message of *The Man Who Saved the World*?
- How does it compare with *The Day After* in raising awareness about nuclear war?

### 5 Further essay questions

- Assess the role of the Nuclear Freeze in changing the way in which the American public viewed nuclear war.
- How do you account for Ronald Reagan's stunning success in the November 1984 presidential elections?
- To what extent was luck a factor in preventing a nuclear war in 1983?



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# CHAPTER 5
# The Digital Revolution

*The First Industrial Revolution used water and steam power to mechanize production. The Second used electric power to create mass production. The Third used electronics and information technology to automate production. Now a Fourth Industrial Revolution is building on the Third, the digital revolution that has been occurring since the middle of the last century. It is characterized by a fusion of technologies that is blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres.*

Klaus Schwab, 'The Fourth Industrial Revolution: what it means, how to respond', *Global Agenda*, World Economic Forum, 14 January 2016

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS**

Students develop an understanding of the way in which the Digital Revolution, which started towards the end of the last century, continues to transform the contemporary world.

**KEY ISSUES**

Students will:

- investigate the major changes in media technology in modern times
- investigate how media technology has been used both in the exercise of political power and political protest
- critically analyse the impact of media technology on society
- consider the historical significance of various innovations in digital technology
- evaluate the benefits of the Digital Revolution
- examine the areas of debate about the impact of the Digital Revolution on the contemporary world.

**1920s** Broadcast radio popular mass medium

**1935** Invention of television

**1960** The internet begins as a US Defense Department initiative

**1976** Apple founded by Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak

**1981** First portable computer

**1990** World Wide Web widely available to the public



**1995** First entirely computer-generated feature film: *Toy Story*

**1960**

**1990**




**1927** First sound film

**1951** First commercially available computer

**1975** Microsoft founded by Bill Gates and Paul Allen

**1978** First video game: Space Invaders




**1985** First version of Windows released; first dot.com name registered

**1994** First digital camera

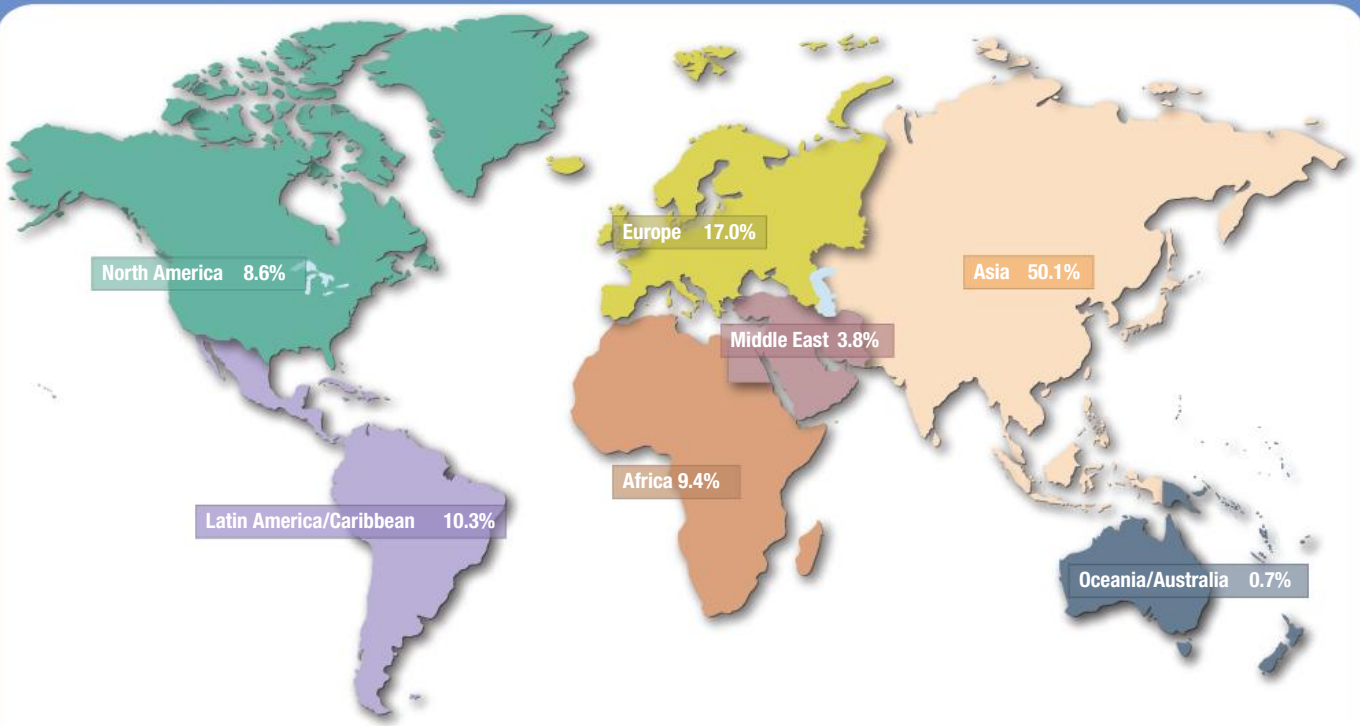
**SOURCE 5.1 We are currently living through the Digital Revolution and have access to infinite information at our fingertips.**



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## Global internet users by regions, 2018




Source: Internet World Stats website

**1999** Wi-fi: users begin to connect to the net wirelessly

**2002** First commercial 3D printer

**2005** Web 2.0 and the rise of social media through sites like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube and Wikipedia

**2007** Apple launches the iPhone




**2012** Facebook reaches over 1 billion members

**2016** Netflix streams video to over 190 countries

**2018** AI becoming more common

## 2000

## 2010

**1996** Google search engine created

**2000** First e-book published



**2003** Apple launches the iPod portable MP3 music player

**2006** WikiLeaks founded

**2011** Apple launches the iPad tablet computer

**2015** Oculus Rift Virtual Reality headset on sale

**2017** First room-based screenless devices; driverless car testing



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## CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



**SOURCE 5.2** An American family, circa 1930s

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

| What do you see? | What do you think? | What do you wonder? |
|---|---|---|



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# CHAPTER 5 Overview

| KEY IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS TODAY | KEY TERMS AND NAMES |
|---|---|---|
| The Digital Revolution has transformed the modern world and continues to have an impact on the contemporary world. | Contemporary society continues to be shaped by the innovation of digital technologies. | • revolution<br>• Fourth Industrial Revolution<br>• binary code<br>• Web 2.0<br>• digital convergence<br>• 24-hour news cycle<br>• social media<br>• artificial intelligence<br>• hacktivist<br>• digital native |

## *Painting the picture*

### The Digital Revolution

**INQUIRY QUESTION**

How has the convergence of digital and smart technologies transformed lifestyle, society, culture and politics in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries?

Welcome to the Revolution. You are living in the fourth great industrial upheaval. The advances in technological change in the past 25 years not only place you in the midst of an era that has seen human communication and participation become an increasingly digital practice, but also position you as a key player in the next great phase of human history.

Behind the lockscreen of an ordinary smartphone is the centre of all human knowledge and the tools to be an active global citizen capable of being a significant 'influencer' in the course of human evolution. Through a tweet, a photo or a sequence of video you can reach a global audience in seconds, spreading 'virally' with the speed of a deadly contagion; you have the power to influence others in ways the great players of history could only have dreamed of.

In this chapter you will examine the impact of the Third Industrial Revolution and ponder about the Fourth. Often called the 'Digital Revolution', this period in history tracks the movement from analogue technologies that degrade over time to digital ones that can easily be created, distributed and shared. Consider what you would have learned about the Nazi regime and the way in which it used technologies such as film, the printing press

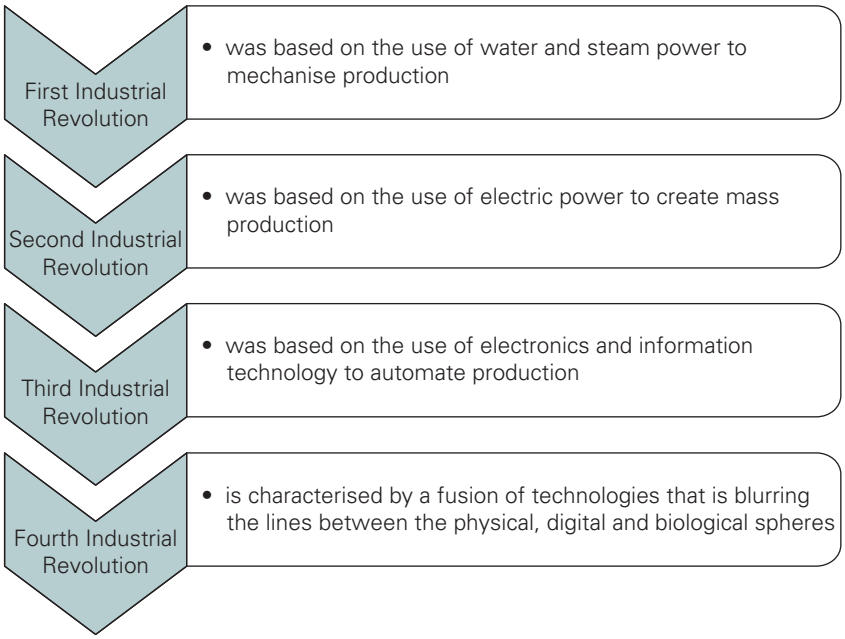


**SOURCE 5.3** Actor, multi-platinum recording artist and UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador Selena Gomez performing in Canada in 2017



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and radio to influence the German people. Through a mixture of planning, education and violent and legal coercion, the Nazis were able to drag a nation of over 80 million people back to war six years after gaining power. In the years that followed, marketers, governments and institutions used the power of the media to sell soap, toasters and dominant ideologies to whole populations. They relied heavily on unpredictable and expensive media technologies to maintain their influence.




**SOURCE 5.4** The four industrial revolutions in human history

In 2018, singer Selena Gomez can take a single photo and share it with 122 million people via her smartphone. Consider the power this technology could have provided to leaders like Hitler, Stalin, Mao or Churchill!

Consider too the ability for you, as a digital native, to actively respond and participate in this process. Individual citizens can use the same technology to interact and disrupt the efforts of aspiring Hitlers and Churchills around the globe. Ordinary citizens have used digital technologies to investigate and bring down these authorities. The role of the digital data you create and share now holds a central place in the political and economic structure of the world we live in. Central to this have been inventions like the Web 2.0 technologies and the smartphone.

Individual citizens like Edward Snowden can leak classified data, hidden by the American security agencies from its people, to reveal what some believe to be the illegal behaviours of a democratically elected government. Snowden is considered, depending on who you ask, to be either a whistleblower, a patriot or a traitor.

Fundamentally, you must use this chapter to examine your own role in this revolution. The data you create are bought, owned and sold by massive global institutions that know almost every element of your online life, blurring the definition of what a public and a private citizens is. How will you participate? Where will the revolution take you and what can you do about it?

## 5.1 A digital journey

***What are your first memories of technology in the home?***

Well, I was born in 1954. I was two years old when television came to our living room in Australia in September 1956, to coincide with the Melbourne Olympics. Our family had the first TV in the street and the neighbours used to come over to behold this new technological marvel. My father worked for Philips, a Dutch multi-national electronics company. He was one of the first people in Australia to have been trained in the new technology of television. Philips had sent him to their factory in Holland for eight months in 1955 to be trained in television. As a result, our family always seemed to be on the cutting edge of the latest technological innovations.



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Back then in the fifties, home entertainment was dominated by the TV, the radio (or wireless) and the record player. As a young kid I loved TV and my earliest memories were of watching the *Mickey Mouse Show* and American gangster movies. As I got older sometimes I got to stay up late and watch *Combat*, an American TV war series. When I became a teenager, it was pop music on the radio that got my interest. By the mid-1960s radios had become portable and greatly reduced in size with the use of transistors instead of valves. They were now known as transistor radios. The basic technology televisions remained much the same throughout the fifties to the mid-seventies, with the only changes being cosmetic ones relating to the style and design. Of course, the television picture in Australia remained black and white from 1956.



**SOURCE 5.5** In his lifetime, David has seen many changes in technology.

***What do you remember about changes in technology for music?***

By the age of twelve I used to tape songs off the radio onto a reel-to-reel tape recorder. Later on I got my own record player but records were expensive, so I taped as much as I could. My friends and I would share our records around and tape each other's collections of records to expand our own selection. Recording music became a lot easier with the invention of cassette players. In 1962, Philips invented the first compact cassette that used cassette tapes. This meant that recorded music became portable, with radio cassette players being used widely in Australia by the late 1960s. Cassette recorders did not replace record players, one reason being that the tapes in the cassettes wore out and eventually broke. Like many teenagers, I built up a great collection of music on cassette tapes. Records were better but you had to have the money.

The big change in music came with the shift from analogue to digital with the invention of the CD and CD players in 1996 followed by music on MP3 files that could be listened to on an MP3 player. My own children transitioned from having Walkmans to having MP3 players, and then downloading music files on their computers. Apple created iTunes in 1998, and then brought out the IPod in 2001, which was basically an MP3 player with a really easy-to-use interface. I bought one just before a trip to the US in October 2001 so I could listen to lots of music on the long flight.




**SOURCE 5.6** A Sony Walkman portable music player from the 1990s. Walkman had small cassette tapes to store music on.

***When did you get colour television in the home?***

We got colour TV a year before everyone else. It was not until March 1975 that Australia had colour TV, though in our household we had colour from some time in 1974 because my father was 'testing' a new colour TV at home using an encoded signal that only certain people in the



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**SOURCE 5.7** A portable Philips television set, 1960



**SOURCE 5.8** An analogue mobile phone from the 1990s

industry could receive via an encoder box. A few years earlier there had been another revolution in home entertainment with the invention of video recorders in the early seventies. This meant that people could tape their favourite shows and movies on free-to-air TV to play back later at their own leisure and also be able to fast forward through all the ads.

***What was the next biggest innovation in technology in the home?***

Meanwhile, while there had been significant changes in the technology regarding entertainment, nothing much had changed with communication. In the fifties the only two forms of communication beyond the home were the mail delivered by the post office – what we call today 'snail mail' – and the telephone. Until the 1990s most telephones in Australia were stationary and hooked up to the network via telephone lines. Most houses just had one telephone line and the phone had to be shared by everyone in the house. The phone could be a source of friction when one person hogged the phone talking to friends all night. Teenagers often got into trouble for this.

The real revolution in communication technology came with the advent of the mobile phone. The first mobile phones were on sale in Australia from 1987 but for a long time they were too expensive for most people to own, with phones costing thousands of dollars and also weighing more than half a kilogram. They also used analogue technology. It wasn't until the mid-1990s that mobile phones became smaller and cheaper. My father, who was retired by then, had a mobile phone, one of those ones that clipped onto your belt. I remember in 1996 being amazed as we sat in a café near a beach somewhere away from the city and ringing friends and family on his mobile phone. Within ten years everyone would be doing this.

In 2000, about the time of the Olympic Games, I finally could afford to get my own mobile phone. The next big shift with phone technology was the shift from analogue to digital technology. Phones got smaller and smarter and from 2002 came with cameras. I think the next big shift in this technology was the combination of the mobile phone with the MP3 player. This first happened with Apple's iPhone, which was released on the market in 2007. This was also a **smartphone**; that is, a phone that includes a computer. My stepson rushed to get one and can remember thinking why would anyone want to have a phone as part of their iPod. By 2018 nearly five billion people on the planet had a mobile phone.

**smartphone** a mobile phone that can be used as a small computer and that connects to the internet

***What are your first memories of computers?***

Dad was a short-wave radio enthusiast. Since he was a teenager he had communicated with people around the world on short-wave radio. I used to think it was amazing when he came back from a session on the radio and he would talk about the people he had been communicating



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with. He built up a large network of friends around the world using short-wave radio. What amazes me now is that with computers and the internet all of us communicate with people all over the planet yet think nothing of it. Computers and the internet killed off short-wave radio for the small number of enthusiasts who had it as their hobby.

Computer technology first came into our home when my father got a Commodore 64 computer in the mid-eighties. The C64 was designed for use in the home and became one of the most popular computers of all time. They didn't come with a monitor. Instead you plugged them into your TV. My Dad did some work on it but there was a lot of playing of computer games on it when I brought the kids over to see their grandparents. By this time IBM had brought out their first personal computers, known as PCs. Apple released their first Macintosh computer in 1984. Computers had been starting to appear in schools but it wasn't for a few years until we had enough of them to have an impact. In 1991, our school principal bought Macintosh computers for all the head teachers. This marked the entrance of the computer into my life.



**SOURCE 5.9** This early type of home computer was popular from the later 1980s to early 1990s.



**SOURCE 5.10** Smartphones have changed our lives in so many ways.

***Overall, what has been the impact of digital technology on daily life and society?***

Well, when I was kid in the sixties there were four dominant electronic technologies in the home – the telephone, the radio, the record player and the television. On reflection, I can see that the important shift in electronic technologies was from **analogue** to **digital** in each of these areas, which occurred between the eighties and the nineties. The second most significant thing has been the convergence of these technologies with computer technology and the internet. Today we walk around with powerful computers in our pockets that are linked to the global internet and with which we can do just about anything – communicate with people in multiple ways, listen to music or books, buy anything, do our banking, use social media, find our way around, watch movies and many more things. This is the 'revolution in our pockets'. Added to this is the proliferation of smart watches and devices that record our every step and every heartbeat and provide a running analysis on every aspect of our lives.

**analogue** an analogue recording is one that is made by changing the sound waves into electrical signals of the same type.

**digital** recording or storing information as a series of the numbers 1 and 0, to show that a a signal is present or absent

I'm in my sixties and am as immersed in digital technology as the next person. The Digital Revolution has transformed the lives of everyone I know, and every new innovation pushes this transformation even further. However, the 'digital natives' born since the



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## KEY QUESTIONS

**Recognising effects**

What have been the main effects of the Digital Revolution so far, and have the benefits outweighed the concerns?

big transformation of analogue to digital, and the arrival of the computer and the internet, don't know how far we have come. It seems that we are pushing on to even bigger changes in the future, as we move to screenless devices and the incorporation of artificial intelligence into everything digital. My concern is that we are headed to further massive changes in technology in the future without really understanding the history of changes in digital technology that have brought us this far.



**SOURCE 5.11** How will artificial intelligence affect our lives in future?

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

Write down answers to these questions and then share with a classmate:

1 What are your earliest memories of using technology?
2 What do you think are the most significant changes in technology that have occurred in your lifetime?
3 What forms of technology do you use in your daily life?
4 What do you think life would be like if you lived only with the technology available in:
   – the 1930s?
   – the 1960s?
   – the 1980s?
5 What big changes in technology do you see up ahead?
6 What do think have been the benefits of digital technology for the contemporary world?
7 What are some of the debates about issues related to technology today?

## 5.2 Old media technology

The twentieth century saw a rapid increase in the power of technology. In an era when necessity drove invention, two world wars developed transportation and military technology that changed the world forever. On 6 August 1945, a bomb of previously unimagined power was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, killing 80 000 people. The power of the atomic bomb was as much technological as it was symbolic. Such sophisticated weaponry gave the side that owned it in any conflict immediate power over the other that didn't. It pushed both the US and the Soviet Union into an arms race that created the possibility of catastrophic destruction on a global scale. Technology advanced humanity into a frightening realm of thinking. People now had the capacity to destroy others instantly. However, as with the strike on 6 August 1945, the decision to use these weapons were human ones. When you examine the advance of technology and its impact on history, you must also examine the very human ways in which it is used and the human impact it has.

## RESEARCH TASK 5.1

For centuries, scientists, inventors and thinkers chipped away at the inventions that would solve problems for people and bring them closer together with improved communication.

Split into teams of four and complete the following task:



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**SOURCE 5.12** (Left) the printing press. (Centre) the telephone/telegraph. (Right) the first television broadcast being made.

For each invention, examine how people interacted with one another before it was invented and how that invention improved the experience.

| Inventor | Invention | How did people interact beforehand? | How did it change society? |
|---|---|---|---|
| Johannes Gutenburg | The printing press | | |
| Alexander Graham Bell | The telephone | | |
| Guglielmo Marconi | The radio | | |
| Eadweard Muybridge | The motion picture | | |
| Logie Baird | The television | | |

Now consider this list and explain who you think controlled the messages created by this technology.

## Knowledge, and technology, are power

In the early years of communication and technological development, thinkers and analysts became worried about the potential for the media technologies to influence audiences and, given that the power to create media messages was closely held by those with the money and resources to do so, that the few would be able to influence the many.

In light of what you have already learned, it's time to examine how these new media technologies were used to convince millions that genocide, atomic war and ideological revolutions were justified.

From the outset, it is vital to understand that the production of media messages was often limited to those with the wealth and power to create them.

In the 1780s and 1790s the French people were largely influenced by Enlightenment ideas that were spread through printed newspapers owned by the growing bourgeois class. The invention of the printing press enabled essays and arguments about equality and liberty to be illegally printed and distributed among a populace eager to break free from the feudal rule of King Louis XVI. In an effort to resist the growing tide of discontent, Louis lifted censorship to allow the *Cahiers de Doléances* (*Book of Grievances*) to be drafted in 1789 so that the French people, as well as the literate clergy and nobility, could have input into the future. With the ban on political discussion gone, the 'Pamphlet War' erupted and countless printing presses began disseminating ideas and knowledge to an eager public. Thousands of pamphlets were distributed on the streets of Paris (where literacy was much higher) and over the course of the Revolution. It should be no surprise that the radical turn the Revolution took was driven by an educated and angry Parisian population. In the end, the King lost his head and the ideas of the Revolution won.



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## RESEARCH TASK 5.2

The radical priest Abbé Sieyès printed the influential essay 'What is the Third Estate?' in 1789, discussing the role of the lower classes in pre-revolutionary France. It was reprinted over 20 000 times and provided the blueprint for the French Revolution.

1 Research the influence of this document. Why is it considered so important?
2 What is the role of the printing press in this? How did advancements in technology influence the French Revolution?

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.3

This famous painting from the French Revolution depicts the death of the famous radical writer Jean-Paul Marat at the hands of a counter-revolutionary. The radicals of the Revolution considered Marat to be a martyr.

1 What is a martyr?
2 How does the image depict Marat?
3 What parallels can you see with Christian religious art?
4 How would the viewing of this image help influence the thoughts of other revolutionaries?




**SOURCE 5.13** Jacques-Louis David's famous painting of the French writer Jean-Paul Marat, murdered during the French Revolution of the 1780s–90s

### Technology and influence

The radio, invented in the 1890s, rose in popularity in the 1920s and 1930s as an exciting and engaging way for people to connect with the world around them. More emotive and exciting than newspapers, radio news and plays were broadcast live into family homes. The tradition then was to crowd around the 'wireless' and listen to the news of the day. Such was its popularity that, in 1923, a group of thinkers from the Frankfurt School (a school of social theory and philosophy set up in Germany between the two world wars) began to examine the impact of media technologies on audiences.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.4

Examine this image:

1 Explain where people needed to be to listen to the radio.
2 How would this help explain its ability to reach large audiences?



**SOURCE 5.14** A family gathered around the 'wireless' radio



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They were primarily concerned with the effect the media had on what they saw as naive, unsuspecting audiences who were unfamiliar with these new technologies. They examined the way people would listen and act on messages from the media and proposed that a message would travel like a bullet from a gun, or like medication through a hypodermic needle to the receiver. The Frankfurt thinkers believed that the audience would then think and act just as the message suggested without questioning what they had just been told.

The ideas of the Frankfurt School found resonance when the author Orson Welles broadcast his radio play *War of the Worlds* in 1938. It told a dramatic and 'live' story of aliens invading the earth using the voices of the real news journalists from the broadcasting station. The audience were somewhat fooled by the play and thousands ran into the streets, packing their cars and arming themselves to fight the 'alien invasion' across the New York and New Jersey areas that the play had been broadcast to.

Thus the fear of media technology, and the power it had over audiences, was born.

Meanwhile, in Germany, the frustration caused by humiliation at the hands of the Allied governments after World War I, and the impoverishment brought on by the Great Depression, were pounced upon by Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party. Once in power in 1933 the Nazis, led by their propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, harnessed the power of media technology to spread the Nazi message across Germany. Their first task was to create and distribute cheap radios to the German population. In a time when the printed word was still as influential as it was in the French Revolution, the invention of the radio brought the voice and enthusiasm of Hitler into the lounge rooms of countless German homes. For the first time, ordinary people were able to hear the very messages that the dominant political party wanted them to hear.

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Clarifying**

Who comprised the Frankfurt School, and how did they attempt to explain the way the media could influence people?




**SOURCE 5.15** Actor and writer Orson Welles performing a live radio play broadcast

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

Consider what you know about technological invention and the way messages were distributed before the radio was invented.

1 How would the availability of a cheap radio change the way normal German families accessed information about their nation?
2 Compare the power of the written word versus that of sound. How could one be more influential than the other?
3 How would this help enhance the popularity of the Nazis?

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.5

Advances in film technology were seized upon by Goebbels and the Nazi propaganda machine. The radio gave Germans the voice of Hitler. Film gave them the world as he saw it.

Leni Riefenstahl's movie *Triumph of the Will* (1935) employed what were, at the time, revolutionary techniques to produce a Nazi propaganda film that glorified the achievements of Hitler's Germany.



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In the opening scenes sweeping shots of huge crowds and proud, beaming children were employed to inspire feelings of adoration for Adolf Hitler and in the process to generate in German audiences a belief in him as a popular and capable leader.



**SOURCE 5.16** A still from Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*, a film funded by the Nazi regime for the purposes of propaganda

View the opening sequence of the film *Triumph of the Will* (available on YouTube).

1. Explain what you see.
2. Explain what you hear.
3. How does the combination of these 'film elements' create an image of Hitler?
4. Given that film was a relatively new technology, how could you explain the influence of film on German audiences?

## Technology and ideology

The Cold War was a media war. Both superpowers used the media in an effort to convince their own people that the other nation's ideology was evil. In America the use of Russian communists as the villains was a common tool in fiction. Through film and television American audiences were taught to ridicule, despise and fear the Russian communist ideology. The notion that communists sought to destroy the American way of life was reinforced in the way children's cartoon characters and adult film antagonists were portrayed.

With the help of decades of anti-communist messages from politicians and educators, the Russian communist was easily cast in a bad light. Fit, and dressed in black or military garb, he or she had a thick accent that mocked the complexities of the English language. The communist was a battle-hardened villain



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with a bulging chest and a cold expression, reflecting the Western concept of a cold, emotionless communist enemy. Interestingly, in Soviet representations of Americans the capitalist was always overweight!

As the Cold War raged, so did the communist villain in Hollywood films. When the US waged war across Vietnam against a Russian-backed force, heroes like John Wayne, Chuck Norris and Sylvester Stallone defended American democracy against ruthless, merciless Vietnamese foes.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.6

American media technologies were used to reinforce existing ideas about their 'enemies' in the Cold War. Closely examine images and videos of the following communist characters in American media and answer the questions that follow.

### CASE STUDY: communist villains

Deconstruct the visual representations of the following communist 'villains' to explain how media technology was used to influence populations.

#### Boris Badenov – *Rocky and Bullwinkle* (1959–1964)

Like the Nazis at the height of World War II, the communist villain was often a target of ridicule and derision at the peak of Cold War tension in the 1960s. Boris Badenov, 'the world's greatest no-goodnik', consistently attempted to thwart the noble efforts of cartoon characters Rocky the Squirrel and Bullwinkle the Moose in the American cartoon *Rocky and Bullwinkle*. Short, rotund, dressed in black and deathly pale, Boris constantly rubbed his hands together as he planned his next attempt at killing 'moose and squirrel'.



**SOURCE 5.17** A typical communist villain: General Orlov (Steven Berkoff) in *Octopussy* (1983)

#### General Orlov – *Octopussy* (1983)

The trials and tribulations of the British spy James Bond were often a manifestation of Cold War fears as the hero was invariably pitted against a non-European, Russian or quasi-communist super villain bent on the destruction of the world. In 1983, *Octopussy* pitted Bond against the snarling Russian, General Orlov. Representations like Orlov were common throughout the Cold War and symbolised a constructed reality of the Russian military.

#### Ivan Drago – *Rocky 4* (1985)

Few villains personified the American perception of the 'evil empire' of communist Russia more than Ivan Drago, Rocky Balboa's rival in *Rocky 4*. Drago is a character who, on appearances, is more machine than human, a boxer with a 100–1 record and a decorated military past. The inhuman villain is of course in stark contrast to the hero Rocky Balboa, a perennial underdog who represents the American dream of the self-made champion. The construction of Drago represented a fictional frontier of Cold War conflict. A 'machine' built by the Russian government, Drago had no motivation beyond the defeat of Balboa.



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1 Research how each character was 'represented' by the people who made the films and television shows. How were they dressed? What symbols and colours were used when they appeared? What ideas do these give you about the character?
2 Think about the way people would see these images, as children watching a television cartoon or as adults in a dark cinema. How would the context in which people engaged with these technologies influence the power of the message?
3 How were media technologies used to influence the thinking of Western audiences during the Cold War?

## 5.3 Old media technology in Australia

In 1956, television arrived in Australia. As it coincided with the first ever Olympic Games in Melbourne, the two events opened Australia to the world and Australians to themselves. The arrival of this new technology brought with it a new era of change, knowledge and development of the Australian identity. Here we need to again examine the role of technology on people.

For the first time, Australian audiences saw themselves broadcast on television rather than through the cinema, which was dominated by American films. Television brought a new way for Australians to have their own stories and develop an understanding of who they were beyond the Anzac legend. As the broadcasters sought to develop new shows, documentaries and stories for the entertainment and education of Australians, they looked far and wide and brought the Australian identity back to itself.



**SOURCE 5.18** Television arrived in Australia in time for the Olympics. Pictured is news presenter Eric Pearce in 1956.

### CASE STUDY: THE LANDING AT ANZAC COVE

Step backwards to the time before television and consider how early technologies influenced Australian identity. Each year, on 25 April, Australians celebrate Anzac Day to commemorate the first time Australian soldiers fought in World War I. While the day is meant to be a broader recognition of all Australians who fought in wars, the date was chosen for its link to an article written by the journalist Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, who observed the landing on the Turkish coastline and wrote the article that many historians argue changed the history of Australia.

Ashmead-Bartlett observed and recorded the events of the day, presumably with a pencil and notebook. By the close of the day he was able to write a complete account of the event. An inspiring tale, the report glorified the actions of the Australian soldiers and played a powerful role in increasing the number of young Australian men who volunteered to fight in the war. The article was first printed in Tasmania's *Hobart Mercury* newspaper on 12 May 1915, a full two weeks after the event. In this instance, it is essential to look at the way early media technologies communicated such a momentous story.



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.7

### Ashmead-Bartlett's ANZAC landing dispatch



**SOURCE 5.19** British war correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett

> ... the Australians rose to the occasion. They did not wait for orders, or for the boats to reach the beach, but sprang into the sea, formed a sort of rough line, and rushed at the enemy's trenches. Their magazines were not charged, so they just went in with the cold steel, and it was over in a minute, for the Turks in the first trench had been either bayoneted or had run away, and the Maxim guns were captured.
>
> Then the Australians found themselves facing an almost perpendicular cliff of loose sandstone covered with thick shrubbery. Somewhere half-way up the enemy had a second trench strongly held, from which there poured a terrible fire on the troops below and on those pulling back to the torpedo-boat destroyers for a second landing party.
>
> Here was a tough proposition to tackle in the darkness, but these Colonials are practical above all else, and went about it in a practical way. They stopped for a few minutes to pull themselves together, got rid of their packs and charged the magazines of their rifles. Then this race of athletes proceeded to scale the cliffs, without responding to the enemy's fire. They lost some men, but did not worry. In less than a quarter of an hour the Turks had been hurled out of their second position, all either bayoneted or fled.

**SOURCE 5.20** Ashmead-Bartlett's account of the Anzac landings at Gallipoli in World War I, from the gallipoli.gov.au website

1. Explain how Ashmead-Bartlett's choice of words would have had an influence over audiences with no access to other media technologies.
2. Why did it take two weeks for Ashmead-Bartlett's story to be read by Australian audiences?
3. What does the process tell you about the nature of news production in 1915?
4. Carefully research the available technology in 1915. Work in groups to determine the steps required to send Bartlett's story from a beach in Turkey to the front page of a newspaper in Tasmania.
5. Why, then, was Ashmead-Bartlett's story so influential?

## The Australian Broadcasting Corporation

The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) began with a specific purpose: to inform, educate and entertain. Covering radio, film, television and online services, the national broadcaster has created Australian stories and told the nation about itself since 1932. It was the first television station to begin telling the stories from inside Australia, showcasing a diverse country.

The ABC has expanded over time to contribute to the construction of youth in Australia through music television programs like *Countdown* and *Rage* while maintaining radio services like Triple J. In 2009, it launched a children-only channel named ABC Kids.

Set up as an independent broadcaster with no commercial or political bias, the news and current affairs teams have been criticised by both sides of politics for having negative perspectives on the ruling government. As the ABC's funding comes from taxpayers, they are thus obliged to tell as many diverse stories about Australia as possible.

### KEY QUESTIONS

**Forming opinons**

How important is it for a nation to have a reliable and trustworthy television media that promotes a positive national identity and encourages people to participate in democracy?



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## RESEARCH TASK 5.8

### Part One

Research two of the following productions from the ABC and present your findings to the class.

Your focus should be on the production and its contribution to telling Australian stories and explain the role television played in helping Australians form their own identity and participate in their own democracy.

*Aunty Jack*
*This Day Tonight*
*Four Corners*
*Bellbird*
*Countdown*
*A Big Country*
*Lateline*
*Australian Story*
*Landline*
*Media Watch*
*Mother and Son*
*The Late Show*
*Sea Change*
*Sylvania Waters*

For the programs you chose to research, answer the following questions:

1 What was the format (comedy, news, drama etc)?
2 What element of Australian society did it focus on?
3 How did it contribute to creating an Australian identity?
4 How did the nature of television technology enhance the power of the story?

### Part Two

'In more recent years, the SBS network has performed a similar role to the ABC, with a special emphasis on catering for multicultural aspects of Australian society.'

Review a typical week's television and radio programming for SBS. To what extent does SBS programming support the above statement?

## CASE STUDY: TELEVISION, AUSTRALIAN IDEOLOGY AND THE POTENTIAL TO INFLUENCE

Television was and is a powerful tool in democracies. It allows people to see and hear their leaders and enables them to make their own opinions. As you will read later in this chapter, the role of technology has shifted dramatically; however, in many ways the images don't lie.

Ever since the invention of television, political leaders have sought to use it to their advantage, such was its power to influence audience opinion. Imagine how much faster Hitler, Stalin and Mao could have gained and maintained power if a television set had been in each of their citizens' homes.



**SOURCE 5.21** Labor leader Mark Latham gives Liberal Prime Minister and election opponent John Howard an aggressive handshake for the cameras in 2004.

Television was such a dominant medium that it could sway the opinions of millions with one broadcast.

Such an example can be found in the final days of the 2004 Australian federal election. The incumbent Prime Minister John Howard held a slim lead over his Labor rival, Mark Latham. As is often the tradition, the two candidates will have successive interviews with a radio talk show host to



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plead their case. Latham went first and left the studio to an audience of news cameras. As Howard approached the door for the second interview, Latham attempted to use his larger frame and physical presence to stand over the smaller Howard and aggressively shook his hand.

The moment implied an attempt by Latham to physically intimidate Howard. The moment was played and replayed on a vast array of television networks and news bulletins all over Australia. Latham's actions were clear to all who saw them. He had behaved like a schoolyard bully.

The audience voted and Latham lost by a far greater margin than had been anticipated by experts. Despite the attempts of people in power to control the messages it sent, it was a medium that allowed the public to make up its own mind.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.9

Consider the power of the visual image. In this instance, how could you explain the power of television in determining the result of democratic elections?

## RESEARCH TASK 5.10

Research the following events and explain how television was able to have an impact on the behaviour of governments and people:

**1** the fall of the Berlin Wall

**2** the 2004 Tsunami

**3** the Vietnam War.

Now research how the following governments used television to control people. Explain how authoritarian governments used television to attempt to control their own populations:

**4** the Chinese Communist Party's portrayal of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests

**5** Putin's use of television to strengthen his grip on power in Russia since 2000

**6** The Bush administration's use of television to build a case for invading Iraq in 2003.

## CASE STUDY: TECHNOLOGY, TELEVISION AND HONESTY

The power of television has a long history as the dominant technology that drove opinion in democratic societies.

In 1987, *Four Corners* ran a story titled 'The Moonlight State'. Led by Australian journalist Chris Masters, *Four Corners* uncovered a web of corruption in the state of Queensland that drew in police, politicians abusing their power and even the Queensland Premier, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen.

The claims of the investigation linked politicians with the embezzlement of public money and the use of police for illegal activities against political opponents. The day after the story aired, a commission of inquiry into the Queensland government was launched and led to the imprisonment of several politicians and the end of the Premier's time in office.

*Four Corners* and television in Australia have played a significant role in public life. In the words of a now defunct Australian political party, television in Australia has been able to 'keep the bastards honest'.



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## RESEARCH TASK 5.11

Research the top stories from the 50-year history of *Four Corners*. Choose three stories that examine a topic of importance to Australia.

1. How does the story challenge authority?
2. For what purpose does it do this?
3. What role do you think television played in changing or challenging the views of Australians?
4. Look back to the example of Abbé Sieyès (see page 392). Explain how media technologies have been used to destabilise governments.
5. In your own words, explain the power television has had in Australian history.

### Summing up old technology

Television enjoyed decades of dominance as a media technology. The moving image, in the homes of millions around the world, could transmit ideas and messages into the thoughts and behaviours of viewers. Before you study the impact of the Digital Revolution, it is essential to consider the power and position of old media technologies like radio, film and television.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.12

On the other side of the hard news of *Four Corners* were the hours of escapism provided by fictional television and cinema technologies that allowed people to forget their worries and sink into another world. For an hour or two audiences and whole populations could 'zone out' from reality. Many worried that these technologies were owned by too few and that the fictional content created was for a purpose.

Consider the following extract:

> It might be helpful if those who control television and radio would sit still for a bit and attempt to discover what it is they care about. If television and radio are to be used to entertain all of the people all of the time, then we have come perilously close to discovering the real opiate of the people.

**SOURCE 5.22** Journalist and news presenter Edward R Murrow, 1957



**SOURCE 5.23** American journalist Edward R Murrow

1. What is an 'opiate'?
2. How does Murrow use this to define the influence of television?
3. What do you think Murrow was saying to those who had the power to produce television?
4. Replace 'television' with 'smartphone' in Murrow's statement. Is it still relevant? Explain your response with evidence from your own experience with new media technologies.



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## CASE STUDY: THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE TELEVISED

In the midst of the television boom in the 1960s and 1970s the poet, writer and singer Gil Scott-Heron wrote the famous line, 'The revolution will not be televised.'

Gil Scott-Heron was an African American poet and social activist who had been radicalised by his experience of protest in the 1960s. Two events, and the way they were covered by American television, shaped his understanding of the world around him. When four students were shot during a peace rally on 4 May 1970 at Kent State University, the media coverage of the incident shocked the nation. Then, on 15 May 1970, two black students at Jackson State University were shot and killed by members of the Mississippi Police. Scenes of these killings were a constant feature of television news over this period. However, commercial breaks told a different story of an America that was being sold toilet cleaner and soda pop in representations of happy 'All American' families.



**SOURCE 5.24** Poet, writer and singer Gil Scott-Heron

Scott-Heron mobilised protests against the police brutality at his own college of Lincoln State in Pennsylvania. When the college helped the FBI investigate students involved in the protest, he became convinced that there was an ulterior relationship behind what the government did and what was seen on television. He became convinced that television was actively presenting a world that did not exist.

He demanded action:

You will not be able to stay home, brother
You will not be able to plug in, turn on and drop out
You will not be able to lose yourself on skag and skip
Skip out for beer during commercials
Because the revolution will not be televised ...
The revolution will not be right back after a message
About a white tornado, white lightning, or white people
You will not have to worry about a germ on your Bedroom
a tiger in your tank, or the giant in your toilet bowl
The revolution will not go better with Coke
The revolution will not fight the germs that cause bad breath
The revolution WILL put you in the driver's seat
The revolution will not be televised ...

**SOURCE 5.25** The lyrics to Scott-Heron's song 'The Revolution Will Not be Televised'



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.13

1 Why do you think Heron believes the revolution will not be televised?
2 What does Heron's song say about the relationship between technology and people in American society?
3 How does it help explain the impact of media control by the few over the many?

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

In a short essay, using evidence, respond to the following questions:

1 Media technologies were powerful because they were created by those with power. Do you agree/disagree?
2 Television was the opiate of the masses. Do you agree/disagree?
3 Television developed the power of the individual to challenge authority. Do you agree/disagree?

# 5.4 Welcome to the Revolution

## The start of the Revolution

The invention of digital technologies heralded one of the greatest shifts in modern human life. Moving away from analogue forms of technology to digital kick-started one of the greatest accelerations of the human capacity. While the telephone was improving in reliability and technology was connecting people around the world in the late 1980s, the invention of digital forms of communication like the internet meant that in less than 30 years, a 13-year-old with a Facebook account could instantly and directly interact with anyone, anywhere and at any time on the planet.

The gravity of this transition from physical media technologies like tape or the means of communication like electromagnetic waves to digital formats like fibre optic or wi-fi cable meant that our appetite for information is always satisfied by instantaneous access.

**vlog** a video blog: a record of a person's thoughts, opinions, or experiences that they film and publish on the internet

The Digital Revolution has had an enormous effect on human life, both positive and negative. The days when the means of media production were in the hands of the few are well behind us and anyone with a smartphone can have a significant impact on the world. Take today's popular 'YouTubers'. These creators of digital content often work alone, either with a smartphone or a simple camera to post **vlogs** that reach eager audiences of millions.

Governments and the owners of major film studios and television stations could only dream of reaching and influencing so many people. The Digital Revolution has put the control of the public discussion squarely in the hands of you, the digital technology native.

## The old and the new

In the early days of the twentieth century media production, as you have read, was expensive and difficult. It often needed the support of powerful governments combined with media companies whose interests were intertwined. As such, many films and television programs reinforced ideas and values that these people saw as important. Ideas like 'crime doesn't pay' were and are still common as they repeat the key values of governments in democratic societies. In 1906, the Victorian government banned the film *The Story of the Kelly Gang* because they felt it promoted crime and bushranging.



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## RESEARCH TASK 5.14

Carefully examine today's news reports in print, on television or online.

1. List those that feature the punishment or sentencing of criminals.
2. Define the nature of these crimes – what is being highlighted as illegal.
3. Define the relationship between the banning of *The Story of the Kelly Gang* in 1906 and the way media technologies report crime.

### The first victim of the Digital Revolution: news production

One of the key ways people can understand the world around them was, and still is, through the news. It is a tool that helps people make informed decisions about the world around them. However, the advent of digital television channels in the late 1980s meant that a huge array of programming could be created. The corporations and institutions that owned television production saw an opportunity to move audiences away from a 30-minute broadcast at dinnertime to a 24-hour cycle of constant news.

In developed democracies, the news media play a vital role in informing the populace about the actions of their elected leaders. They should investigate, critique and provide forms of 'checks and balances' to ensure that those in power do not abuse it. The role of the journalist is simple: report the truth and let the audience decide.

Before the advent of digital technologies two young reporters from the *Washington Post*, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, began following a trail of suspicious activity behind the 1972 presidential candidate Richard Nixon's re-election campaign, especially the events surrounding a break-in at the Watergate Hotel, the home of Nixon's political opponents. Relying on anonymous sources and a careful editorial staff, the two reporters were able to uncover, over a period of months, high levels of political corruption, which eventually forced the resignation of the elected President Nixon in 1974.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Clarifying**

What is the 24-hour news cycle?




**SOURCE 5.26** In the 1970s the media played a significant role in the downfall of President Nixon.



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In the world of modern news media, this is not always possible.

Digital technology and audience demand shifted the news production process dramatically. With the increase of access to television stations in the 1990s in Australia and the US, whole channels were dedicated to presenting the news, which previously took up 30 minutes of air time. This meant that 23-and-a-half extra hours of news content needed to be produced each day. With the cameras rolling there was now less time to move through the methodical processes of news gathering; news had to go to air as soon as it became available.

The competition for the scoop was fiercer than ever. Story first. Facts later.

Considering what you have learned about the Watergate story, what do you think are the obvious ramifications of the 24-hour news cycle?

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

1 What newspapers do you know of?
2 What newspapers (if any) do you read on a regular basis?
3 Which newspapers, in Australia and overseas, do you think are the most reliable?
4 Where do you get most of your news?
  – television
  – radio
  – hard-copy newspaper
  – online newspaper
  – social media
5 President Trump keeps claiming that media outlets of the mainstream press, such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *CNN*, produce 'fake news'. If he had his way he would shut them down. To what extent would this be a problem for the American democratic system?




**SOURCE 5.27** Social media has helped fuel the 24-hour news cycle.



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## RESEARCH TASK 5.15

Working in pairs carefully examine the online pages of mainstream media news sites in your area over a week.

1. How long do stories stay on the front page of the website?
2. How often do they claim to have an 'exclusive?'
3. List stories that have come from 'leaks' or 'unnamed sources'. Do any of these stories lead to real consequences?

### The arrival of digital technology

New media technologies have developed, and still develop, at such a rapid rate that several new forms may exist that had not even been considered possible when this chapter was written. However, it is still vital to chart the transition from old to new media to evaluate the shift in production for producers and in the attitudes and behaviours of audiences. Hopefully with this in mind it may be possible for students of history to predict and plan for future developments.

The transition from old to new media can be traced back to the gradual transition from analogue media to digital. In the age of vinyl records, new music was a long-anticipated event for fans and the recording of a band or artist would be listened to repeatedly, as releases were often few and far between. The availability of cassettes in the 1970s caused a stir within the music industry as it allowed fans to copy vinyl music to 'tape' and thus avoid paying for the music directly.

Things moved more rapidly still with the invention in 1979 of the 'Walkman': a compact tape player with headphones that could go anywhere the audience wanted it to. Music was on the move.

Film and television audiences endured long waits for their favourite programs as the physical roll of film had to be transported around the globe before it could be seen by audiences. While these rolls of film were easy to mass-produce, they were delicate and could only be handled and screened by those trained in projection. As such, Australian audiences would often have to wait long periods before seeing the films and television hits of the United Kingdom and America. In many cases, the screenings would be a full six months behind the country of origin.




**SOURCE 5.28** An old music shop littered with physical copies of vinyl records



**SOURCE 5.29** Years ago, Australian audiences had to wait many months (or longer) to see media content produced overseas. A film like *Star Wars* was released in the US in May 1977, but only reached our shores in October of that year. Today, releases of Hollywood films are usually simultaneous around the globe.



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**binary data** a type of data that is represented or displayed in the binary numeral system

**internet piracy** the practice of using the internet to illegally copy software and pass it on to other people

As such, Australian audiences, isolated geographically, were often 'behind' as they would only catch up with the artistic trends of Europe and the US once an idea had been proven to make money for large companies overseas.

## Binary code

A dramatic shift came with the commercial use of **binary data** codes to transmit information. Little more than a long sequence of ones and zeros, binary data form the long series of codes that create digital files.



**SOURCE 5.30** Piracy is a problem that authorities have struggled to grapple with. Here we see one way to prevent internet piracy from Thailand: destroy pirated DVDs with steamrollers!

Digital data does not degenerate in the same fashion as its analogue ancestors; it can live an infinite life, remaining exactly as it was created. As such, the quality and speed of media production after the commercial use of digital files in the late 1980s and 1990s meant music and film could be sold on CD and DVD. Creators of such media texts still maintained a level of control over their product, but the audience became more adept in manipulating, copying and sharing digital data in new ways.

## The internet

The arrival of the internet in the mid-1990s, however, changed everything.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Significance**

Explain why the internet was created.

Originally designed in the 1950s to protect sensitive military data in case of a nuclear attack, the internet existed as little more than a bewildering concept understood by only a handful of computer scientists and mathematicians. Its potential, for a long time, appeared limited to the capacity of the hulking computers that used it.

As companies like Microsoft, IBM and Apple began to develop personal computers (PCs) that could be used in the family home, the growth of the internet soon followed. Suddenly, all of the binary data that made up digital media files like photographs, text, videos and music could be shared locally and, eventually, globally. With this came more control for the audience. Peer-to-peer file sharing, while slow and arduous, enabled digital files to be shared globally and suddenly audiences were not waiting so patiently to hear their favourite music. **Internet piracy** was the immediate consequence.

In its early years, much of the content that appeared on the internet was created by those with the ability to write the code. The internet was initially a novelty.

Previous connections, through a dial-up service connected to the home phone, meant that sending an email involved clicking Send, making a cup of coffee, cleaning the house, walking the dog and then checking to see if the computer had sent the message.

However, the use of the internet gathered pace and the popularity of search engines brought all available knowledge readily to hand. The process of finding information, usually called research, has since been replaced by a brand name: Google.



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.16

An article published in the *New York Times* in 1997 suggested a lack of understanding of the power the internet possessed. Read the extracts below and complete the questions:

> 'Put newspapers and magazines out of business? It will never happen,' Mr. Wang (head of a software company) continues. 'I like to read The Sunday [New York] Times, because I don't know what I want to read. The Web is there if you know exactly what you want. People say the Internet will replace stores. It will never happen. If you know what you want to buy it is another vehicle. But shopping is a social experience.'
>
> 'The good news is that everything is widely available. The bad news is that everything is widely available,' joked Kate Delhagen, a research analyst at Forrester Research of Cambridge, Massachusetts, which tracks the Internet for corporate clients. 'Chances are if you search for an item even with a very good search engine, most of the results you get will be irrelevant.'

**SOURCE 5.31** 'Skeptics cite overload of useless information: internet arrives at a crossroads', *New York Times*, 1997

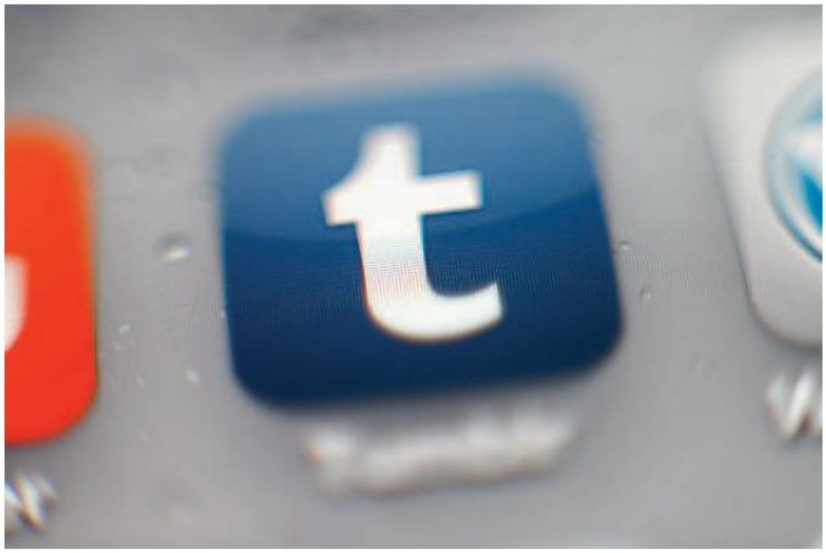
1 What predictions from both extracts were proven incorrect?
2 What services now exist to replace those that each source stated had a limitation?

## Web 2.0

The advent of **Web 2.0** technologies is central to your understanding of this chapter. A complex concept that is somewhat easy to explain, Web 2.0 refers to the moment when faster broadband internet speeds arrived in the internet user's home, which coincided with the arrival of the user-generated internet.

**Web 2.0** a name for all the internet features and websites that allow users to create, change and share internet content (information, pictures, etc.)

Think back to an earlier point in this chapter where you examined the power that a few had over many. For example, many people still study the role of Nazi propaganda in the 1930s to see what happens when the production of media is in the hands of a select few. YouTube, Facebook, Wikipedia, Instagram and Twitter represent the shift that placed much of the media and the means of production in the hands of the audience.



**SOURCE 5.32** Social media has been a key development of Web 2.0.

Put simply, the ability to download content from the internet became as simple as the task to upload it. Anyone could now create the internet.

All of these applications are used daily by millions, and in some cases billions, of ordinary people who generate the content that appears on each platform. From cat videos to your current mood and 140 character rants, any and all thoughts, actions and ideas the audience had could now be shared with millions worldwide.



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**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Clarifying**

What is Web 2.0?

Never before have ordinary people had such power. The voices of a powerful few are often drowned out by the sheer volume of competing messages from the many.

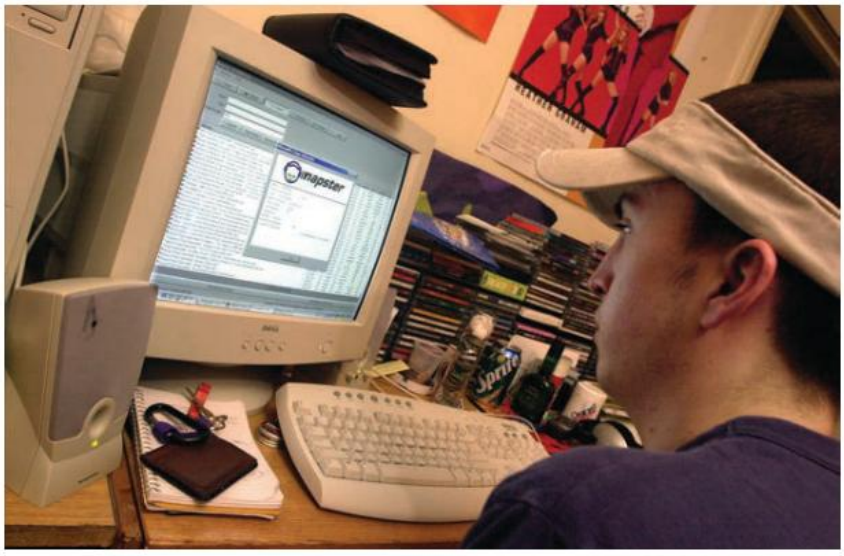
## The impact of Web 2.0 on music

One of the earliest facets of popular culture to feel the effects of digital technology was the music industry.

**MP3** a type of computer file that stores high-quality sound in a small amount of space, or the technology that makes this possible

### *Metallica versus Napster*

In 1999, a young entrepreneur named Shawn Fanning created Napster. This was essentially a file browser that allowed users to see digital **MP3** music files on any computer that was connected to the service. This of course was highly illegal.




**SOURCE 5.33** A man in the early 2000s searching for music files on Napster

Music companies had for decades placed legal copyrights on their products to protect them from theft. Napster's growth was so rapid and widespread that the music industry were unsure how to tackle such widespread theft of their product.

In 2000, an unreleased song by the metal band Metallica was leaked online to Napster and was shared before its official release. The band were furious and took Napster to court for infringement of copyright. What followed was not expected. The band faced a huge backlash from their own fans. In taking on a free service that by this stage had millions of users around the world, the once counterculture metal band now appeared greedy, and representive of the powerful authority that many of their fans automatically rallied against. Metallica won the lawsuit and Napster was sent bankrupt as a result. Metallica may have won the battle, but they lost the war. File sharing was here to stay.

**EXAMINING THE ISSUES**

To what extent do you believe that the internet directly affects the livelihood of musicians?

## Web 2.0 institutions

What followed the Napster decision was an avalanche of technologies and services that would forever change the way governments, institutions and individuals would interact. A range of media forms appeared that challenged the very structure of twentieth-century media technologies. Now that any individual had the power to contribute to the media, the old notion of the wealthy few controlling the ability to create dominant and influential media messages was under threat.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Clarifying**

What is a Web 2.0 institution?

In short, the very structure of media had moved away from the dominance of the wealthy creator to the ordinary user.



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## RESEARCH TASK 5.17

Research the following Web 2.0 technologies and determine the role they played in replacing old technologies.

| Web 2.0 technology | What does it do? | How is it created? | What old media has it replaced? |
|---|---|---|---|
| **YouTube** | | | |
| **Facebook** | | | |
| **Twitter** | | | |
| **Wikipedia** | | | |
| **Instagram** | | | |

### The arrival of the smartphone

The arrival of the smartphone changed everything. Again. The way we used the internet became a mobile, anywhere and anytime event. What was previously a static activity at a laptop or home computer became a single-touch exercise when the electronics company Apple released the iPhone in 2007.

Mobile phone technology was nothing new in 2007. However, what Apple was able to do was combine a small, easy-to-use phone with a colour screen and the internet. Blackberry and other phone providers like Nokia and Samsung had already combined these technologies in phones that were already available; however, what Apple provided was a simple interface that absolutely anyone could use. It sold in the millions and graduated into updated versions that made the previous ones obsolete – thus increasing demand and audience dependence on the device.



**SOURCE 5.34** A BlackBerry smartphone

After 2007, the ability of ordinary people to interact with the world via the internet exploded and with it came a tsunami of private data that would be held, secured and eventually monetised by applications like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube, which were the ubiquitous products of iPhone use.

Users could not only consume the internet in line for food, at the doctor's or at boring family gatherings; they began to create it too.



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.18

The relationship between the iPhone's ease of use and access to the web cannot be overstated. It began to have an immediate impact on all facets of human life.

Read the following extract from the article by Andre Spicer:

> The pallid blue light of my phone cut through the gloom of my bedroom. I turned over, reached for it and read an email that had just come in. Before putting my phone down again, I looked at the time. 2.03 am. 'What am I doing?' I asked myself as I drifted back to sleep. When I woke up four hours later, I reached for my phone – and, out of habit, I began to scroll through social media. One of the first news stories I noticed was that the Apple iPhone had turned 10 years old. I wondered how much our life had changed in that period thanks to this iconic piece of technology.

**SOURCE 5.35** Andre Spicer, 'The iPhone is the crack of technology. Don't celebrate its birthday,' *The Guardian*, 30 June 2017

### Question

How old were you when you first used a smartphone? Explain the role it plays in your daily life. It may help you to answer this question if you complete the task below.

## RESEARCH TASK 5.19

Create a survey of the following behaviours that you or a classmate engage in each day and then compare it with someone your parents' age.

1. How many hours do you spend on your smartphone each day?
2. How often do you check your phone without a notification?
3. How many hands do you use to operate a smartphone?
4. How often do you use your phone when out with friends?
5. How often do you use your phone in the company of family or loved ones?
6. How much of that time is devoted to social media and sharing apps?
7. What do your findings tell you about your use of digital technologies and social media?

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.20

Examine the statistics from the 2015 study by OFCOM, the independent communication authority of the United Kingdom: a 10-year study of digital media use. Its findings were as follows:

1. Nine out of ten adults are online each day.
2. As more people connect away from the home, 66 per cent of people were using a smartphone as their primary connection to the internet.
3. While text messaging was used by 96 per cent of smartphone users, there were huge increases in the use of free, instant messaging services.
4. Three-quarters of internet users in the UK had a social media profile.



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5 While online video was a limited source in 2007, only 17 per cent of 16- to 24-year-olds stated that they would miss their television in 2015.

6 For the age group of 15 to 34, almost 100 per cent used their mobile device for communication, 60 per cent used them to search for content like video and photos, and over 75 per cent used it to create the same content themselves.

7 By the time you read this, these statistics will have most certainly changed. Using the OFCOM website or recent data from the Australian branch of Deloitte – an economics and finance company that often conducts audits of Australian internet use – compare the 2015 data to those of today. What does this say about the nature of internet and smartphone use today?

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Significance**

How did the arrival of the smartphone change access to the internet?

## CASE STUDY: THE SMARTPHONE AND POLITICS

### Nixon versus JFK: the broadcast television era

One of the first American politicians to properly use television in the 1960s was the American presidential candidate John F Kennedy. JFK would use radio and print to sell his message and sway public opinion; however, both forms limited his ability to appear as anything more than a mouthpiece for slogans.

Television humanised politics, as the form allowed media audiences to see and hear their leaders talk in real time. In 1960, 87 per cent of American homes – more than 46 million – were equipped with a television, compared to at least 25 per cent in 1956.



**SOURCE 5.36** JFK and Nixon

JFK was a young, handsome and well-spoken politician. While these qualities could also be communicated through print and radio, it was his personality and charm that television could communicate. In short, JFK was heading into an election against an opponent, Richard Nixon, who was in no way as attractive as he was. Television technologies made superficial differences very apparent.

The Presidential Debate on 26 September 1960 was broadcast on television and radio. Research after the event recorded that those who listened to the debate on the radio thought that what Nixon had to say made him the winner.

However, the television audience of over 70 million who were able to focus on the physical appearance of the two declared Kennedy the winner. Here we can observe a clear distinction between the power of certain media forms to influence an audience.

JFK went on to win the election, in which more than half of all voters reported that the televised debates played a role in their decision. Six per cent of those surveyed stated that these debates were the specific reason why they voted for JFK.



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## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.21

Carefully consider this case study and answer the following questions.

1 How would print and radio allow politicians to control their message more carefully?
2 How could television change this?
3 How would your experience of Web 2.0 technologies change this? How would it be different? How would you participate in the same process?



**SOURCE 5.37** Today we can instantly watch and judge politicians online.

### Clinton versus Trump: the smartphone era

Fast forward to the 2016 American presidential election. Since the time of JFK and Nixon, the televised election debate has become a fundamental element in the process. It is one of the key means by which audiences can see their leaders interact and put forward their case for election. Today, the debates are heavily choreographed events that each candidate prepares for, managing body language, handshakes and facial expressions.

What has changed is the technology that allows the audience to not only view the debate, but also to actively participate in public discussion. On 26 September 2016 the two presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, met on stage for the first political debate of the campaign. Each would attempt to sway voters in their direction. As the debate began, a number of media forms began participating:

- **Television:** The traditional debate format was used, allowing each candidate time to respond to each question and the broadcasts were watched live by millions.
- **Twitter:** An incalculable number of journalists, commentators, politicians and ordinary citizens posted their thoughts, retweeted those of others and provided a vast platform for live political debate among the audience in real time. During the debate there were almost 6 million tweets that mentioned and tagged either candidate.
- **YouTube:** Three official live streams were played from Bloomberg TV, the *Washington Post* and the Spanish-language channel Telemundo, along with independent streaming that allowed for public commentary and debate in the comments section.
- **Online news:** There was live commentary from journalists across a range of news platforms.
- **Facebook:** Live streams allowed for open comment and political debate between supporters of both candidates.
- **Memes:** Text on images was created and shared via social media pages like Reddit and Facebook live in response to each candidate's statement.
- **Print media:** Journalists and analysts recorded the debate to make extended commentary on the following day's paper.



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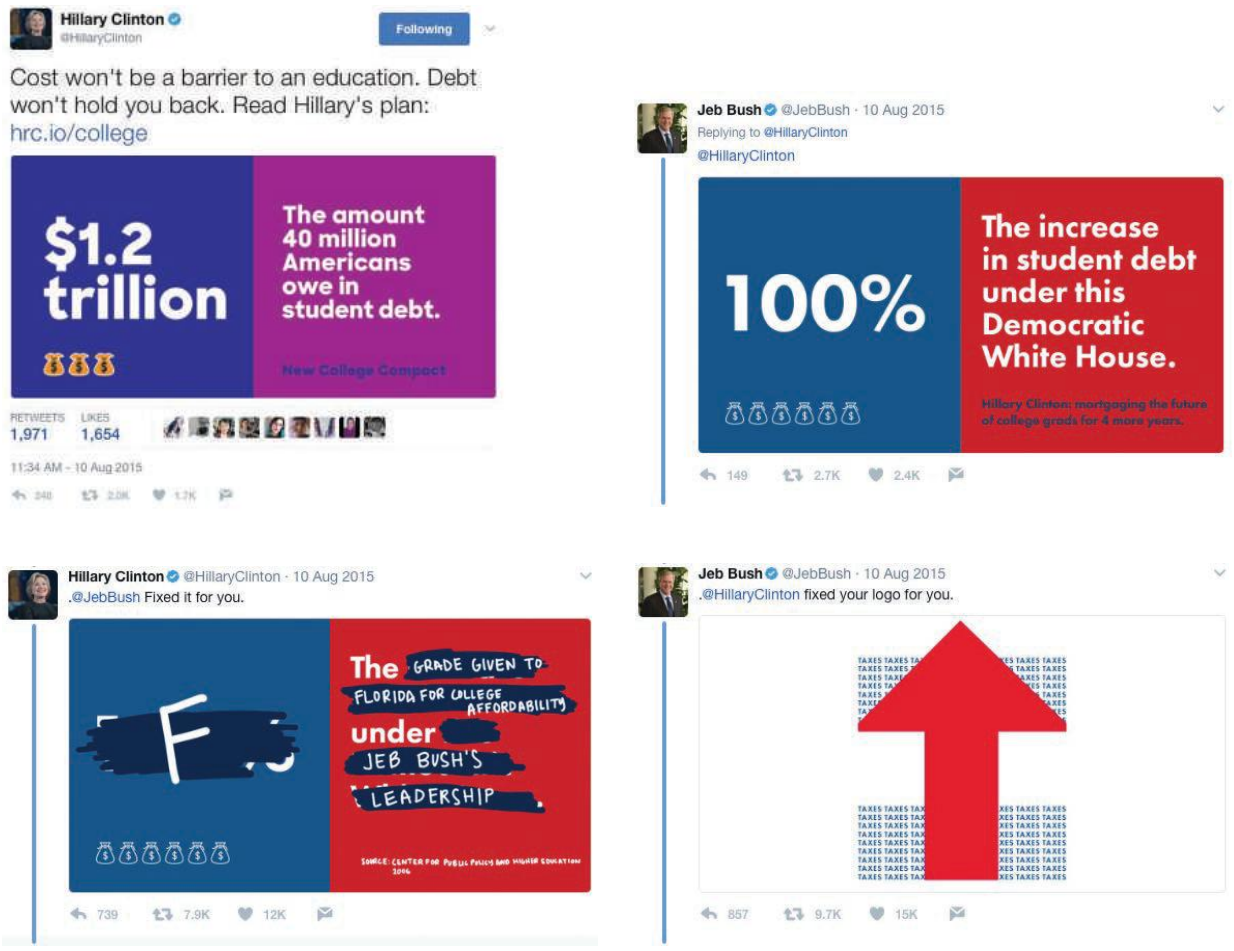
Throughout the campaign, social media accessed via smartphones took a very prominent role in public debate. In the Nixon and JFK era, the audience would debate with friends and co-workers in an open dialogue that used the opinions of journalists who, for the most part, were free and independent enough to cast judgement on either candidate. It was expected that each voter would consider all of their options carefully and cast their vote accordingly.

**echo chamber** a situation in which ideas are amplified and reinforced through constant repetition in a closed system that prevents any alternative ideas taking shape

In the 2016 campaign, the nature of the audience's involvement completely altered the way in which the candidates *and* their supporters attempted to sway the opinion of voters. Most elections are hotly contested; however, the sheer volume of technology and media available to voters meant that a bottomless pit of views, opinions, videos, posts and blogs were available to those willing to search.

On Facebook, the ferocity of the debate reached such a level that many users began 'unfriending' and hiding the opinions that they disagreed with.

Clinton supporters only saw news and posts by other Clinton supporters; Trump supporters only saw what they wanted to see. People were trapped in their own **echo chambers**; that is, they only saw posts sympathetic to their own beliefs, reinforcing what they already believed. When two supporters would meet on a post made by an institutional news source like the *Washington Post*, the political debate would often descend into name-calling.




**SOURCE 5.38** The Twitter 'debate' between Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Jeb Bush



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**troll** someone who leaves an intentionally offensive message on the internet, in order to get attention or cause trouble

**micro-blog** a short message for anyone to read, sent especially from a mobile phone

**hashtag** used on social media for describing the general subject of a tweet or other post (= message)

**twitterbot** a Twitter account that acts like a robot automatically tweeting, liking and following or messaging other Twitter accounts

On Twitter, the opportunity for the audience to share informed opinion was not helped by the behaviour of both Clinton and Trump, who used the platform to belittle and 'troll' each other. In response to one of Trump's frequent missives about his opponent, Clinton responded with a common **trolling** retort: 'delete your account.'

While the platform was open to millions to tag and share their views, the limitation of 140 characters on the **micro-blogging** platform ensured that the possibility of well-informed and calm political debate was minimal.

In addition to this, a 2016 Oxford University study examined the source of tweets about the campaign. It found that at least a fifth of the tweets that supported Clinton and at least a third of the tweets that supported Trump came from automated Twitter accounts known as **twitterbots**. These accounts are not owned or operated by unique individuals, but by software programs that generate tweets with the intention of getting some **hashtags** to trend and dominate discussion on the platform. As such, the value and place of Twitter in this media event must be carefully scrutinised.

With this in mind, it is interesting to examine the dominance a smartphone app like Twitter has in developing news. 'The tweet' then became headline news that directed the nature of the post, the time it was tweeted and the responses and 're-tweets' it gathered; the nature of the social media post was seemingly as important as the content of the message itself.

Twitter was the news! One particular exchange, earlier in the campaign, saw Clinton posting tweets of an 'infographic' while debating presidential rival Jeb Bush (see Source 5.38). What followed was a series of imitations and memes from each camp that attempted to belittle the other using the common language of memes.

## KEY QUESTIONS

**Significance**

Define the impact of the smartphone on political debate.

## CREATIVE TASK 5.22

Work in groups of three to complete the following task:

On two blank pieces of paper, create two diagrams that explain the flow of information to the audience and back to the creator. This is known as a **feedback loop**.

**feedback loop** a process in which a part of a system's output is fed back into the system as input

Use one for the Nixon versus JFK debate and one for Clinton versus Trump.

1. One person, using a red pen, should chart the role all media forms played in the Nixon and JFK election campaign, noting down how and where each technology participated.
2. The second person should use a blue pen to create ONE circle to chart the role traditional news media played in the Clinton and Trump debate.
3. A third must create the second circle for Clinton and Trump, but using a green pen, which focuses specifically on the role smartphone and social media technologies played in the same process.



**SOURCE 5.39** Binary code is made up of zeroes and ones.



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4 Once this is complete, you need to carefully examine the results:
   **a)** How have social and online media contributed to the flow of information?
   **b)** How do you define the difference between those who have control in each instance?
   **c)** How can you explain the difference in agency within the audience?

### The rise of the meme

**internet meme** an image, video, website, hashtag or hyperlink that is created for comedy and spreads from person to person on the internet

A relatively recent phenomenon in the 2016 election, **internet memes** were closely examined for their influence over political debate. Used sparingly by political leaders like Clinton, they were overwhelmingly a tool used by ordinary citizens to exert some influence within the political process. Just like tweets, Facebook posts, snapchats and Instagram photos, the political memes of the 2016 campaign were a direct example of ordinary people influencing political debate from the 'bottom up'.

Usually little more than an extremely simple message in text that either supported or derided the image it appeared over, the meme played an interesting role in changing or reinforcing political opinions during the campaign. The power of a meme lies in its simplicity. Memes thrive on minimal detail and speed. They are easy to create and there are countless smartphone applications that make their construction quick and simple in the hands of millions who don't have the time to construct a coherent, written argument!

### RESEARCH TASK 5.23

Research some current political memes online and choose three to examine closely.

1 Define the term 'meme'.
2 Define the message being communicated.
3 Define the bias of the text. Is it supportive or critical of the image?
4 Explain how text been used. How does it support the bias of the message?
5 Define, if you can, the relationship between the commentary and the stated facts behind the issue being discussed.
6 Can you determine the author of the message? If not, how does this influence the 'power of the message'?
7 How would the speed and accessibility of this message potentially influence understanding and discussion of the issue in comparison to other media?

## 5.5 Digital convergence

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Significance**

What is digital convergence?

The process you have just examined is called digital convergence. It explains the way in which old technologies have, over time, been absorbed by faster, smaller technologies. The smartphone is at the very centre of this process. For you this is not something you would immediately recognise, as you were born into the world of the internet. Every day more and more old technologies and processes can be crunched into binary code and sent via an iPhone. If you so wish, you could sign up to digital courses like those offered by Khan Academy and complete your education there! By examining the influence of smartphone technologies through this perspective, we can see the very impact these technologies have had on our lives.



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## RESEARCH TASK 5.24

1. Take out your mobile phone and make a detailed list all of the applications and services your phone provides. Include those that came standard with your phone and those you have added yourself.
2. Next to each service, research and determine the analogue equivalent. For example, if it is a music streaming service, research how music was heard and experienced before the advent of digital technology.
3. Calculate the approximate time you have saved by using these converged technologies in place of their analogue ancestor.
4. Now make a list of the way you have used your phone on the way to school today (a day-long list could take you far too long!). Who did you contact and how? What did you read and watch? What kind of information were you able to absorb?
5. Now calculate the time it would have taken to complete all of these tasks and list the locations you would need to be in WITHOUT a smartphone or even the internet.
6. In a short paragraph response, explain how the smartphone has changed the human experience.

## CASE STUDY: BOATY McBOATFACE: A SILLY TALE OF CONVERGENCE AND DEMOCRACY

The internet can be an unforgiving place. For those native to its vast array of unique tools and incredibly nuanced languages the case of Boaty McBoatface highlights the new role of the internet and smartphones in modern democracy. For those born before the internet era, it has been a slow process to adapt to the 'new rules of the game'.




**SOURCE 5.40** Sir David Attenborough

In 2016, a British government agency asked internet users to come up with a good name for their new, £200 million polar exploration ship. At the close of the poll, the most popular name was 'Boaty McBoatface'. What the agency had not anticipated was the ease with which people could participate in the vote and share the link to the site via their smartphones. While running between classes, waiting for the bus or ignoring the teacher's instructions, anyone anywhere could participate in a very public and hilarious debate. Millions voted and the popularity of the name spread like wildfire across social media, television and news outlets. The story of 'Boaty McBoatface' was global news in the space of a week.

The government was embarrassingly forced to override the decision and name it the RSS *Sir David Attenborough* after the popular television personality and naturalist. One suggestion on Twitter (reprinted and shared in countless news services) put forward that democracy had been challenged and the only fair solution was for Sir David Attenborough to change his name to Boaty McBoatface to restore the balance.

A change.org petition was soon set up to demand that Attenborough change his name. By the time it closed, it had 3844 signatures.



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## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

1 Why do you think Boaty McBoatface became the most popular name?
2 How quickly do you think you could get your friends to participate in a vote like this?
3 What does this tell you about the ability of ordinary people to participate in the actions of the government?

### Hashtags and democracy

The tale of Boaty McBoatface can be seen as a very tongue-in-cheek exercise in democracy, but it allows us to properly examine the relationship between digital media technologies and the way individuals now participate in the new world. They have more power than ever before.

Anyone with a smartphone and a hashtag can effect great change.







**SOURCE 5.41** Hashtags have a lot of power and influence on Twitter, as the use of them in the Arab Spring movement showed.




**SOURCE 5.42** The hashtag *#JeSuisCharlie* ('I am Charlie') was – at least at the time of the event – the most popular tweet in the history of Twitter.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Significance**

Explain how a hashtag works to bring public discussion together.

Important public events such as a sporting final, or the finale of your favourite television show, are usually linked by a hashtag. Using a smartphone, a platform like Twitter and the same hashtag, millions of previously disconnected people are able to communicate in the same space. Hashtags have proven to have an enormous impact, enabling individuals to interact with and influence the world around them.

One such example can be analysed in the 2015 terrorist attack on the office of the controversial French magazine *Charlie Hebdo*. The public reaction to the attacks appeared immediately on a variety of media platforms. Over the weeks following the attacks, news and social media were inundated with images, stories, comments, links and videos shared by journalists and ordinary citizens. The attempts at well-sourced and balanced news coverage were intermixed with memes and commentary from a global audience of connected individuals and groups.



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The broad discussion of the event is well illustrated by the fact that the hashtag *#JeSuisCharlie* ('I am Charlie') was – at least at the time of the event – the most popular tweet in the history of Twitter. The tag was tweeted 6500 times per minute at its height and was featured in 3.4 million tweets in one 24-hour period.

## RESEARCH TASK 5.25




**SOURCE 5.43** Crowds in Paris in 2015 gathered in part due to the power of social media.

### Part 1

Research and list the most popular hashtags over the last ten years. What does that list suggest to you about:

1. what digital media users consider important or valuable to discuss?
2. what other media forms were involved in the hashtag discussion?
   Explain how the hashtag represents new ways for the individual to participate in democracy.

### Part 2

As a class, research and discuss some local and international events that gathered significant public and media attention this year.

1. List the ways the event was discussed in traditional media.
2. List the ways the event was discussed in online formats.
3. Did it have a hashtag? If so, count how many people used it. What does this tell you about the importance of the event?



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### The Kardashian phenomenon

The Kardashian family are some of the most influential people on the planet. In 2017, the sisters Kim, Khloe, Kourtney, Kendal and Kylie share 420 million Instagram followers. Such is the extent of their influence and power that a single picture taken with a smartphone can cause instant economic and social reactions. When Kylie announced the launch of her cosmetic product brand on Instagram, it sold out within minutes. When Khloe launched her own denim brand, it made $1 million on its first day. The family have extraordinary reach and power for a group of people who, beyond being attractive, contribute little value to society. They are not artists, musicians, scientists or political leaders; they are simply ordinary people who have mastered the power of social media and smartphone technology. Kim took it one step further and invented a game in which smartphone users could pretend to be her. Since its launch in 2014, it has been downloaded 42 million times and has netted over $200 million.

The internet is littered with vloggers, YouTubers and Instagram celebrities who make millions from a carefully crafted online identity that sells an idea to viewers. On one 2017 episode of the family's reality television show *Keeping up with the Kardashians*, Kim took her children to be vaccinated. Considering the controversy surrounding vaccination in modern society, Kim's reach and number of loyal followers enabled her to potentially affect the behaviours of hundreds of millions – well beyond the power of most governments!




**SOURCE 5.44** Kim Kardashian in Sydney in 2014

## RESEARCH TASK 5.26

Research online and find two examples of 'online celebrities'.

1. Explain the identity that they create and show the public. How would you describe their 'online personality'?
2. How is digital technology used to broadcast this identity?
3. Create a flowchart that links this identity to their followers and the brands, ideas and the products they endorse.
4. Explain how this flowchart indicates the power a single individual has to influence many via a smartphone.

## 5.6 The Fourth Industrial Revolution

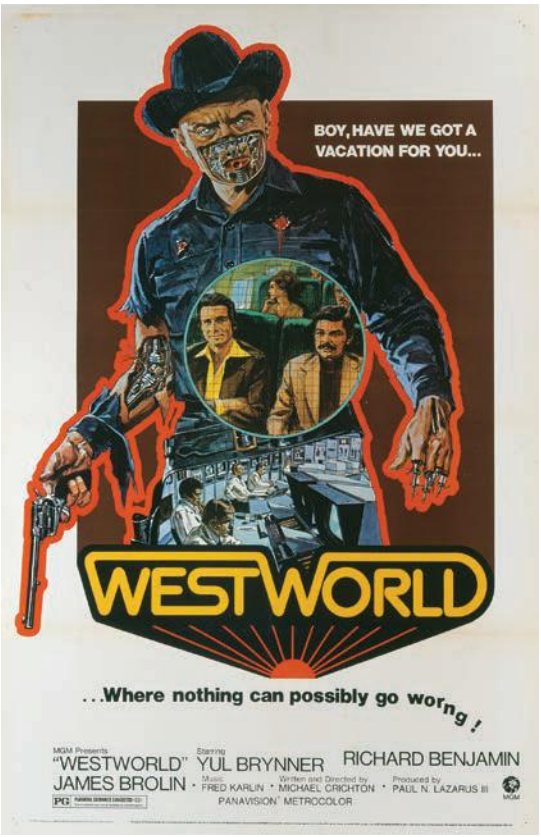
A new revolution is upon humanity. It will not be led by screaming hordes with pitchforks and torches, but rather by digital networks, robots and machine intelligence. The revolution created by the internet in the early part of this century only tells part of the story. What will follow the digital networking of individuals on a global scale is the eventual replacement of people in the process of making our world.

The 1973 science fiction film *Westworld* told of a futuristic theme park where humans could play out their 'Old West' fantasies of bar fights and street duels with lifelike robots. Naturally the robots malfunctioned and turned on the humans.

For an interview from 1974 with science fiction author Arthur C Clarke about his predictions for the use of technology in society by 2001, see the interactive textbook.



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**SOURCE 5.45** Movie poster for *Westworld* (1973)

While the idea of artificial intelligence is no longer a stretch, the fear of rogue robots may be unfounded – for the time being. Nevertheless, as a student of history there is much you can learn about the future. No matter what change is created by the Digital Revolution, its impact will be a human one.

## The role of individuals

One of the great debates facing free societies like Australia has been the role of free speech. Essentially, free speech is designed to allow ordinary people to freely speak their minds and criticise authority without fear of retribution. It of course comes with the condition that others can raise their opposition to these comments, since that in itself is also freedom of speech. In short, to some extent you can say whatever you want, but don't expect everyone to like it!

Freedom of speech is the cornerstone of any democratic society. Social media technologies have allowed millions to exercise freedom of speech and push the envelope of what is and what is not an acceptable opinion. Anyone can now hide behind a keyboard and use any number of assumed identities to comment on, harass and troll people who attempt to exercise their own free speech.

In the course of this public discourse, users are exercising their right to speak their minds over platforms like Twitter, Instagram




**SOURCE 5.46** Freedom of speech is a hallmark of a healthy democracy.



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and Facebook that are owned by private companies. These private corporations hold on to the private data, likes, comments and views of billions of people. They are so powerful financially that few governments have the capacity to challenge them. What right do individuals then have to their own identity? There have been countless cases in which individuals have been held to account by their previous social media comments.

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

Imagine you were, at one point in your life, an opinionated teenager. You've said a few things, posted a few more and engaged in a few debates that you no longer see as your opinion. But they don't get deleted. Nothing does.

1 How could your existing social media history potentially shape an opinion of your character?
2 Given the ability of hackers to find sensitive and private data on high-profile individuals, what could this mean for your future career prospects?
3 What ability do you have to remove content that you no longer see as relevant to your identity?
4 Given the power individuals have to effect great change in the social media landscape, what rights do they really have with their own data?

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.27

Read the following two extracts and respond to the questions below:

> Say, right now, if I want to find out what's going on in Ukraine or Syria or Washington, I read The New York Times, other national newspapers, I look at the Associated Press wires, I read the British press, and so on. I don't look at Twitter because it doesn't tell me anything. It tells me people's opinions about lots of things, but very briefly and necessarily superficially, and it doesn't have the core news

**SOURCE 5.47** Noam Chomsky, linguist, philosopher and cognitive scientist, 2015–

In 2017, the German government legislated to fine social media platforms like Twitter, and their users, for posting 'hate speech'.

> Freedom of opinion ends where criminal law begins. Calls to commit murder, threats, insults, incitement to hatred or the Auschwitz-lie [that Nazi death camps didn't exist] aren't expressions of freedom of opinion but attacks on the freedom of opinion of others.

**SOURCE 5.48** Heiko Maas, Justice Minister, Germany

**1** How does Chomsky define the difference between news and social media comments?
**2** Of the news sources Chomsky references (including Twitter), which do you think is the most popular?
**3** Explain how a Twitter comment would be more easily read and consumed than an online news article.
**4** How does this influence an individual's understanding of important issues around the world?
**5** How does Heiko Maas define the difference between freedom of speech and hate speech?
**6** Why do you think he believes that threats, insults and incitement to hatred are attacks on the freedom of opinion of others?
**7** What role does history play in this? Why do you think the German government has chosen to take this action?



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## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

In a short essay response, respond to the following statement: 'Despite the Digital Revolution, freedom of speech comes with great responsibility.' In your response, refer to the following ideas:

- the fight to secure freedom of speech in the French Revolution
- the way it was suppressed during the Nazi regime
- the role it played in creating and maintaining a 'free press' in democratic societies
- the power individuals now have to broadcast opinion via social media.

### Online and offline identity

In free societies like Australia, individuals are afforded a right to privacy. This means that they are legally protected from intrusions into their personal lives and have a degree of control over their own personal information. In the digital world, this right is being eroded at a spectacular rate. While you can hide your identity to some extent online, ordinary users have the vast majority of their online activity recorded.




**SOURCE 5.49** Another hallmark of democracy is individuals' right to privacy.

The success of Google is based in its search algorithm. This is the long set of instructions that direct your search response. The countless other searches you have made and the popularity of other sites to give you the best result rely heavily on recording the data of millions, if not billions of users. Facebook and YouTube know everything you like, as does Instagram. While you agree to the conditions of these services when you sign up, it is the permanent nature of these technologies that allow an individual's whole past to be exhumed with a few clicks.

As the old debate goes, if you are doing nothing wrong, then what's the worry? However, people have a right to this privacy and in 2016 the Australian government decided to weigh into the debate.

**metadata** information that is given to describe or help you use other information

In an era of terrorism and heightened cyber crime, criminal charges can often rely on the detail found in a user's **metadata**. In 2016, the Australian government legislated to force telecommunications companies to hold their users' metadata for security services like the Federal Police to access when needed.

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.28

Human Rights Commissioner Tim Wilson objected to the ruling:

> We're going to have telcos keeping data on the assumption that there is a potential for average Australians to potentially commit crimes and therefore the data to be available should the Government seek to use it for their own purposes. We all want a free society, we all want a safe society, but people should be innocent until they are proven guilty. There is the risk that it may amount to treating people as though they are guilty until they are proven innocent.

**SOURCE 5.50** Human Rights Commissioner Tim Wilson



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1 What does Wilson assume about the government's intention for this law?
2 What does he see as the danger posed by this law?
3 In the ever-evolving world of the internet, will this law remain relevant for long?
4 Debate! Divide your class into two groups and elect speakers to debate this idea: In a new world of internet crime and terrorism, should the definition of privacy and thus some of our own civil rights, be changed to increase safety? The topic of the debate with therefore be: 'Less privacy means more safety.'

## The power of digital institutions: Google




**SOURCE 5.51** The search engine's famous logo

The debate over privacy is not limited to governments. Huge international institutions like Apple and Google have faced scrutiny for the illegal activity conducted over their services. In 2017, a number of large companies began to pull their advertising money away from the Google-owned service YouTube, as they objected to their advertisements playing before videos for extremist hate groups.

In March 2017, the protest had reached such a level that large companies like McDonald's, Johnson & Johnson and PepsiCo were considering cancelling their advertising revenue. It was stated at the time that it would potentially cost Google $750 million. However, in 2017 Google was valued at just under $500 billion. So for YouTube and its parent company Google, is this a big enough problem?

The controversy was a big enough problem to prompt Google to apologise and make a public commitment to make changes that would allow brands more control over where their ads were placed, and to remove ads 'more effectively from content that is attacking or harassing people based on their race, religion, gender or similar categories'. Google ads policy includes the following guidelines:

> We believe strongly in freedom of expression, but we don't permit monetization of dangerous or derogatory content. For this reason, Google ads may not be placed on pages containing content that:
> - Threatens or advocates for harm on oneself or others;
> - Harasses, intimidates or bullies an individual or group of individuals;
> - Incites hatred against, promotes discrimination of, or disparages an individual or group on the basis of their race or ethnic origin, religion, disability, age, nationality, veteran status, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or other characteristic that is associated with systemic discrimination or marginalization.

**SOURCE 5.52** Google AdSense content policy



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## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

1 What kind of content does YouTube consider to not be 'advertiser friendly?'
2 Why do you think these laws only apply to videos that intend to host advertisements?
3 What does this mean for videos that do not intend to make money, like political extremist or hate groups that are looking to recruit new members?
4 What power do governments have against companies like Google to alter or ban the type of content that can impinge on free speech and the safety of citizens?

### The power of digital institutions: Apple



**SOURCE 5.53** Apple's current logo

Power of this scale is never far from controversy. The iPhone was so well designed it was difficult for government agencies to hack into it to examine the data inside. In 2016, when the FBI demanded that Apple allow them a 'back door' into the data stored in the phone owned by a perpetrator of a terrorist attack in San Bernardino, Apple refused.

Their defence was that, if they allowed the FBI into the phone of one user, then they could potentially allow the FBI into every iPhone in America. What is most fascinating is that they won the argument. In 2017, the financial magazine *Forbes* predicted that Apple would be the first company to reach a market share of one trillion dollars. Apple is simply too big for any national government to realistically tackle in court. They employ too many people and contribute so much to most nations' economies that governments are scared to offend them! Apple and Google have headquarters in California, US, which in 2017 was the world's sixth largest economy.

## EXAMINING THE ISSUES

1 Why did the FBI need access to the iPhone data of a shooting suspect?
2 What would be the advantage of having this kind of access for the FBI?
3 What were Apple's reasons for refusing access? Do you agree with them? Use evidence in your response.
4 Explain how the size of Apple as an institution makes it difficult for governments to demand they abide by local laws. What challenges do you see for the future of these companies and their role on the social and technological landscape?
5 Class debate: One only needs to sign up to Apple's streaming music service to find the company trawling your music collection to not only make playlists based on your favourite songs, but also to predict what you might be interested in and make a 'mixtape' of songs you might like! Hold a class debate using this question:
   – What kind of power do companies like Apple have over individuals? In your response, use evidence and statistics gathered from this chapter.



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## Digital disruption

Open your smartphone again and consider the apps that appear on your screen. Each one of them has caused significant disruption to the lives of people around the world. Email, chat and video call functions have almost removed the need for physical mail. Music and video streaming services have killed off entire industries of record stores and DVD rental services. News services are reduced to apps that still need to reach you via social media. Google Maps not only knows where you are, but also where you are going and how long it will take. So what is the purpose of learning latitude and longitude again? Mathematics scanning apps can photograph complex equations and provide the answer … with the 'working out' shown along the way.

In short, the technology available on your smartphone has not only disrupted how we access ideas and information but also the way we work, what and how we learn and why we learn it at all.

Consider the rate at which technology is developing tools that will improve your life.

Voice-activated translation tools will soon allow people speaking two different languages to communicate without a human translator at all. There will only need to be a smartphone and a reliable wi-fi connection between them.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

**Significance**

What is digital disruption?

## RESEARCH TASK 5.29

Examine all of the apps on a smartphone:

1. Make a detailed list of the applications.
2. Try to determine what kinds of services and roles have been disrupted by that app.
3. What skills can you now avoid learning with these apps?
4. What physical locations (like a bank or post office) do you no longer need to visit?

## ANALYSING SOURCES 5.30

Back in October 2014, *The Economist*'s Ryan Avent argued that digital disruption is:

> … driven by a handful of technologies – including machine intelligence, the ubiquitous web and advanced robotics – capable of delivering many remarkable innovations: unmanned vehicles; pilotless drones; machines that can instantly translate hundreds of languages; mobile technology that eliminates the distance between doctor and patient, teacher and student. Whether the digital revolution will bring mass job creation to make up for its mass job destruction remains to be seen.

**SOURCE 5.54** https://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21621156-first-two-industrial-revolutions-inflicted-plenty-pain-ultimately-benefited

1. How does Avent define digital disruption?
2. What advantages does Avent see as a possibility of this disruption?
3. What negatives does Avent suggest are a possible outcome of digital disruption?



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**SOURCE 5.55** 'Hacktivist' Edward Snowden

**hacktivist** someone who gets into computer systems without permission in order to achieve political aims

### The disruption of governments

As you have seen in this chapter, the role of government and the use of technology, especially technologies that communicate directly with its citizens, have been tools of great importance. In the twentieth century they were used primarily to control populations and maintain ideologies, for better or worse. However, the power of technology (as suggested by the Frankfurt School on page 392–3) has long since met its use-by date, thanks to digital technology. However, the disruption faced by governments is only now being understood.

Power is no longer in the hands of a few. It is shared to varying degrees by millions. While great institutions like Facebook create the technology that allows individuals to wield this power, it doesn't exist unless their users create it for them. Governments, on the other hand, have seen their role as protectors of their people diminish in this age of disruption.

Protest in the twentieth century was often the result of long-standing grievances of many. Now, a single individual like former CIA worker Edward Snowden can place a USB in a laptop, copy countless sensitive documents and files and share them with the world online, exposing the supposedly secret activities of these governments. While Snowden's actions divide opinion, it is the work of anonymous individuals that is of greatest concern to governments.

**Hacktivists** have the capacity to cause chaos for governments. In the lead-up to the 2016 election, hacking groups were able to break into the private emails of candidate Hillary Clinton and the leaders of her Democratic Party. The detail of the emails exposed private and sensitive conversations that potentially derailed Clinton's entire campaign.

## CASE STUDY: THE PANAMA PAPERS

In 2016, the biggest data leak in history revealed the private financial details of countless individuals in what became known as the Panama Papers. The leak contained 11.5 million individual files that detailed how and where the rich and powerful keep their money, but also how they do this to avoid paying tax in their home countries.

The leak brought about the downfall of the Prime Minister of Iceland, Sigmundur Davíð Gunnlaugsson.




**SOURCE 5.56** An anti-Gunnlaugsson poster in 2016



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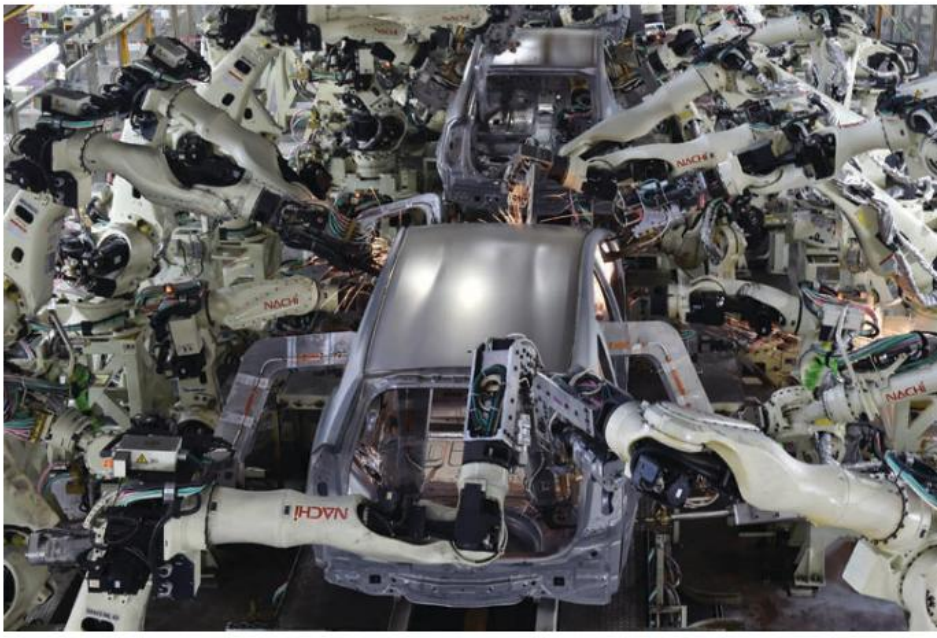
## RESEARCH TASK 5.31

Research this story and respond to the following questions:

1. Explain why the Iceland Prime Minister was forced to resign.
2. How did the Panama Papers contribute to this?
3. What role did digital hackers play in destabilising a whole government?
4. Consider the speed with which a hacktivist could obtain this information in comparison to the work of a traditional journalist. What do you think this means for the future of governments around the world?
5. Do you see hacktivism as a positive or a negative element of digital disruption? Research other examples of hacktivism from recent times to explain your response.

### The disruption of work

The First Industrial Revolution caused dramatic disruption to the way people lived. As the great factories began to absorb workers into the cities, the daily lives and work of ordinary people changed for ever. No longer were workers outdoors, working the land; now they were crammed into windowless factories and deep mine shafts. They moved away from intimate rural communities to anonymous cities where crime and disease were prevalent. This was, however, inevitable and paved the way for the mass production era of the late 1900s.




**SOURCE 5.57** Robotics in action in a modern car assembly line

The Digital Revolution has changed the way we communicate and interact. We spend less time together and more time communicating via our devices, rather than face-to-face. However, it is the Fourth Industrial Revolution that you must carefully consider, as its impact will affect you directly.

Consider what you are doing right now, as you read this. Why are you doing it? What is the purpose of your education? To get a good job? What if the job you are studying for now will be taken by a machine?

Automation of work has the potential to cause another great revolution that may force millions out of work. Unlike the First Industrial Revolution, when farm workers traded working the land for working machines in factories, the Fourth Industrial Revolution requires digital skills and literacy that are simply too difficult for some to learn. The difference between the rich and the poor will soon also be defined by the 'skilled' and the 'unskilled'.

In 2017, the American online retailer Amazon arrived in Australia. Through their webstore, an individual can use Amazon to buy practically anything and have it delivered in an extremely short space of time. In some major cities, this can be within a few hours. The disruption caused by Amazon has had a devastating effect on 'bricks and mortar' stores around the world. Many have closed and thousands of retail workers have lost their jobs. In the same year, Amazon was exploring the possibility of using drones to deliver some orders, cutting out the need for human delivery services!



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So what can you do about this? It's worth thinking about now! How and where you will work will depend on your capacity to be 'skilled' or 'unskilled'. However, you need to start somewhere, but that 'somewhere' could be harder to find in the future.

In March 2017, the American fast food chain Wendy's announced it would be replacing workers with automated self-serve kiosks in 1000 stores to cut down on labour costs and, ultimately, hire fewer people. After the announcement, former McDonald's CEO Ed Rensi said that this decision by Wendy's was a result of people and governments seeking a higher minimum wage. So why not replace people with robots?

> I have said that robots are going to replace people in the service industry going forward. And a self-service kiosk is nothing more than automation taking over people.

**SOURCE 5.58** Ed Rensi, former CEO of McDonald's in 2017

## Summing it all up

Catching up with the Digital Revolution can feel like walking into a group chat two hours late. The depth of what you need to already know is equally matched by the speed at which you need to move with the 'cutting edge' of change. As you have read, media technologies were once a tool wielded only by the rich and powerful. However, one by one, digital technology has dismantled these powerful institutions and placed control in the hands of the individual. In short, digital technology has launched a revolution in which you are a key player. Control of the revolution is now a three-way battle for control between you, the user, governments and the massive global institutions that create the technology itself. How and where you fit in is up to you to decide.




**SOURCE 5.59** A McDonald's automated ordering system



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# CHAPTER 5 ASSESSMENT

## CHAPTER SUMMARY

### A DIGITAL JOURNEY

- The typical Baby Boomer (born in the 20-year period after World War II) has experienced many changes in technology in their lifetime.
- The introduction of television in Australia in 1956 was the most significant development in technology until the arrival of the internet.
- When the digital technologies of music, communication and entertainment converged with the internet into one device, the smartphone, the Digital Revolution was under way.

### OLD MEDIA TECHNOLOGY

- Old media technology was very slow compared to today's media, but it could be very powerful.
- Old media technology could be controlled and manipulated by political groups.
- Media technology was used by totalitarian regimes in the thirties and forties and was used during the Cold War.

### OLD MEDIA TECHNOLOGY IN AUSTRALIA

- One hundred years ago in Australia news travelled very slowly.
- The Australian Broadcasting Commission has told us diverse stories of many aspects of Australian life.
- Australian culture has been shaped by radio, film and television.

### WELCOME TO THE REVOLUTION

- New production has suffered due to the growth of digital technology, the internet and social media.
- Web 2.0 has led to the emergence of many institutions that we take for granted today such as Facebook, YouTube and Twitter.
- The smartphone has transformed the way we live our lives, as well as our culture and politics.

### DIGITAL CONVERGENCE

- Digital convergence is the absorption over time of old technologies by faster, smaller technologies.
- Twitter has been a powerful form of social media.
- Social media has evolved into a powerful medium through which to achieve fame, influence people and make money.



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- There are negative aspects of social media that concern society.
- People now have their online lives mined and tracked for metadata.
- Digital institutions like Google and Apple have tremendous power.
- Digital technologies can have a disruptive effect on society, work and the government.

## Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

- the Fourth Industrial Revolution
- digital native
- binary code
- artificial intelligence
- hacktivist.

## Historical concepts

### 1 Causation

Create a timeline illustrating the effects of technological advances over communication in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

| The impact of technological developments on communication in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries | |
|---|---|
| Technological development | Effect: impact on society |

### 2 Continuity and change

- What influence have media technologies had on authority over time?

### 3 Perspectives

- Greater individual involvement in public discussion has changed the nature of political debate. Examine evidence that can be drawn from recent years to prove that this is true.
- Explain what you believe to be the impact of the 24-hour news cycle on the quality of news.
- Explain what you think the effect digital disruption will have on the future of work.

### 4 Significance

In a short paragraph for each point, briefly explain:

- how governments used media technologies to control populations
- how the news media was impacted by changes in technology
- how the arrival of the internet signalled the start of the Digital Revolution
- how Web 2.0 technologies and the smartphone accelerated change and took power away from governments
- the role of television in Australian society and politics.

### 5 Contestability

- How was the media used to control populations in the twentieth century? In your answer, refer to the views of at least two historians.
- How were television and film used by the US to reinforce its ideology? In your answer, refer to the views of at least two historians.

## Historical skills

### 1 Historical interpretation

One of the most memorable internet events that proved the power media technologies had to challenge governments and effect change was found in the 'Kony 2012' video.

An online video created in 2012 by the charity Invisible Children used high production value techniques to draw attention to the pursuit of Ugandan warlord Joseph Kony. The popularity of the video grew largely from a range of celebrity tweets with hashtags that encouraged others to watch the video. In the first five days, the video had 120 million views. In the process of the viral sensation, Invisible Children raised $32 million dollars.

Research the role the video and celebrity re-tweets had in not only gathering public attention but in also forcing governments to take action on what was initially seen to be an issue of international importance.

Watch the video carefully (search for the title 'Kony 2012' on YouTube) and consider these questions:



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- What is the key message of Kony 2012?
- What perspectives do you feel it excludes?
- How influential do you think the use of sound and vision in a viral video is in helping the audience overlook your answer to the second question?
- How do the celebrity re-tweets also add weight to its point of view?
- How reliable is this video in telling the entire story of Joseph Kony?

### 2 Analysis and use of sources

- Referring to Source A, how did the new technology of television transform the experience of childhood?
- Referring to Source B, explain the power and limitation of smartphone and internet technologies in exacting large-scale social change.
- Using Source C, explain the long-term impacts of digital disruption.
- Using Sources C and B, define the change the internet and new media technologies have delivered in the past 30 years.

## SOURCE A



## SOURCE B

Remember 2011? The Arab Spring, a.k.a. 'Revolution 2.0'? Four governments were overthrown. The stage was set for further social-media-fuelled protests: Brazil. Ukraine. Turkey. It seems awfully apparent, now, that Facebook and Twitter can serve as a potent catalyst of eruptions of revolutionary fervour – and equally apparent that that isn't nearly enough to actually liberate the oppressed.

What happened? The dreams of 2011 and 2013 were that technology would make governments more accountable to the people, not that newly networked nations would disintegrate into (highly sophisticated) civil war, or that, after a brief period of instability, the new boss would be essentially the same as the old boss. Where was Revolution 2.0 betrayed?

The same place revolutions are usually betrayed: the aftermath. It's one thing to channel an entire population's frustrations into a single titanic, decisive eruption. Social media can help do that. (As can anything that can draw people together and helps them communicate, of course – but modern technology can bring together far more people, faster, than any samizdat of old.) It's quite another to set up a representative democratic government with strong civil institutions, especially in fragmented nations still wracked by deep poverty which have been forced by tyrants into a fragile, artificial, iron-fist-imposed 'stability' for decades.

John Evans, 15 May 2015, Techcrunch.com

## SOURCE C

Futurists and science-fiction writers have at times looked forward to machines' workplace takeover with a kind of giddy excitement, imagining the banishment of drudgery and its replacement by expansive leisure and almost limitless personal freedom. And make no mistake: if the capabilities of computers continue to multiply while the price of computing continues to decline, that will mean a great many of life's necessities and luxuries will become ever cheaper, and it will



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mean great wealth – at least when aggregated up to the level of the national economy.

But even leaving aside questions of how to distribute that wealth, the widespread disappearance of work would usher in a social transformation unlike any we've seen. If John Russo is right, then saving work is more important than saving any particular job. Industriousness has served as America's unofficial religion since its founding. The sanctity and preeminence of work lie at the heart of the country's politics, economics, and social interactions. What might happen if work goes away?

Derek Thompson, *The Atlantic*, July 2014

### 3 Further essay questions

- 'The power of media technology has always rested in those with the ability to create it.' To what extent do you agree?
- 'Television is no longer the opiate of the masses.' Use evidence of changing technologies in your response.
- 'The future of work will challenge the very structure of modern society.' Use evidence in your response.
- 'The Digital Revolution will not be televised.' To what extent has digital technology changed Gil Scott-Heron's view of the world? Use evidence in your response.

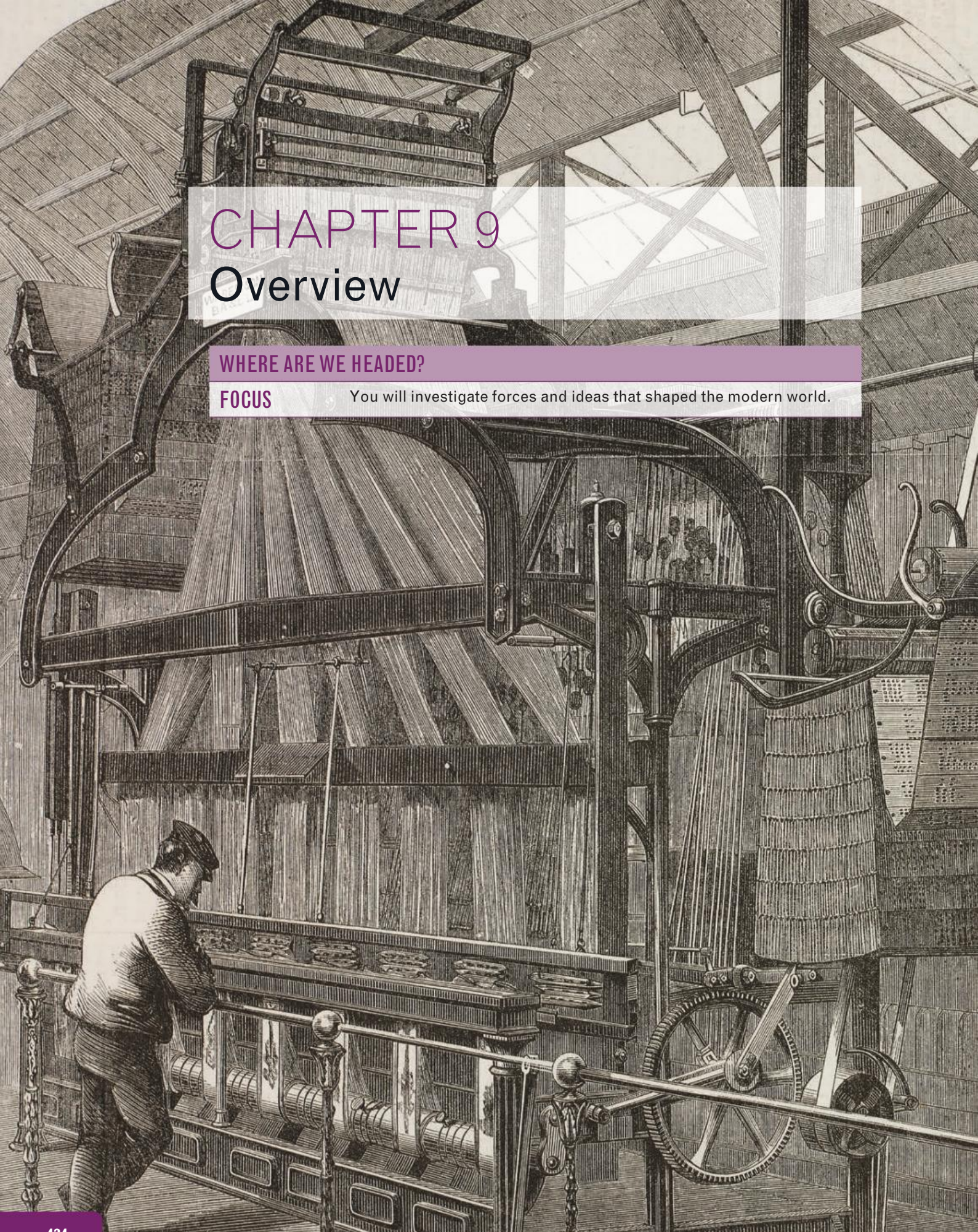


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# CHAPTER 9
# Overview

## WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

**FOCUS** You will investigate forces and ideas that shaped the modern world.



**SOURCE 9.1** An engraving of a Swiss loom for weaving ribbons, featured at the International Exhibition, London, United Kingdom, 1862. Industrialisation saw the invention of many time- and labour-saving machines such as this.



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**modern world** in the syllabus this relates to the time period between roughly the year 1750 and today

**social contract** an agreement among the members of a society or between a society and its rulers about the rights and duties of each

The following key events and developments shaped the **modern world** with new ideologies, revolutions, economic changes and social advances. The lead-up to World War I was influenced by these forces and counterforces for change, which brought with them new challenges to the status quo. During this period, throughout the Western world absolute monarchies were overthrown and universal democratic representation was installed, along with liberalism and the concept of natural justice. This process included dramatic events such as the French Revolution in 1789, which started with a meeting of members of the Third Estate (see page 436) on a tennis court swearing an oath to bring an end to despotic rule, and escalated into a Reign of Terror and a mass flight of the aristocrats.

The early 1800s saw the development of new technologies and a reconfiguration of the workforce. The period of industrialisation that swept throughout Europe led to a new growth in urbanisation, the rise of the proletariat after a long period of serfdom in Eastern Europe, and the growth of trade and imperialistic ambitions by the end of the nineteenth century.

## 9.1 The Enlightenment

The Enlightenment was a political, scientific and cultural transformation of Western societies stretching from the 1650s to the 1800s. During this period the traditional absolute authority of royal dynasties was challenged and the privileges of the Church and the noble classes were attacked. New ideas, sparked by scientific discoveries and theories in the early 1600s that challenged previous religious explanations, spread rapidly and gave rise to cultural and philosophical discussions, particularly among the educated classes. In this new 'Age of Reason' people questioned the institutions of social class, unnatural justice and social position. Arguments arose over the roles and obligations of monarchs and people with upper-class hereditary titles.

In England, thinkers of the emergent Enlightenment, such as John Locke, promoted the concept of a **social contract** between the government and the people it ruled. If those in power failed to provide social justice and good governance, then the social contract was violated, making it legitimate for the people to engage in acts of usurpation and revolution. In France such ideas were championed by philosophers such as Voltaire and Montesquieu, who both advocated for limitations on the power of the crown and the sovereign, or mandatory absolute despotism. These intellectual arguments and ideologies paved the way for the development of liberalism, religious freedom and tolerance, humanistic art and universal franchise and representation. Enlightenment thinking fuelled the French Revolution of 1789, which overthrew the absolute monarchy of Louis XVI and the concept of his 'divine right' to rule.



**SOURCE 9.2** The Enlightenment era saw the rise of intellectualism throughout the Western world. Salons and coffee houses were places where like-minded thinkers could converse and discuss the theories of famous authors.



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## 9.2 The French Revolution

The French Revolution may be arguably defined as marking the beginning of modern thought and history. On the eve of the Revolution France lived under the Ancien Régime (the Old Order) with a despotic and ineffectual king, Louis XVI. The absolute privilege of the King was built upon the social class structure that divided people into different groups or Estates. The First Estate comprised the influential Catholic Church, which collected tithes or land taxes from the peasants. The Second Estate included the wealthy and titled noblesse. These nobles had inherited their land, title and position and were committed to maintaining the social order. The Third Estate comprised over 97 per cent of the population and included peasants, merchants, artisans and non-aristocratic landowners and shopkeepers.

The main disputes between the different Estates were over influence, power and taxes. France had involved itself in the American War of Independence in its push to promote liberalism and strengthen its imperialistic ambitions in the new colony, and as a result was financially overstretched and in crisis. To solve the economic disaster, the King wanted to increase taxes mainly on the classes that had wealth and privilege. The First and Second Estates collectively voted to endorse the request for higher taxation, but still intended to deflect it onto the Third Estate. However, this attempt to block the King's demands roused the contempt and disaffection of the Third Estate, who had now renamed themselves the National Assembly and stood their ground. The outlandish extravagance of the court and the noblesse outraged them. When Louis ordered the National Assembly to disperse, the group met on a tennis court on 20 June 1789 and resolved that they would not disband until a new constitution was formed.




**SOURCE 9.3** *Storming of the Bastille, French Revolution, Paris, 1789*. On the morning of 14 July 1789 a crowd advanced on the Bastille, the state prison in Paris. Their intention was to ask the governor to release the prisoners (there were only seven) and any weapons in the building. The governor was evasive and the people stormed the fortress in what became the most celebrated episode of the French Revolution.



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Such fervour was further propelled by the rising of the *sans-culottes* ('those without pants'), the impoverished workers in the cities who were suffering from severe food shortages and a rise in bread prices. On 14 July 1789 they stormed the old Bastille prison, an icon of the Ancien Régime. This deed inspired the popular image of the French Revolution and came to symbolise the birth of liberalism, fraternity and equality. The events of the Revolution unfolded quickly with the abolition of feudalism and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which asserted freedom of the press, speech, representation and the inviolable right of property. By January 1793 the Revolution had overtaken France and completely destroyed the old order. The King had been executed and the Revolution broadened its scope to include more radical and extreme elements.

The Reign of Terror moved the Revolution along with a forceful violence. Led by the Jacobins, a radical and ruthless activist club, as well as influential thinkers and members of the left such as Robespierre, Marat, Danton and Roux, the Reign of Terror was the result of actions to defend France from foreign intervention and domestic counter-revolutionaries alike. This period saw counter-revolutionaries exterminated by 'La Guillotine' and uprisings against the Revolution in places such as Vendée and Toulon brutally crushed. Compulsory conscription or *Levée en Masse* was enforced to defend France; feudal rights and privileges of the nobility were completely abolished; and all land had to be sold cheaply to the peasants. A Law of Maximum limiting the price of all goods had been declared and by 4 December 1793 a Committee of Public Safety was established to control all officials and suspend local elections. Opponents to the new order were crushed and a Revolutionary Tribunal was established by Robespierre to execute all those involved in counter-revolution or foreign plots.

By 1794, the Revolution and the Reign of Terror had caused the deaths of over 20 000 people in mass executions, with over 2000 convicted without a trial, a further 1600 condemned and executed for political crimes, and prisoners of the war against France drowned and executed by mass cannon fire.

The Revolution changed the existing social order. From these dramatic changes three important ideas emerged that shaped the modern world: liberalism, nationalism and democracy.

### Liberalism

Liberalism and the individual rights of man had been at the heart of the Revolution and had realised powerful and seductive ideas of the Enlightenment. With the end of feudalism, all groups wanted to enjoy the freedoms of liberty, speech and association, and the opportunity to have natural justice and reason applied to their lives.

### Democracy

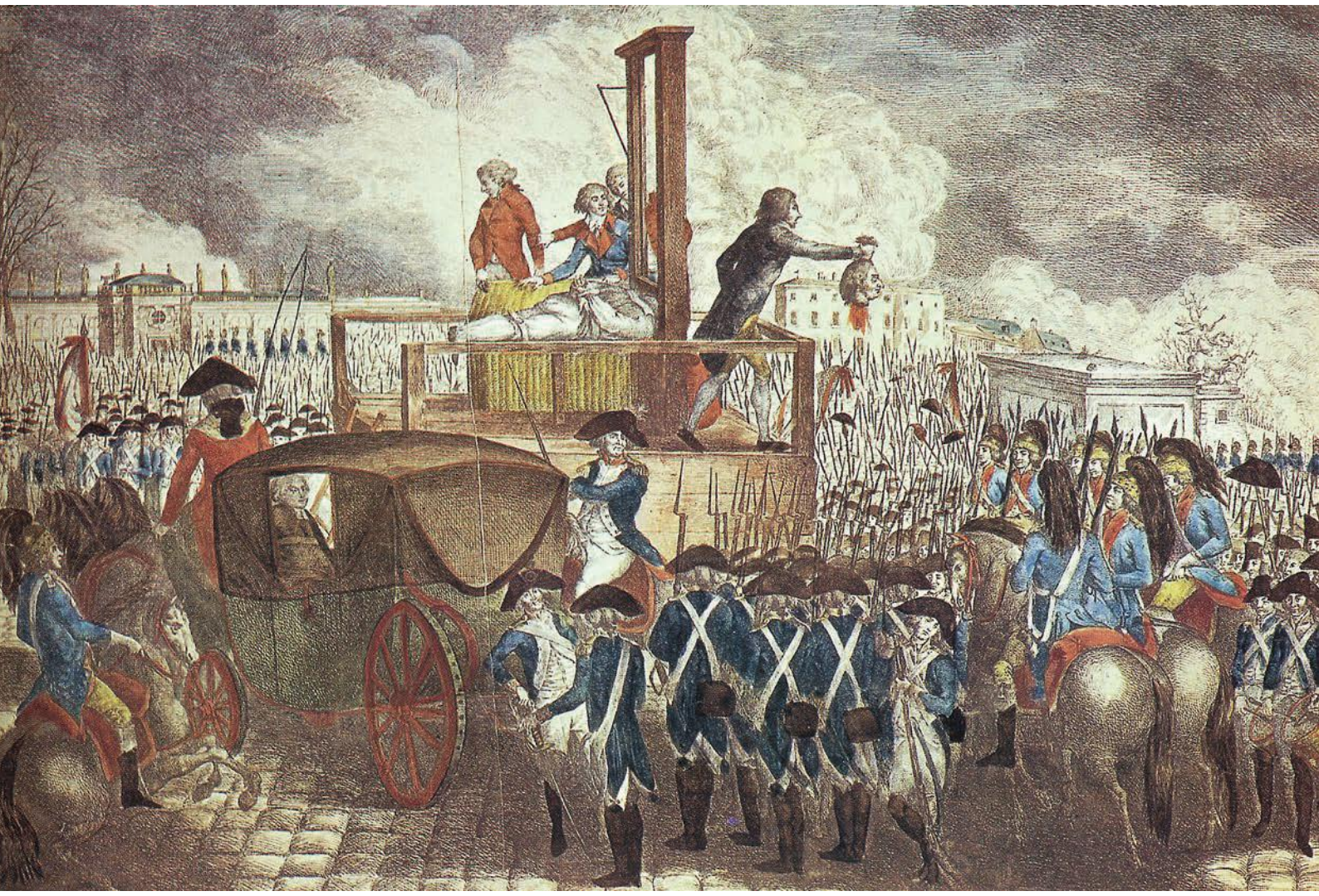
Despite the atrocities of the Terror, the Jacobins had established a democratic constitution that enabled representation (albeit limited to those who favoured their extreme views); had promoted price control and relief from high prices and poverty for the lower classes; had attempted to encourage a form of equality; and had abolished slavery and serfdom.

### Nationalism

The rise of nationalism and a sense of common identity occurred at the height of the French Revolution. Out of the terror, the executions and the common assemblies came an inherent belief in the power of solidarity and loyalty to the new state that all classes had created and in some instances had been executed for. While foreign powers attempted to counter the Revolution by waging wars on France's borders, this united the French with a common purpose and a common enemy. These ideas of nationalism had replaced the sense of duty to the divine monarchy and instilled a more modern connection with the secular state and the values it upheld.



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**SOURCE 9.4** King Louis XVI's head is presented to the crowd after his execution by the revolutionary government on 21 January 1793. This is a German image published later that year, which also depicts the famous guillotine, a killing machine used to end the lives of many people during the Reign of Terror.

## 9.3 The Industrial Age

With the rise of scientific discoveries and the abolition of feudalism, the age of industrialisation saw new forms of labour and many people moving to the cities and towns for work. Replacing agricultural production and domestic labour were large factories and the mechanisation of crop harvesting, goods production and the textile industry. Industries such as coal mining, iron manufacturing and textile production demanded a large labour force.

The shackles of serfdom were removed, allowing people to move freely in search of work. This drove technological innovation and the movement of people to urban centres with dense housing and accommodation. Such groups over time became the urban poor or the very wealthy. The ideals of the French Revolution for equality were not realised. Instead there was great disparity between the different groups. The workers in factories were frequently exploited, worked long hours and lived in squalid and overcrowded conditions. Child labour was used in the coal and textile industries and many people were beholden to have all family members working to pay the rents of the landlords. The division between such classes as the workers and the new middle class, who demanded rent and owned the factories or the means of production, led to class inequality.



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**SOURCE 9.5** A engraving of an early industrialised bakery business in London

According to Karl Marx, the working class or proletariat were being exploited by those who controlled the means of production, or the middle classes: the bourgeoisie. Over time Marx predicted that these economic forces would change to enable the proletariat with their rising numbers and labour to overthrow this unequal and unfair situation, bringing about class-based redistribution and revolution. Such revolutionary ideologies influenced the growth of socialism and Marxism, which suggested that, in order to create equality for all classes, those who controlled the means of production and those who provided the labour for this should share equally in the distribution of these resources and capital.

## 9.4 The Age of Imperialism

In the late nineteenth century European empires sought trade, raw materials, political influence and economic connections throughout Asia and the New World. These practices of imperialism, whereby many nations used military and diplomatic means to exert power over a sovereign entity, gave rise to an age of rivalry and competition for resources.

Britain by 1914 was the world's greatest superpower. Its territories or colonies comprised over 25 per cent of all the countries in the world and it governed over 390 million people across Australia, Canada, the West Indies, India, New Zealand, South-east Asia and British Guiana. France was a close rival, controlling 11 million square kilometres of land and over 58 million people across Indochina, Africa and French Guiana in South America.



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Other countries such as Austria-Hungary had extended their empire borders into the Balkan region, ruling over 50 million people from 11 differing cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Nearby Russia had continued to extend its influence over 132 million people over Eastern European and northern China. Once-great empires, such as the Turkish or Ottoman Empire, were crumbling with their territories in Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and the Balkans falling under new spheres of influence. Modern nations like the Unites States of America and newly industrialised states such as Japan were acquiring colonies throughout Asia such as China, the Philippines and parts of South America and the Pacific.

This scramble for colonies led to flashpoints and diplomatic tensions between the empires. Each empire was committed to expanding its resources, supplies, new markets and subjects. Fuelled by emergent nationalism and Western ideas such as Christianity, these empires set about civilising the 'savages and unfortunates' of the New World in the Pacific, the America and Africa. Within Europe, the subjugation of peoples against their will led to revolts and a quest for self-determination and new forms of nationalism based on common language, culture and history.




**SOURCE 9.6** An engraving of the Berlin Conference of 1884, in which the major European powers divided Africa among themselves. This was part of the 'Scramble for Africa' by the major empires of the late nineteenth century.



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Imperialism created new classes of wealth and inequality. Labour, commodities and resources were being exported from the new colonies and in return indigenous peoples were being 'civilised' and cultivated to accept the dictates and conditions of their imperial rulers. Hostilities over colonies in Africa and other places caused empires to form alliance systems with other countries and increase their military technologies and numbers.

In 1898, France and Britain reached a flashpoint in the Sudan when Fashoda was claimed for the French and the British advanced on them to stamp out such territorial impudence. The historic enemies resolved such tensions by forming a new political alliance in 1904 to help each other grab as many colonies as they could without the interference of the other. This new agreement, the 'Entente Cordiale', allowed France to assert its colonial interests in Morocco while Britain could continue its extension through northern Africa through Egypt.

Attempts in 1905 by the Germans to assert some control over French-held Morocco led to a political crisis and contributed to rising international tensions. In 1905, the German Kaiser provocatively visited Tangier in Morocco and caused an uproar, delivering a speech about usurping French authority. The French, backed by their new ally Britain, caused the Germans to retreat from this dangerous political venture and strengthened relations between France and Britain. Despite its backdown in 1905, Germany still hoped to find its place among the great nations. In 1911, upon reports of the French sending in troops to Morocco to quash a potential uprising, Germany sent a gunboat to Agadir demanding that France cede its territory in the Congo in return for Germany's acquiescence to France's rule in Morocco.

Such tensions created political rivalries and developed nationalistic sentiments throughout the Western world and the New World. This pressure to control, expand and maintain these new colonies continued to drive governments in the early twentieth century into a system of complex alliance systems and agreements that were instrumental in the events that caused World War I.

## 9.5 World War I

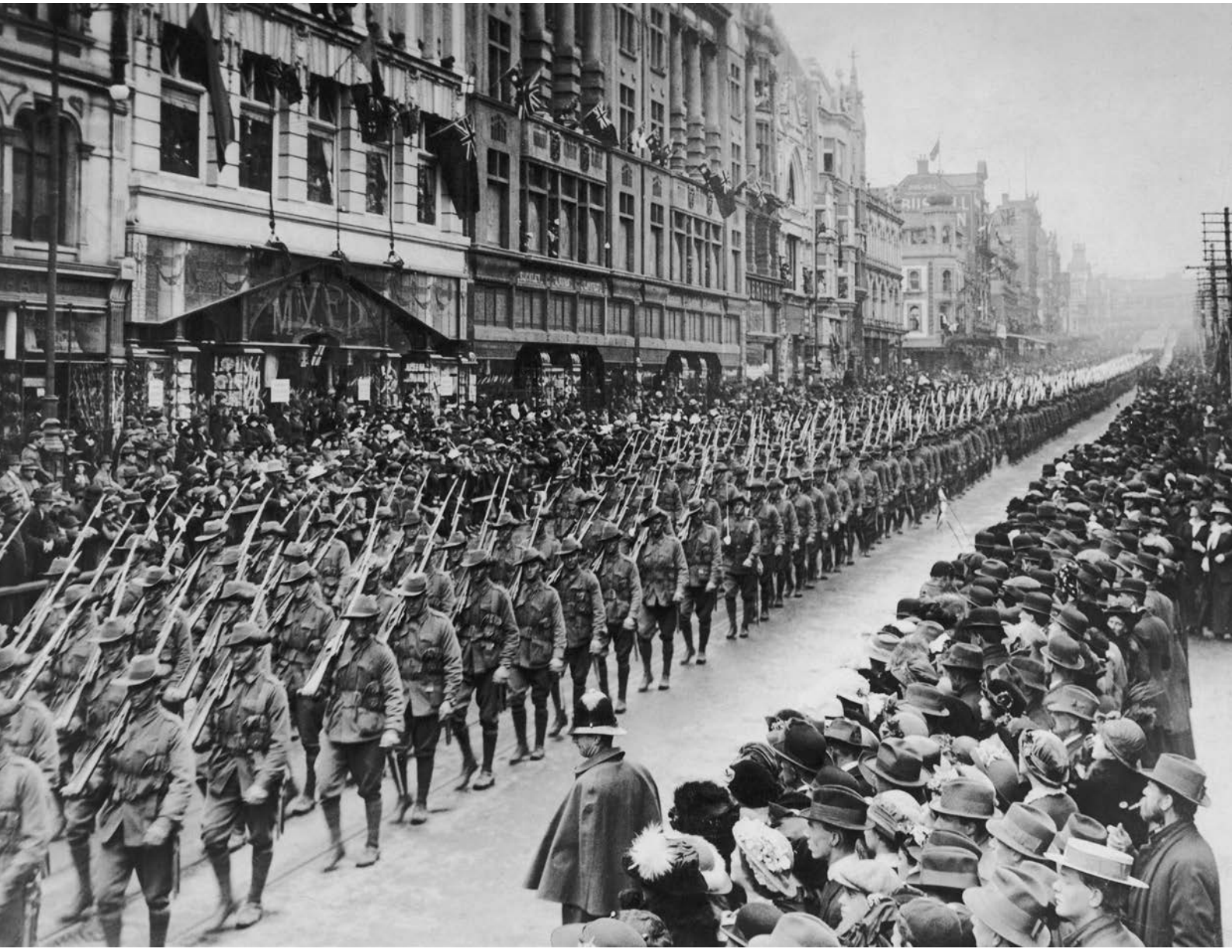
> Any decision for war must confront the historical evidence that it is a fearfully blunt instrument, the repercussions of whose use cannot reliably be predicted and which may make matters even worse. Intrinsic to all military undertakings, however legitimate their motives, is the risk that they will violate the principle of proportionality between end and means, and that they too will lead to a bad war and a bad peace. The 1914–18 conflict and the settlement that followed it remain archetypes of both, and the insights to be gained from studying them have a universal applicability, if only as a distant but forceful warning.

**SOURCE 9.7** David Stevenson, *Cataclysm: The First World War as Political Tragedy*, 2004, pp. 487–8

See chapters 10–12 for an in-depth coverage of this topic.



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**SOURCE 9.8** Australian soldiers from the state of Victoria march down Bourke Street in Melbourne prior to departing for the battlefields of World War I, circa 1914.

## 9.6 The End of Empire

The End of Empire traces the fall of these colonial empires from World War I onwards, resulting in the decolonisation of many territories from the period from 1945 to the 1960s.

The end of colonial empires followed the end of World War I. In the aftermath of the war and the peace treaty process, many colonies were carved up and divided among the victors or given to many groups, such as the Slavs, to become self-governed (for example, Yugoslavia). The End of Empire was characterised by instability, conflict and popular movements for self-determination by indigenous peoples who had been oppressed or exploited by their former colonial powers. The End of Empire saw new nations emerge and struggles for the establishment of post-colonial democratic and socialist governments throughout Asia, Africa and the Pacific. The struggle for self-government could be a transitional arrangement with the coloniser; a gradual handover of power; a mass political and popular struggle involving brutal conflicts and sustained foreign intervention; or a political vacuum leading to the emergence of rival factions and ideologies for the future political direction of the nation.

The decolonisation of Africa reveals the nuances of the End of Empire. In West Africa the French decolonisation process was much less violent and less chaotic than the British experience. In Africa the



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French had adopted a Francophile approach and had attempted to assimilate the local population and indigenous peoples. In contrast, the British had used the principle of indirect rule over the indigenous peoples. This had enabled the indigenous peoples to identify with their own cultural background and use their own language and customs, but also to acquire the social and educational capital of their Western colonisers.

In West Africa after both World Wars the education system under indirect rule had enabled the professional and middle classes to lead their country in rising up against their colonial administrators and argue against the exploitation occurring in places such as Ghana, known at the time as the Gold Coast. Ghana, with its natural resources of palm oil and cocoa, had a vested interest in preventing the exportation of its labour and resources. The profiteering of colonial governments was attacked by the educated classes and there were calls for decolonisation.

Leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, who led nationalist pan-African groups, were crucial in establishing the right of Ghana and other colonies to exit their postwar colonial obligations. In 1947, the first United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was established to voice opposition to the British. Nkrumah used this as a tool to create an alternative African future. Using schools, youth community groups and the press, he created the Convention People's Party (CPP). This party used non-violent tactics to argue for legislative representation and eventually full self-determination. On 6 May 1957 the independent state of Ghana was established, with Nkrumah becoming the first President in 1960 as it moved towards a republican constitution.

The End of Empire was influenced by the rise of nationalism, indigenous self-identity and determination, and the fundamental decline of nations exhausted by war and foreign policies. The ideas of liberalism and equality that arose with the Enlightenment have meshed with cultural and regional nationalism. These forces shape modernity and have created a new balance of power in contemporary times.




**SOURCE 9.9** Kwame Nkrumah, first President of independent Ghana, meets John F Kennedy in March 1961.



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# Glossary

**26th of July Movement** the group led by Fidel Castro that originally stormed the Moncada Barracks on 26 July 1953, then fought in the Sierra Maestra against Batista to take power in 1959

**ABC** the American Broadcasting Company, which is one of the oldest and largest television networks in the US

**abdicate** resign from political rule (referring to a monarch)

**abrogate** archaic term meaning to end a law, agreement or custom formally

**adaptive reuse** the creation of a new viable purpose for a heritage site by preserving the site's features and adding modern elements that have a limited impact on the site's cultural or historic significance

**agrarian** relating to the production of foodstuffs in the countryside

**alternative facts** politically created 'facts' that do not match reality

**American Expeditionary Force (AEF)** the name of the American army that was transported across the Atlantic during 1917 and 1918. The AEF did not become a fully functioning armed unit the last months of the war.

**anarchy** a situation in which there is no organisation and control, especially in society, because there is no effective government

**armistice** an agreement between two countries or groups at war to stop fighting for a particular time, especially to talk about possible peace

**army garrison** the collective term for a body of troops stationed in a particular location, originally to guard it, but now often simply using it as a home base

**Atlantic Charter** a joint declaration of broad war aims by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on 14 August 1941. This was influenced by Roosevelt's earlier 'Four Freedoms Speech' and was reflected in the Declaration of the United Nations on 1 January 1942.

**atomic bomb** a bomb that gets its destructive power from the sudden release of energy through nuclear fission causing heat, blast and radioactivity

**authoritarian** demanding that people obey completely and refusing to allow them freedom to act as they wish

**autoclave** a piece of equipment that uses steam at high pressure to sterilise (clean) objects

**autocratic** refers to a political system whereby the ruler has complete political power, not limited by a formal constitution or parliament

**bakufu** the system of military government that operated in Japan from 1192 to 1868. Its powers grew under the Tokugawa Shogunate to extend to all matters of feudal life.

**bilateral relations** the conduct of political, economic, or cultural relations between two sovereign states

**binary data** a type of data that is represented or displayed in the binary numeral system

**blockade** the action of stopping supplies reaching an enemy force

**Bloom's taxonomy** a theory created by educational psychologist Dr Benjamin Bloom to promote higher forms of thinking in education, rather than just remembering facts (rote learning)

**Bolsheviks** a revolutionary political party begun by Lenin after splitting with the Mensheviks in 1903; their brand of socialism was modelled on the writings of Karl Marx. They took power in Russia in 1917 and became the Communist Party in 1925.

**bourgeoisie** the name Karl Marx gave to the employers and people who run large companies, who have most of the money and take advantage of ordinary workers

**Brexit** the decision to exit the European Union by the United Kingdom

**brinkmanship** the art or practice of pursuing a dangerous policy to the limits of safety before stopping, especially in politics

**bubonic plague** a disease spread from the fleas on rodents that has often been carried from country to country by shipping; a bacterial infection that attacks the lymph nodes and spreads through the lymphatic system causing death



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**bushido** the Japanese term for the code of the samurai, somewhat similar to the system of chivalry in medieval Europe

**cairn** a Gaelic term for a mound of stones arranged or stacked to signify a memorial or as a sign

**capitalism** an economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state

**censorship** the practice of preventing access to information with the aim of limiting freedom of thought

**Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** a civilian foreign intelligence service of the US federal government, tasked with gathering, processing and analysing national security information from around the world, primarily through the use of human intelligence

**Central Powers** the alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I. Later the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria became part of the Central Powers.

**Chartist movement** a working-class movement for political reform in Britain that existed from 1838 to 1857; some of the leaders of the movement were transported to Australia

**Cheka** the state security organisation under the rule of the Bolsheviks

**chonin** merchants and shopkeepers of the Tokugawa period

**class consciousness** a clear understanding of the differences between the various social classes or of belonging to a particular social class

**Cold War** the tensions that existed between the US and the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1991

**commemorate** to remember officially and give respect to a great person or event, especially by a public ceremony or by erecting a statue or a special building

**commercial and civil code** a systematic collection of laws designed to comprehensively deal with the core areas of private law

**commune (or *mir*)** village community in Imperial Russia

**communism** the belief in a society without different social classes in which the methods of production are owned and controlled by all its members and everyone works as much as they can and receives what they need

**Concert of Europe** an agreement made by the victorious powers at the end of the Napoleonic wars to maintain peace and stability in Europe

**concubine** a woman who lived and had sexual relations with a man she was not married to. She had a lower social rank than a man's wife or wives, but could also produce male heirs.

**congress** a large formal meeting of representatives at which ideas are discussed

**conscription** the use of legal means to force people to join the armed forces

**constitutional monarchy** a system in which the king or queen's power is severely limited, because they act only on the advice of the politicians who form the government

**conventional forces** nonnuclear arms, weapons and military forces

**coopers** people who made and repaired wooden barrels used for holding beer, wine and other liquids

**Cossacks** a group of people in Russia with a history of fighting and courage – a fiercely independent people from the region on the Don River near the Black Sea

**counter-revolution** a revolution opposing a former one or reversing its results

**coup d'état** sudden defeat of a government through illegal force by a small group, often a military one

**critical thinking** the objective analysis and evaluation of an issue in order to form a judgement

**daimyo** powerful landholding magnates in Japan from about the tenth century until the latter half of the nineteenth century

**democracy** the belief in freedom and equality between people, or a system of government based on this belief, in which power is held either by elected representatives or directly by the people themselves

**Diet** the Imperial Diet was Japan's equivalent of a parliament

**Doomsday Clock** a process set up by the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists in 1947 to assess the likelihood of a global catastrophe caused by human means. The closer the minute hand is to midnight on the clock the closer the world is to catastrophe.

**Duma** parliament; the elected legislative body that convened four times between 27 April 1906 and the collapse of the Empire in February 1917

**echo chamber** a situation in which ideas are amplified and reinforced through constant repetition in a closed system that prevents any alternative ideas taking shape



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**economic sabotage** a deliberate action aimed at weakening a corporation economically through subversion, obstruction, disruption or destruction

**edicts** official orders

**Electoral College** a group of 538 people who are the formal electors who cast an electoral vote. A president needs to win a majority — 270 electors — who then cast their vote for the president

**evidence** the information elicited and interpreted from a source that is used to support a historical argument or inform a specific historical inquiry

**exile** the condition of being sent or kept away from one's own country, especially for political reasons

**existential threat** a global catastrophic event that has the potential to wipe out all of humanity

**expropriation** the action by the state or an authority of taking property from its owner for public use or benefit

**extra-territoriality** a system of diplomatic rights whereby a person is subject to the laws and policies of their home nation or birthplace rather than the place they are visiting

**fake news** news that is fabricated for political or commercial gain; a term of abuse levelled against news that is unwelcome to the hearer

**fascism** a political system based on a very powerful leader, state control, and being extremely proud of country and race, and in which political opposition is not allowed

**fatalism** the belief that people cannot change the way events will happen and that events, especially bad ones, cannot be avoided

**feedback loop** a process in which a part of a system's output is fed back into the system as input

**FEMA** the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which was created in 1978 to coordinate disaster relief. It oversaw civil defence plans in the event of a nuclear attack, and also provided educational materials.

**feudal** relating to serfdom, the medieval social system whereby the privileged nobles controlled the hard-working peasants

**feudalism** a system that regulated life during the Tokugawa period. The daimyo (lords) provided land to the peasants to work and pay taxes for, and in return the daimyo provided protection to them with their samurai warriors.

**fief** area of land

**Ford Peace Ship** an initiative financed by the industrialist Henry Ford to take a group of pacifists on a diplomatic mission to Europe in 1915 with the aim of making proposals to both sides to negotiate an end to the war

**Fourteen Points speech** a speech by Woodrow Wilson to the US Congress on 8 January 1918 that outlined a plan for the reconstruction of Europe and reformation of the international order after the war. The last point was the creation of a League of Nations.

**fumigate** disinfect or purify an article using steam or chemicals

**Fundamental Laws** laws enacted by Nicholas II to carry out the governmental reforms promised in his earlier October Manifesto

**funicular** a word deriving from the French term for a cord that is tensioned. In this early twentieth-century context, 'funicular' refers to a cable railway in which a cable attached to a pair of tram-like vehicles on rails moves them up and down a steep slope.

**genro** a privy council of men who had played a leading role in the 1868 Meiji Restoration and in the organisation of the new government that followed. They were personal counsellors to the throne, a position that allowed them to virtually run the bureaucracy.

**gentry** people of high social class

**geopolitics** the application of political and economic geography to the external interests of nations

**global financial crisis** a catastrophic global recession considered by many economists to have been the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s

**globalisation** the widening, intensifying, speeding up and growing impact of worldwide connectedness in areas of trade, finance, investment, transport, communications and information

**GPR mapping** a method used to conduct a geophysical survey of a site; a non-intrusive way to develop an understanding of what lies beneath the surface or a topographic profile. It is commonly used to locate graves and headstones and even to determine if a burial space is available for use.

**grand strategy** a deeply held set of concepts about a country's goals and orientation in international affairs



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**Guantanamo Bay** the Guantanamo Bay detention camp is a US military prison located within Guantanamo Bay Naval Base, which fronts on Guantánamo Bay in Cuba

**guerrilla warfare** a form of irregular warfare in which a small group of combatants such as paramilitary personnel, armed civilians or irregulars use military tactics including ambush, sabotage, hit-and-run attacks and mobility to fight a larger and less-mobile traditional military

**hacktivist** someone who gets into computer systems without permission in order to achieve political aims

**hashtag** used on social media for describing the general subject of a tweet or other post (= message)

**Hague** *See* **The Hague**

**Hague Conventions** the conventions of 1899 and 1907 were agreements calling for the regulation of hostilities and conduct of belligerents in war and outlawing of the use of certain types of weapons

**Healthy Ground** a space for ship passengers who had been in contact with those infected but who had yet to develop symptoms. This space was geographically isolated from the Sick Ground and elevated above the wharf area.

**heimin** a new social class after the Meiji Restoration made up of commoners

**hibakusha** literally 'bomb affected people', survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945

**historian** an expert in or student of history, especially that of a particular period, geographical region or social phenomenon

**Hohenzollern** the ruling dynasty of Prussia, then of unified Germany after 1871. The dynasty dates its origins in the eleventh century.

**Human Impact Initiative** since 2010 governments, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement, various United Nations agencies and non-governmental organisations have worked together to reframe the debate on the catastrophic, persistent effects of nuclear weapons on our health, societies and the environment. This led to the creation of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) on 7 July 2017.

**hydrogen bomb** a bomb created by the nuclear fusion process, which is far more powerful than that of the atomic bomb, which is created using nuclear fission. The explosive power for many hydrogen bombs is measured in megatonnes. It is also known as a thermonuclear bomb.

**hyperbole** language used deliberately to exaggerate, to emphasise something, to add humour or to gain attention. When people use hyperbole, they often make statements that are obviously untrue.

**hypothesis** a supposition or proposed explanation made on the basis of limited evidence as a starting point for further investigation

**ICBM** an intercontinental ballistic missile, which can travel over continents and oceans in a very short time

**icon** a painting, usually on wood, of Jesus Christ or of a person considered holy by some Christians, especially in Russia

**iconography** the visual images and symbols used in a work of art or the study or interpretation of these

**ideology** a set of beliefs or principles, especially those on which a political system, party or organisation is based

**imperialism** the activity and ideology of empire-building; a system in which a country rules other countries, sometimes using force to gain control of them

**inauguration** a ceremony that marks the formal beginning of a President's term

**inscription** a marking, scratching, etching or painting that has been chiselled, inked or engraved

**instructional term** the key word that outlines what a student is required to do to answer the question

**intergovernmental organisation (IGO)** an organisation set up by governments to perform a specific function in the world

**international humanitarian law** also known as the laws of war; it defines the conduct of nations and people caught up in warfare. It comprises the Hague Conventions, the Geneva Conventions, other treaties and international customary law.

**internationalism** the belief that countries can achieve more advantages by working together and trying to understand each other than by arguing and fighting wars with each other

**internet meme** an image, video, website, hashtag or hyperlink that is created for comedy and spreads from person to person on the internet



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**internet piracy** the practice of using the internet to illegally copy software and pass it on to other people

**interpretation** a way of understanding and explaining what has happened in the past. Historians acknowledge that there is often more than one view of what has happened in the past.

**investigation** the action of investigating something or someone; formal or systematic examination or research

**IRBM** intermediate range ballistic missile

**Islamic State** an Islamist terrorist organisation, formed in the early twenty-first century

**jingoism** the extreme belief that your own country is always best, often shown in enthusiastic support for a war against another country

**Joint Chiefs of Staff** the heads of the army, navy and air forces, who advise the President on national security matters

**Kadets** a conservative revolutionary group that played an important role in the First Duma in 1906 and in the Provisional Government in 1917

**kazoku** a new social class after the Meiji Restoration including court nobles and former daimyo

**leak** the release of classified information to the media or sites like Wikileaks

**legislative power** the ability to make laws

**legislature** the group of people in a country or part of a country who have the power to make and change laws

**liberal internationalism** a belief in international progress, interdependence, multilateral cooperation and international organisations

**liberal international order** a situation in which like-minded nations agree that they should work together and try to understand one another in the name of peace and international law

**liberalism** a political ideology that promotes equality, liberty, protection from injustice and economic opportunity for all people

**Machiavellian** using clever but often dishonest methods that deceive people so that you can win power or control

**Manhattan** the main part of New York city sits on the island of Manhattan, which is 22 km long and 4 km wide

**Marxism** a social, political and economic theory based on the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

**Marxist** a supporter of the political and economic theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

**megatonnne/megaton** the destructive force of a nuclear bomb equal to one million tonnes/tons of TNT

**Meiji** the Emperor of Japan from 1867 to 1912, during whose reign Japan was dramatically transformed from a feudal country into one of the great powers of the modern world

**Mensheviks** a Marxist revolutionary party that was formed, along with the Bolsheviks, when the Social Democratic Workers' Party split in 1903

**metadata** information that is given to describe or help you use other information

**micro-blog** a short message for anyone to read, sent especially from a mobile phone

**migration** travelling to another country for wealth, education, opportunity, freedom from oppression, family reunion or safety

**militarism** an ideology that glorifies military ideals and culture and advocates the necessity to have strong armed forces and to use them to win political or economic advantages

**modern world** in the syllabus this relates to the time period between roughly the year 1750 and today

**Monroe Doctrine** the statement made in 1813 that the US would not become involved in European affairs and that Europeans should no longer interfere with any part of the Americas. Any attempt by a European power to influence or colonise any independent nation in the Americas would be seen as an attack on the peace and safety of the US.

**MP3** a type of computer file that stores high-quality sound in a small amount of space, or the technology that makes this possible

**multilateral** a term used in international relations that refers to nations working together

**narrative** a written account of connected events; a story

**nationalism** a strong identification with others who share a common language and heritage and a belief that the interests of one's state are of primary importance



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**nuclear arms race** the competition between the US and the USSR to build and deploy more nuclear weapons and to constantly update and improve these weapons and their delivery platforms

**nuclear disarmament movement** since the atomic bombing of Japan in World War II, groups around the world have campaigned for global nuclear disarmament.

**nuclear holocaust** a large-scale nuclear war involving massive destruction of human life and the environment

**Nuclear Non-ProliferationTreaty (NPT)** a treaty drawn up in 1968 that came into force in 1970 and aimed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons to countries other than the five that already had them

**nuclear triad** refers to the nuclear weapons delivery of a strategic nuclear arsenal that consists of three components: land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), strategic bombers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)

**nuclear warhead** the explosive part of a nuclear bomb that can be used in a number of delivery systems

**nuclear weapons** refers to any type of weapons using nuclear process and so includes atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs and neutron bombs in any form of delivery, whether by plane, missile, torpedo, depth

**nuclear winter** the scientific theory that all of the firestorms created by even just a hundred cities hit with nuclear bombs will send so much soot and debris into the atmosphere that the sun will be blocked out for months, resulting in plummeting temperatures that in turn will destroy all agricultural production

**Obamacare** a name given to the Affordable Care Act, a law introduced by President Obama in 2010 to make it easier for people in the US to get insurance for medical treatment

**October Manifesto** the document produced by Tsar Nicholas II promising to grant an elected Duma in return for an end to general strikes that had paralysed the economy

***Okhrana*** the name given to the Tsar's secret police service that dealt with opposition to the royal government

**oligarchy** government by a small group of powerful people

**One China policy** a policy that originated in 1979 from an agreement that involved the US shifting its embassy from Taiwan to China and officially acknowledging that Taiwan was a part of China. The US continues unofficial relations with Taiwan.

**Opium Wars** armed conflicts between the Chinese Qing Dynasty and combined Western powers in the mid-nineteenth century

**Organization of American States** an American-led coalition of countries within the American continent

**Organization of Latin American Solidarity** established in Havana in 1967, with the aim of encouraging Cuban-style revolutions in other Latin American countries

**padre** a Christian priest

**patriotism** loving your country more than any others and being proud of it. Patriotism can turn into jingoism and intolerance very quickly.

***Pax Romana*** (Roman Peace) a period of sustained peace and stability in the ancient world

**penal code** the system of legal punishment in a country

**perspective** a point of view from which events and issues in history can be analysed, such as the perspective of an individual or group in the past

**plagiarism** the 'wrongful appropriation' and 'stealing and publication' of another author's 'language, thoughts, ideas, or expressions' and the representation of them as one's own original work

**Platt Amendment** an amendment to the 1902 Cuban Constitution that gave the US the legal right to intervene in Cuba to protect 'life, property and individual liberties'

**police state** a regime in which the government uses the police to severely limit people's freedom

**political vacuum** an analogy in politics or history used to describe a time when someone has lost power and is yet to be replaced

**populist** representing or relating to the ideas and opinions of ordinary people

**potato famine** a period of mass starvation, disease and emigration in Ireland between 1845 and 1852, which caused the nation's population to fall by between 20 per cent and 25 per cent

**precinct** a defined area where certain activities or groups were arranged

**pre-emptive strike** a modern military action based on the assumption that an enemy is planning an imminent attack



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**prefecture** a political region or local government area in Japan

**Primaries** a series of votes among members of political parties to decide who will be their party's candidate for the presidential election

**primary source** an artefact, document, diary, manuscript, autobiography, recording or any other source of information that was created at the time under study

**proletariat** the name Karl Marx gave to the industrial workers

**propaganda** the use of biased, distorted or false information to promote a political cause or point of view

**proposal** a plan or suggestion that is presented to a person or group of people to consider

**prorogue** to temporarily halt the processes of a parliament

**Provisional Government** the Liberal–Socialist revolutionary government that ruled Russia from March 1917 until their overthrow by the Bolsheviks in November 1917

**Prussia** a former European empire that included modern-day Germany and Poland

**Putinism** a term to describe the popular rule of strongman Vladimir Putin, who has been President of Russia since 1999

**quarantine** derives from the Italian term *quarantena*, a period comprising 40 days of isolation to protect people from future contamination and disease. *Quarantena* commenced as a result of an outbreak of the Black Death in fifteenth-century Venice.

**Radicals** those on the left wing of the Liberal Party in Britain who opposed imperialism and promoted a liberal-internationalist world order. The term also came to include those on the outside of the Liberal Party who had similar views.

**rangaku** a term used to describe Western scientific learning in general

**reality TV** shows based on the idea of members of the public living or taking part, in an unscripted way, in programs under conditions created specially by the producers of the programs

**reconstruction** an attempt to get a complete description of a past event using the evidence available

**recruitment** the process of urging people to voluntarily join the armed forces

**Red Cross** an international organisation that takes care of people who are suffering because of war, hunger, disease or other problems

**Red Guards** soldiers under the Bolsheviks

**referencing** a way of acknowledging the sources of information that you use to research your assignments

**regime** a particular government or system of government

**Reichstag** the lower house of Germany's parliament

**reliability** consideration of the context, purpose, origin and audience of a source, in order to judge how accurately an area of historical study is represented

**revolution** a fundamental change in the way a country is governed, usually to a different political system and often using violence; it takes place in a relatively short period of time when the population rises up in revolt against the current authorities

**rhetoric** speech or writing intended to be effective and to influence people

**Rodzianko, Mikhail** the head of the Fourth Duma (1912–1917), which formed the Provisional Government after the abdication of Nicholas II

**ronin** masterless, wandering samurai who sought out paid work

**rule of law** the principle that no one is above the law and that laws are publicly disclosed and enforced with established procedural steps

**Rust Belt** a term for the region of the United States from the Great Lakes to the upper Midwest States, referring to economic decline, population loss and urban decay due to the shrinking of its once-powerful industrial sector, also known as deindustrialisation

**salient** a part of the front line that projects out into enemy territory so that it is easy to attack on three sides, making it an obvious area for the enemy to attack

**salon** a gathering of intellectuals at the house of someone famous or important

**samurai** a member of a military class of high social rank from the eleventh century to the nineteenth century in Japan

**Sanders, Bernie** a popular left-wing candidate who eventually lost the Democratic Party nomination to Hillary Clinton



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**sankin kotai** a system established by the Shogun to control the daimyo by asking these lords to spend every alternate year at the Shogun's court in Edo and leave their families at home as hostages, to prevent any political coup

**sarcophagus** a box-like funeral receptacle for a corpse

**Schlieffen Plan** a battle plan proposed in 1905 by Count Alfred von Schlieffen, chief of the German general staff, which was designed to allow Germany to wage a successful two-front war (most likely against France and Russia)

**Seclusion Edicts** official orders of 1635 isolating Japan from the rest of the world

**secondary source** one that was created later by someone who did not experience at first hand or participate in the events or conditions you are researching

**Shinto** a Japanese religion according to which people worship past members of their families and various gods who represent natural forces

**shizoku** a new social class after the Meiji Restoration derived mainly from the old samurai class

**Shogun** the military dictator of Japan during the feudal period from 1603 until 1868

**Sick Ground** an area for those contaminated with disease located closest to the landing wharf and with access to the hospital

**SIOP** an abbreviation for Single Integrated Operations Plan, which was a plan giving the President a range of targeting options for launching a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union, or any enemy

**Slav** a member of any of the Eastern European races of people who speak a Slavic language. The Slavic languages are divided into East Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian), West Slavic (Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbian) and South Slavic (Old Church Slavonic, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene).

**SLBM** a submarine launched ballistic missile, which can be fired from a submarine while still submerged

**smallpox** an extremely infectious disease that causes a fever, spots on the skin and often death

**social class** position in society based on wealth, hereditary title, influence and education

**social contract** an agreement among the members of a society or between a society and its rulers about the rights and duties of each

**socialism** the set of beliefs that states that all people are equal and should share equally in a country's money, or the political systems based on these beliefs

**Sonno Joi** an anti-foreign social movement in Japan in the 1850s and 1860s. Its slogan was 'Revere the Emperor, expel the barbarian.'

**source** any written or non-written material (such as a political cartoon) that can be used to investigate the past. Historians use sources to draw out 'evidence' to answer specific historical questions, to support a historical inquiry, or to back up or disprove an interpretation.

**Soviet Order No. 1** the order given by the Petrograd Soviet one day after its formation that no military orders from the Provisional Government were to be obeyed unless also approved by the Soviet

***soviets*** councils with elected members

**Spanish-American War** in 1898, this war ended Spain's colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere and secured the position of the US as a Pacific power. The US victory in the war produced a peace treaty that compelled the Spanish to relinquish claims on Cuba.

**Spanish flu** an influenza virus that was considered a pandemic, as it killed over 500 million people worldwide at the end of World War I. The strain was particularly contagious and virulent, causing patients to develop pneumonia. The virus attacked the respiratory system and it seems that those with healthy immune systems were equally affected.

**sphere of influence** a region in which political and economic influence or control is exerted by one nation over another nation or nations

**stalemate** a situation in which neither group involved can win or get an advantage and no action can be taken

**standing army** a nation's regular and professional armed force

**Steerage Class** equivalent to Economy Class; also applied to passengers travelling Steerage Class

**stipend** a monthly living allowance paid in kind, usually in rice

**strategic nuclear weapon** a larger nuclear weapon designed for the destruction of cities

**stratification** the arrangement of the different parts in separate layers or groups



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**suffrage** the right to vote in an election, especially for representatives in a government

**superpowers** the US and the USSR after World War II. Both countries were far more powerful than any previous great power in history, so they were referred to by this term.

**tactical nuclear weapon** a small nuclear weapon designed for battlefield use

**The Hague** the seat of government, though not the capital, of the Netherlands. Since hosting the world's first peace conference in 1899 it has become the home of international courts, such as the ICJ and the ICC, and a base for 150 international legal organisations.

**Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** the peace treaty concluded on 3 March 1918, formally ending Russia's participation in World War I. The treaty imposed extremely harsh conditions on Russia but the new Bolsheviks had no alternative but to agree.

**Treaty of Versailles** the treaty that officially ended World War I. It came into effect when it was signed by the nations involved in the war on 28 June 1919, which was five years since the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914.

**Treaty of Westphalia** otherwise known as the Peace of Westphalia; this refers to a treaty in 1648 that ended thirty years of warfare in Europe. It is widely regarded as the beginning of the modern era and the origin of the modern concept of the nation-state.

**troll** someone who leaves an intentionally offensive message on the internet, in order to get attention or cause trouble

**tsarism** the Tsar (also sometimes spelt Czar) was the male ruler of Russia until 1917; tsarism in this context refers to the rule over the Russian Empire by either a male or a female (Tsarina) leader

**twitterbot** a Twitter account that acts like a robot automatically tweeting, liking and following or messaging other Twitter accounts

**two-state solution** this goal, to establish an independent State of Palestine alongside the State of Israel, has been the agreed basis of peace negotiations, from all stakeholders, for decades

**unequal treaties** unfair treaties between Western powers and Japan. These treaties made Japan's sovereignty, economic and military interests subject to impositions of the West and were often negotiated under the threat of military force.

**unsafe history** an era of history that is still unresolved and that can have an impact on us today

**US-based Cuban exiles** refers to the many Cubans who fled from or left the island of Cuba

**utopia** (the idea of) a perfect society in which everyone works well with everyone else and is happy

**vassal** a person regarded as having an obligation to a lord; in the context of Chapter 6 it means the Christian missionaries

**venereal disease (VD)** a disease that is spread through sexual activity with an infected person

**vlog** a video blog: a record of a person's thoughts, opinions, or experiences that they film and publish on the internet

**war aims** the specific objectives that a nation is committed to in a war, which may be public or secret

**Web 2.0** a name for all the internet features and websites that allow users to create, change and share internet content (information, pictures, etc.)

**White Australia Policy** two Acts of the new Australian Parliament in 1901 that restricted immigration: the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* and the *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901*. Finally abolished in 1973.

**xenophobia** extreme dislike or fear of foreigners, their customs, their religions, etc.

**Yamagata** Yamagata Aritomo led the newly modernised Imperial Army against the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877

**zaibatsu** a group of industrial and financial companies that controlled a large part of the economy of Japan until World War II

***zemstvos*** local councils that were made up of elected representatives of peasants and landowners



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