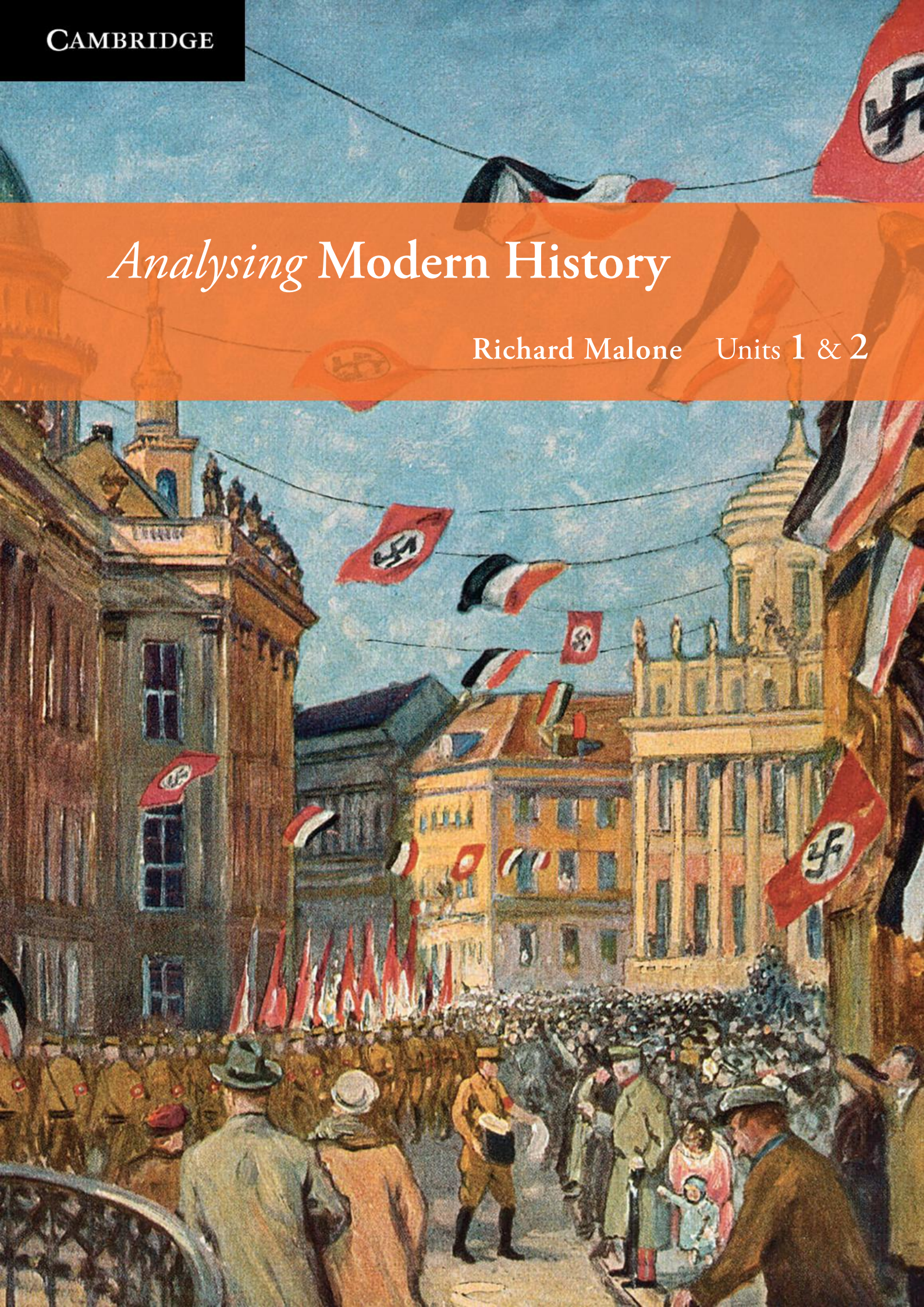
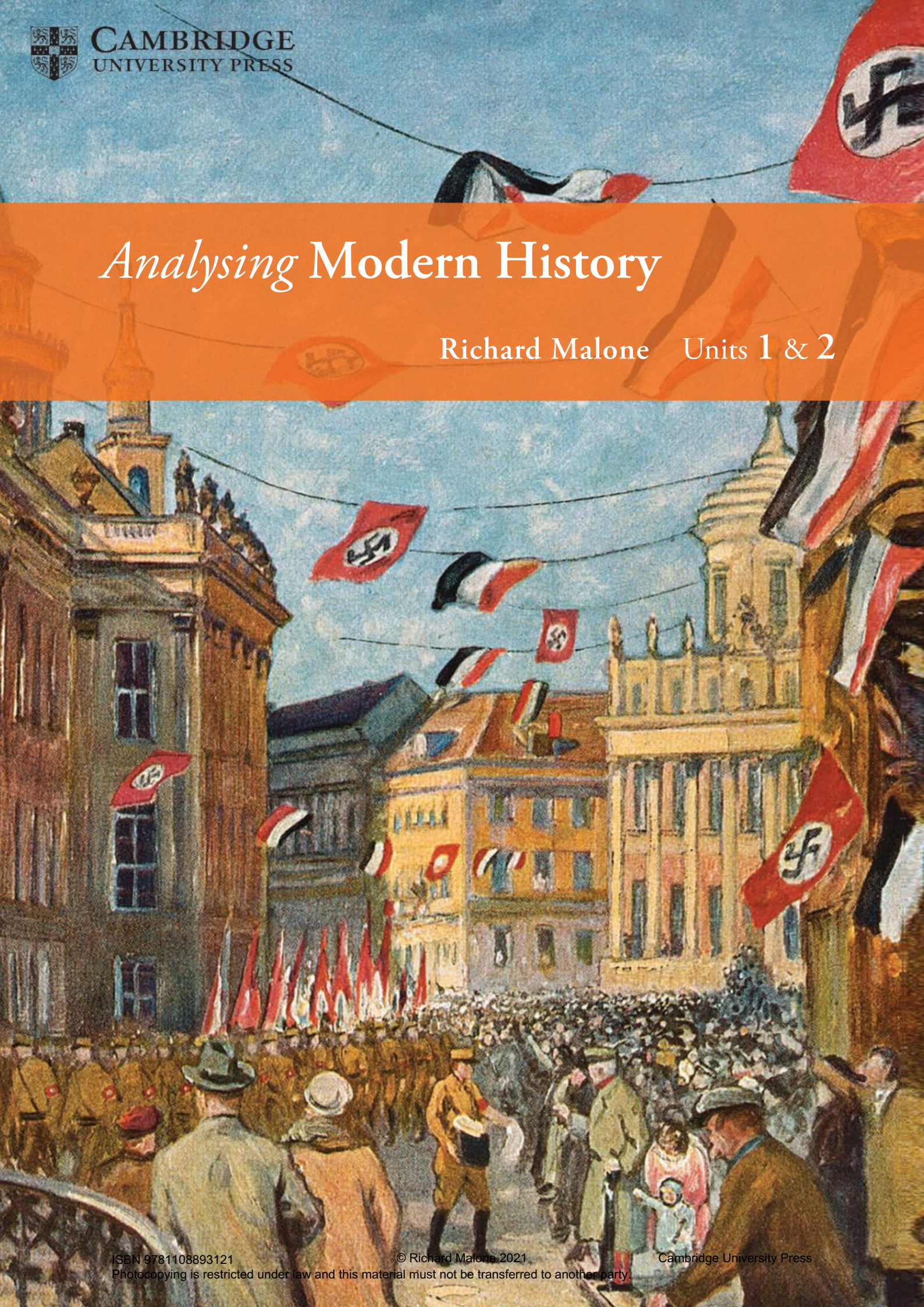
CAMBRIDGE

Analysing Modern History

Richard Malone Units 1 & 2





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Analysing Modern History

Richard Malone Units 1 & 2

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

© Cambridge University Press 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021
20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Cover designed by Carolina Kerr
Text designed by Claire Atteia
Typeset by Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.
Printed in Malaysia by Vivar Printing

A catalogue record for this book is available from the National Library of Australia at www.nla.gov.au

ISBN 978-1-108-89312-1 Paperback

Additional resources for this publication at www.cambridge.edu.au/GO

Reproduction and Communication for educational purposes
The Australian *Copyright Act 1968* (the Act) allows a maximum of one chapter or 10% of the pages of this publication, whichever is the greater, to be reproduced and/or communicated by any educational institution for its educational purposes provided that the educational institution (or the body that administers it) has given a remuneration notice to Copyright Agency Limited (CAL) under the Act.

For details of the CAL licence for educational institutions contact:

Copyright Agency Limited
Level 12, 66 Goulburn Street
Sydney NSW 2000
Telephone: (02) 9394 7600
Facsimile: (02) 9394 7601
Email: memberservices@copyright.com.au

Reproduction and Communication for other purposes
Except as permitted under the Act (for example a fair dealing for the purposes of study, research, criticism or review) no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, communicated or transmitted in any form or by any means without prior written permission. All inquiries should be made to the publisher at the address above.

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel timetables and other factual information given in this work is correct at the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee the accuracy of such information thereafter.

Please be aware that this publication may contain images of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people now deceased. Several variations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander terms and spellings may also appear; no disrespect is intended. Please note that the terms Indigenous Australians' and'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' may be used interchangeably in this publication.

Cambridge University Press acknowledges the Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of this nation. We acknowledge the traditional custodians of the lands on which our company is located and where we conduct our business. We pay our respects to ancestors and Elders, past and present. Cambridge University Press is committed to honouring Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' unique cultural and spiritual relationships to the land, waters and seas and their rich contribution to society.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Table of Contents

Introduction *vii*

About the authors *viii*

How to use this resource *ix*

Acknowledgements *xi*

1 What makes 'good history?' Historical thinking concepts and skills **2**

1.1 What is historical thinking? 4

1.2 How do I understand historical thinking concepts and skills? 5

1.3 What vocabulary can I use to express these concepts and skills? 8

1.4 How do I understand question words? 9

1.5 How do I analyse sources? 11

1.6 How do I write a strong essay? 13

1.7 How do I use historical interpretations? 14

Unit 1: Change and conflict

Timeline of key events, 19th century and 1914–1939 **18**

2 The end of empires and the road to World War I **22**

2.1 The unification of Germany 25

2.2 The path to empire 29

3 The consequences of World War I **40**

3.1 The end of World War I 43

3.2 The Treaty of Versailles, 1919 46

3.3 Conditions of the Treaty 49

3.4 German responses to the Treaty 51

3.5 The League of Nations 53

Area of Study 1
Ideology and conflict
16

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

4 **Ideologies of the interwar period** **56**
- 4.1 Political ideologies 59
- 4.2 Socialism and communism 60
- 4.3 Fascism 64
- 4.4 Nazism 69
- 4.5 Understanding how leaders rose to power 82

5 **Leading the world into World War II** **86**
- 5.1 The failure of the League of Nations 89
- 5.2 Mussolini's aggression in Fascist Italy 90
- 5.3 Hitler's aggression in Nazi Germany 94
- 5.4 The rise of militaristic aggression in Japan 101
- 5.5 Comparing fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan 105
- 5.6 The failure of appeasement 107

Timeline of key events, 1919–1939 **118**

Area of Study 2
Challenge and change 116

6 **Germany under Nazism** **122**
- 6.1 The influence of political change: Establishment of a totalitarian regime 125
- 6.2 The influence of economic change 129
- 6.3 The influence of social change: The role of gender, race and ethnicity 131
- 6.4 The Nuremberg Laws, 1935 136
- 6.5 *Kristallnacht*, or the Night of Broken Glass, 1938 138
- 6.6 Creating and controlling cultural expression 139
- 6.7 Challenges to Nazism 146

7 **The United States under democracy** **152**
- 7.1 The influence of political changes 155
- 7.2 The influence of economic changes: 'The business of America is business' 158
- 7.3 The Wall Street Crash, 29 October 1929 160
- 7.4 The influence of social changes: Cultural expression in the 1920s and 1930s 162
- 7.5 Controlling cultural expression: Prohibition of alcohol, 1920–33 173
- 7.6 Social and economic exclusion 180

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Unit 2: The changing world order

Area of Study 1

Causes, course and consequences of the Cold War 184

Timeline of key events, 1945–1991 186

8 The Cold War 188
- 8.1 The aftermath of World War II: United States and Soviet Union emerge as superpowers 191
- 8.2 Tensions continue 193
- 8.3 The United Nations, 1945 to present 197
- 8.4 Competing Cold War ideologies: Capitalism vs communism 199
- 8.5 The Iron Curtain 205

9 The division of Berlin and Germany 212
- 9.1 The United States and its policy of containment 215
- 9.2 The Soviet Union's response: The Berlin Blockade, 1948–49 218
- 9.3 Analysis of the Berlin Blockade 220
- 9.4 Conflicts continue in the 1950s 221
- 9.5 Why was the Berlin Wall built? 223
- 9.6 The response to the Berlin Wall 231
- 9.7 The significance of the Berlin Wall 234

10 The Cuban Missile Crisis 238
- 10.1 The Nuclear Age 241
- 10.2 The Cuban Missile Crisis 244
- 10.3 Why did Castro want Soviet missiles in Cuba? 246
- 10.4 Kennedy's response 252
- 10.5 Outcomes and consequences 254

11 The Vietnam War 264
- 11.1 Background to the Vietnam War 267
- 11.2 Key players and places 273
- 11.3 Major battles of the Vietnam War 274
- 11.4 Weapons used in the war 279
- 11.5 The anti-war movement 287
- 11.6 The war ends 292
- 11.7 Consequences of the war on nations: No one wins 295

12 The end of the Cold War? 302
- 12.1 The USSR running out of steam 305
- 12.2 The role of Gorbachev 306
- 12.3 Monumental events 311
- 12.4 Cold winds returning? 317

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Area of Study 2
Challenge and change
324

Timeline of key events, 1911–1968 **326**

13 A study of a social and political movement: Civil rights campaigns in the United States **328**

13.1 The United States Constitution and equality 332
13.2 The reconstruction period: Hate remains but is driven underground 334
13.3 The Ku Klux Klan 338
13.4 Desegregating transport 345
13.5 Desegregating education 358
13.6 How did whites argue against integration? 363
13.7 The pivotal year, 1963 363
13.8 The *Civil Rights Act* passed, 1964 370
13.9 Flash forward: the monumental events of 2020 374

14 A study of a regional conflict: The anti-apartheid movement in South Africa **384**

14.1 The system of apartheid 387
14.2 The Defiance Campaign 391
14.3 The Sharpeville Massacre 392
14.4 *Umkhonto we Sizwe*: Mandela's 'Spear of the Nation' 395
14.5 The Soweto Riots, 1976 397
14.6 Apartheid in the 1980s 401
14.7 Apartheid collapses 403

Glossary *412*
Index *416*

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Introduction

A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots.

– MARCUS GARVEY

Some of humanity's greatest achievements occurred in the twentieth century as well as some of its greatest atrocities. It was, as Eric Hobsbawm named his monumental book on the twentieth century, the 'age of extremes': the height of human progress but also large-scale human atrocities.

At the start of the twentieth century, science and medicine were moving forward dramatically, the motor car and air flight were just developing. Patriotism and imperialism were the common mindset. Mostly, people believed that the best was coming.

Yehudi Menuhin, British musician, said 'If I had to sum up the twentieth century, I would say that it raised the greatest hopes ever conceived by humanity, and destroyed all illusions and ideals.' William Golding, a British Nobel Laureate winner and popular author, noted 'I can't help thinking that this has been the most violent century in human history.'

This book explores the most significant events of the twentieth century. Stirring and horrific. Memorable and infamous. Unit 1 focuses on 1918–39; Part 1 examines ideology and change in Russia, Japan, Germany and Italy, while Part 2 provides close studies of social and cultural changes in Germany and the United States of America. Unit 2 focuses on the competing ideologies of post-World War II capitalism and communism during the Cold War. The years 1945–2000 were also a period of monumental social change. Anti-apartheid in South Africa and civil rights in the United States are explored.

I truly hope you thoroughly enjoy engaging with these amazing stories of humankind.

Richard Malone

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

About the authors

Richard Malone believes that History is the best subject because it connects the past with the present by studying how people behave. Understanding human nature is the key to decoding the complex world around us. You not only explore how political, economic and social patterns emerge and repeat but also learn about yourself. Richard has been deeply involved in History for over 20 years, presenting at conferences and student lectures, marking examinations for VCAA, mentoring young teachers, assessing the National History Challenge, serving on the HTAV Board of Directors, conducting overseas student study tours to Italy, Gallipoli and China, and writing several text books. His leadership roles of Year Level Coordinator, Humanities Learning Leader, Head of Curriculum and Head of Middle School have been challenging but, more importantly, provided avenues for growth.

Contributing authors

Anthony Coghlan

Anthony Coghlan has a teaching career spanning 20 years, during which he has also spent time in the corporate sector. He is currently a Head of Year alongside school-wide data and analytics responsibilities. He has previously held roles in school-wide Student PD, English and LOTE curriculum leadership and directorship of rugby and rowing programs. While he is currently a History Revolutions teacher, he has a particular passion for the themes and narrative of the Modern History syllabus, including how the second half of the twentieth century so dramatically shaped the world we live in today. Anthony believes in the critical need for History in shaping informed and responsible members of society, who can hold governments and institutions to account based on the lessons of the past. He has been an avid History enthusiast for his entire life, gaining particular inspiration from his school teacher, Stephen Miles, and his own mother, Marcia, in the important formative years of his learning. Today, he draws inspiration from his wife and three children as they enter an evolving and uncertain world that needs the wisdom of perspective more than ever.

Samuel Koehne

Dr Samuel Koehne is the Head of History at a school in Melbourne. He is an internationally recognised scholar in the field of Nazism and religion, and has published extensively on this topic in leading international journals. He has over 20 years' experience teaching History at both secondary and tertiary level, has previously held research fellowships in Australia and in Germany, and is a passionate educator. He currently teaches Years 7 and 8, and Year 10 to 12.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

How to use this resource

Structure

- This textbook is broken into two Units – Unit 1: Change and conflict and Unit 2: The changing world order. Each Unit is then divided into two sections, each aligning with an Area of Study in the VCAA History Study Design.
- **Unit and Area of Study openers** give a broad overview of the chapters to come and a timeline of key events.
- **Chapter openers** also include an overview, listing the key issues of the chapter and a flow diagram.
- **QR codes** are included in all chapters for easy access to related videos.

Activities

- **Focus questions** are placed throughout the chapter to assess comprehension and encourage discussion.
- **Analysis activities** explore key primary and secondary historical sources. These sources can be visual or text-based, to help develop your understanding of the topic as well as your skills as a historian.

Chapter review

The end of chapter review activities include a combination of tasks to help consolidate your learning:

- **Short-answer questions** are writing tasks that allow you to practise your writing.
- **Analysing historical sources as evidence** provides practice for exam-style source analysis, both textual and visual.
- **Analysing historian's interpretations** focuses on arguments made by individual historians and encourages you to put forth your own views.
- **Constructing historical arguments** are practice essay questions that allow you to prepare for assessment tasks.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Digital resources

For a list of links to all the websites referred to in this book, go to: **www.cambridge.edu.au/analysingmod12**

Further digital resources are available in the **Interactive Textbook** and on ***Cambridge GO***:

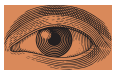
- **PDF textbook** – downloadable, contains note taking and search functions
- **Interactive activities** – (e.g. drag and drop questions) assist recall of facts and understanding of concepts
- **Videos** – additional sources to watch.

The Teacher Resource Package also includes:

- Teaching programs and teaching tips
- Curriculum grids for each topic area
- **Suggested responses**
- **Practice Assessment Material**.

Understanding icons

The following icons are used throughout the textbook to indicate different activities, resources, or points of view.

Analysis activity – textual analysis:	Source analysis questions focusing on speeches or text extracts
 **Analysis activity – visual analysis:**	Source analysis questions focusing on artwork or photos
Significant Individuals:	Biographies on significant individuals
Historical interpretations	Snapshots of important historians and their historical interpretations
Digital activities:	See the Interactive Textbook for access to digital resources
Videos	Related videos on the chapter content, available through the Interactive Textbook or through QR codes for instant access

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Acknowledgements

This book is dedicated to my precious family who make my life full of colour. To Kerryn, thank you for your passionate support for my dreams that enables my pursuits to bear fruit. Your wisdom, inspiration and generosity encourage wholeness. To my children, Abbey, Jacob and Hudson, thank you for infusing my life with spontaneity, richness and joy. You give life an energetic edge!

For being my community and sharing the many seasons of life's journey – Neale and Susan, Pete and Jo, BK and Jess.

For inspiring my mind and heart with the stories of history – Peter McPhee, Michael Adcock, Adrian Jones, Neville Wilson, Iain Belot and Sally James.

For sharing wise insights and resources from a teacher perspective that have simply made each edition richer – Michael Bucklow, Fi Stokes, Nick Alexander and Catherine Hart.

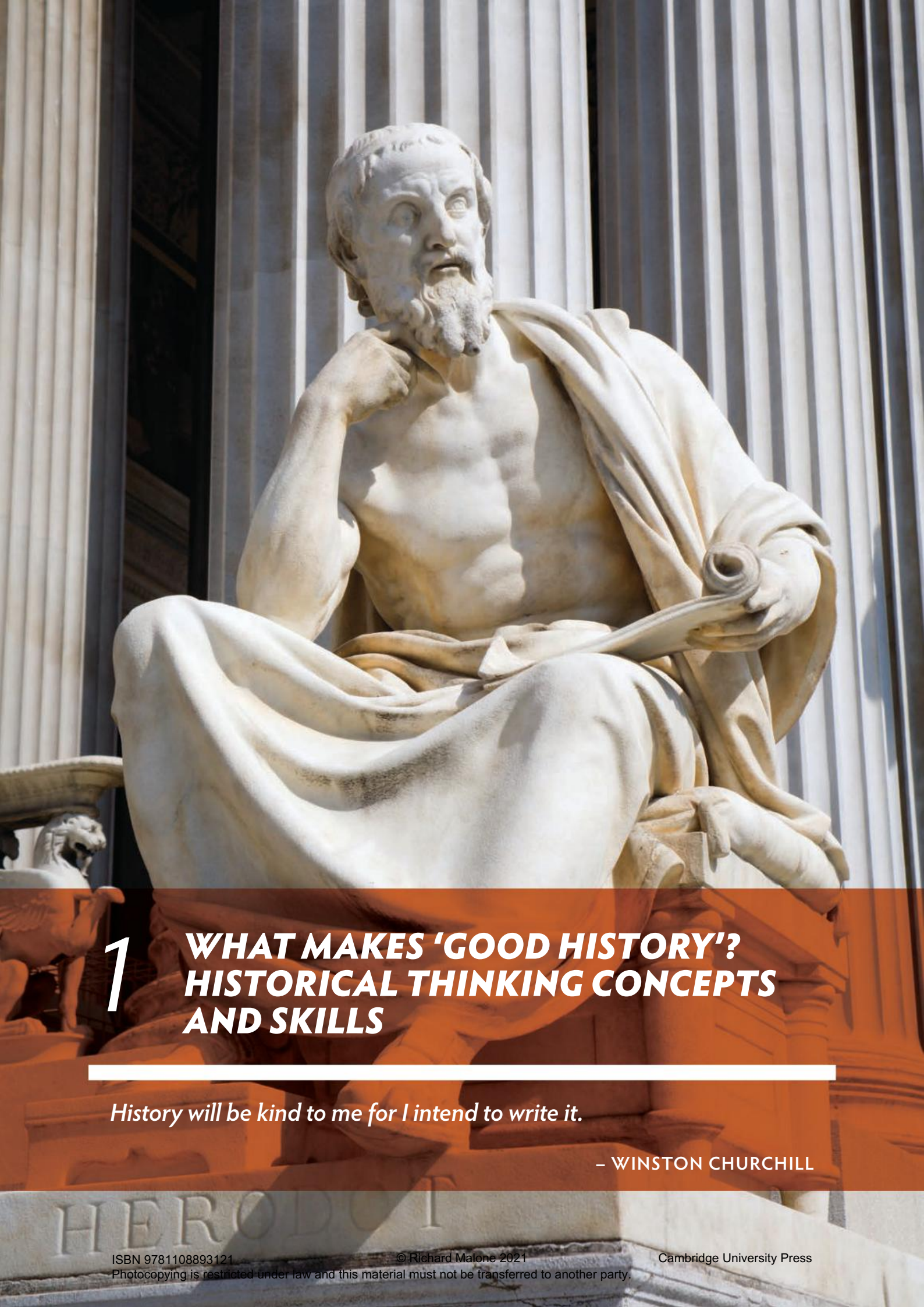
For providing invaluable practical feedback from a student perspective – Amelia Grevis-James, Brooke Dewar, Lachlan Miles, Daniel Moldrich, Abbey Malone and Joanne Oakley.

Special thanks

The authors and publishers would like to give a special thank-you to Ms Judy Anderson, who provided invaluable reviewer feedback which has helped to improve the finished produce immensely. Your generosity to share your vast historical knowledge and teaching expertise is greatly appreciated, Judy.

The Publishers would like to also thank Anthony and Sam for their significant contributions to this edition.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



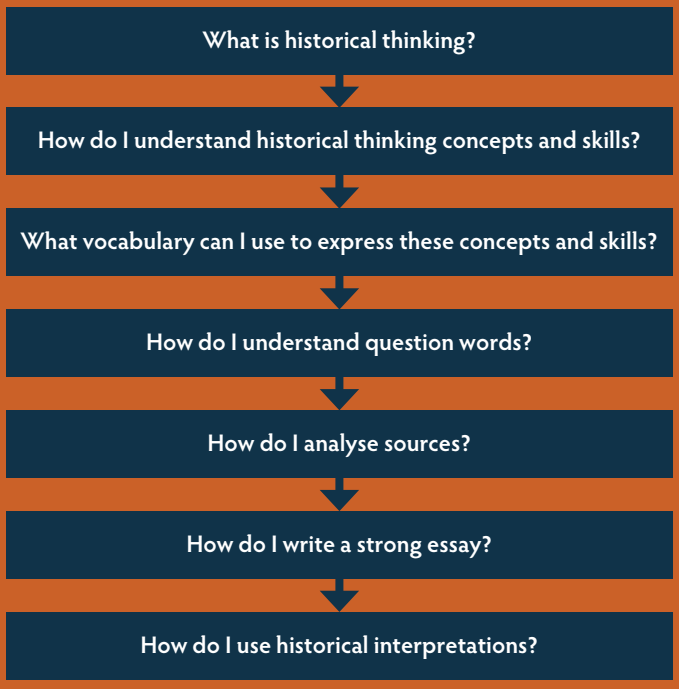
1 WHAT MAKES 'GOOD HISTORY'? HISTORICAL THINKING CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

History will be kind to me for I intend to write it.

– WINSTON CHURCHILL

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.
Cambridge University Press

Flow of chapter



◄**Source 1.0** A status of the ancient Greek scholar Herodotus (c. 484 – c. 425 BCE) from outside Vienna's parliament. Herodotus is known today as 'The Father of History'. He wrote a famous work known as *The Histories* in which he undertook a systematic 'inquiry' into Greek history, based on the use of sources of evidence: 'The purpose is to prevent the traces of human events from being erased by time'. Historians and students of History today continue the legacy of Herodotus.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1.1 What is historical thinking?

As you read through this text, you should try to start thinking like a historian. History is not just a matter of knowing what happened when or looking at the chronology of past events and incidents. It means asking the key question: *why?* Inquiry is the first step to understanding. As you read this textbook, and other sources, you should keep focusing on a series of questions that will help you to better comprehend Modern History.

Good history questions	Historical thinking concepts
Why did these historical events occur?	Historical inquiry
Why is this event or person important?	Historical significance
Why did this event have an impact on society, what were the consequences, and why do some events have a much longer impact than others?	Cause and consequence
Why did some things change as a result of this person or event in history, and why do other parts of society continue unchanged?	Change and continuity
Why are some sources considered more reliable than others, how were they understood at the time, and why have particular events appeared to change in significance over time?	Using primary and secondary sources

▲**Source 1.1** Questions to comprehend Modern History

As you use these focus questions, you should remember that they apply to a living society. People in the past went about their everyday lives and were occupied with just as wide a variety of concerns as we are today, but were also affected by political, social, economic or intellectual changes in the world. Some of these were important or seen as important by people at the time, while others were not. This makes history quite complex. As historians quickly realise, they are not 'necromancers': they cannot literally bring people back from the dead. As a result, we have to rely on sources as evidence of what occurred in the past. Accounts from the time, known as primary sources, are some of the best ways for us to comprehend how people lived their lives, but secondary sources (like this textbook) are also major pieces of evidence, because they try to explain what occurred with the benefit of hindsight.

This also means that the more evidence you use, the more comprehensively you can understand the past. For instance, if you look at just one raindrop hitting the still water of a pond, you might only notice the ripples that it creates, which appear to move outward from the initial point of impact to the very edges of the pond. If you look at other raindrops, you will notice the ways in which they also have ripples that spread out and form concentric patterns on the surface of the pond. They intersect and overlap. Some raindrops will also cause ripples that halt the

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

initial surge of others. Each of these raindrops can be considered to be a historical event, and if we focus on just one then we may well gain a false concept of its actual impact. It is only when we look at more events that we can better grasp the full picture. One thing is clear: Modern History is a downpour.

Understanding modernity: Creating a mind map

History is contemporary. In order to begin to understand Modern History and how events can have a significant impact, it is useful to look around you and consider our own society. As a class, choose one current event and examine what impact it has actually had on Australia today, or what impact it might have in the future. Major concerns that you might wish to examine include:

- environmental impacts
- political events
- social changes
- legal changes.

The key to this exercise is that you have to focus on a *specific* and limited modern event, not just discuss these topics generally. Once you have chosen a particular current event, try to create a mind map that examines all of the *causes* and *consequences*, and what *changes* it has caused, as well as what aspects of society have *continued* unaffected. How has this intersected with other changes in our world today?

History is personal. After you have mapped out all of the various impacts of a particular event, you should individually analyse whether it has in fact had a direct impact on your own life. Have you been conscious of this event, and do you feel it was part of what you have been contemplating today? Just like people in the past, you might well be thinking about your favourite music, what you will eat for lunch, or how much homework you have to complete. On the other hand, it may have had a very strong impact on your life. It is useful to keep this in mind as you learn more about Modern History and find yourself asking questions like: How could society have changed so quickly, and why didn't most people do anything?

1.2 How do I understand historical thinking concepts and skills?

History is a dynamic discipline that is underpinned by several important thinking concepts and skills. Source 1.2 provides an explanation of each.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Thinking concept	Brief explanation	Sample questions	Practical tips
Sequencing chronology	Chronology involves the arrangement of events in order of time. This sequence is important to knowing why events happened, and their consequences, plus distinguishing between long-term factors and short-term triggers. Knowing chronology is the basis for evidence, analysis and arguments.	When did World War I end? What happened after Hitler came to power in 1933?	Create timelines and do regular chronology tests.
Ask historical questions	Be curious. Ask questions about the past. It helps to understand why things happened the way they did. Research to find the answer.	Who … ? What … ? When … Where … ? How … ? Why … ?	Choose an event, individual or issue and create a question using each of the question words.
Compare and contrast	Comparison is an important skill. It enables you to identify what is similar and what is different. This provides valuable understanding and meaning of the past.	Compare two sources about the role of the propaganda in the lead-up to World War II.	Create a Venn diagram to list similarities and differences between two events, individuals or issues.
Establish historical significance	How significant an event, individual or issue was depends on how broad an impact it had. Impact can be determined by how long it went for, the scale of the event, the number of people it affected, how it was perceived at the time and other events it may have caused.	What were the significant outcomes of the Treaty of Versailles?	List all the causes or consequences of an event. Rank them from most important to least. The top ones are the 'most significant'.
Use sources as evidence	Primary sources are crucial in understanding the past. Examine sources closely, including language, words, symbols, gestures and colours. Secondary sources are crucial in interpreting the past. Use them to understand a variety of different points of view.	Who created the source and when? What was happening around the time it was created? Is this source an accurate representation of what occurred? Why or why not?	Make a list of key primary sources, and learn the main message of each.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Thinking concept	Brief explanation	Sample questions	Practical tips
Identify continuity and change	Understanding patterns in the past is helped by identifying when changes occurred and why, or when things continued unchanged. Turning points are a useful way for identifying change.	Was the change quick or slow? Was the change for the better or worse? To what extent did daily life improve for people during and after the event?	Highlight on a chronology list the events that were main turning points that produced major change.
Analyse cause and consequence	This is crucial to making meaning and analysing the past. Causes of revolutions can be categorised into long-term causes and short-term triggers, or PESC (political, economic, social and cultural). Make links between events rather than treating them separately. Consequences can be intended or unintended.	What were the main causes of the Cold War? What were the main consequences of the Vietnam War?	Use graphic organisers, such as creating a Y chart for each main event describing the cause of the event, the event itself, and the consequences of the event.
Explore historical perspectives	This can be explored from two angles: first, from individuals and groups of people at the time; and second, from historians studying revolutions. Both provide important interpretations into the past.	How did different groups of people at the time make sense of the radical events? How did people perceive different events at the time?	Start a list of (named) quotes and add to it throughout your study. Identify which are from the time and which are by later historians.
Examine ethical dimensions of history	Insights bring empathy. Engage with the beliefs, values and attitudes of people in the past. Acknowledge that the moral frameworks and social circumstances of the past are different from our own. Respect their story.	What pressures existed for leaders in making certain decisions?	Use 'Three Level Guides' to read sources deeply for stated or implied values and moral principles: Level 1: Literal. Reading what is right there. Level 2: Interpret. Reading between the lines. Level 3: Applied. Reading beyond the lines.
Construct historical arguments	The ultimate step is developing a logical argument that can be well supported with evidence. Remember, using facts shows knowledge, but using facts to support an argument makes it evidence.	To what extent was World War II caused by the harsh conditions of the Treaty of Versailles?	Find a list of essay topics. Practise planning essay responses by creating an argument, body paragraphs and supporting evidence.

▲**Source 1.2** Understanding historical thinking concepts and skills

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1.3 What vocabulary can I use to express these concepts and skills?

Using effective vocabulary will improve the quality of your writing. It also conveys more meaning in fewer words. Powerful vocabulary can be learnt. Choose and practise using some of the following words in your writing.

Short-term cause	Long-term cause	Consequences	Compare	Contrast
▪ catalyst ▪ sparked ▪ triggered ▪ ignited ▪ provoked ▪ incited ▪ precipitated ▪ initiated ▪ stimulated	▪ origins ▪ develop ▪ evolve ▪ emerge ▪ deep-rooted ▪ persisting ▪ perennial	**Positive** ▪ supported ▪ promoted ▪ advanced ▪ prevented ▪ fostered **Negative** ▪ blocked ▪ inhibited ▪ impeded ▪ restricted ▪ limited	▪ similarly ▪ related ▪ connected ▪ in the same way ▪ likewise ▪ in similar fashion ▪ another	▪ despite ▪ however ▪ nevertheless ▪ although ▪ conversely ▪ juxtapose ▪ the antithesis of
Change	**Continuity**	**Comparing sources**	**Catalysts**	**Danger words**
▪ influential ▪ symbolic ▪ significantly ▪ complete ▪ profound ▪ transformative	▪ remain ▪ preserve ▪ continuous ▪ invariable	▪ however ▪ on the other hand ▪ this view is contrasted with ▪ a different view is presented by ▪ an alternative perspective is evidenced by	▪ accelerated ▪ sparked ▪ triggered ▪ exacerbated ▪ facilitated ▪ intensified	▪ I/me ▪ bad/good ▪ always/never ▪ a lot ▪ all the people ▪ here is a quote

▲ **Source 1.3** Vocabulary used to express historical concepts and skills

Significance

When you are asked to evaluate significance or questions that ask you 'to what extent?' you are being asked to discuss the importance and influence of a movement, idea, individual, group, event, series of events, specific period in time etc. This requires you to use the vocabulary of significance, as shown on a continuum in Source 1.4.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Most significant ⟷			Least significant
▪ crucial ▪ imperative ▪ essential ▪ pivotal ▪ vital ▪ fundamental ▪ central	▪ major ▪ substantial ▪ of direct importance ▪ to a large extent ▪ of considerable importance	▪ of indirect significance ▪ to a limited extent ▪ to a lesser extent ▪ of minor importance ▪ this was marginally important	▪ insignificant ▪ to an inconsequential extent ▪ of negligible significance

▲**Source 1.4** Vocabulary used to evaluate significance

1.4 How do I understand question words?

It is important to understand what key question words mean and what types of responses are required. Question words can also be called instructional verbs or command words. Be careful to remember that these words can be used differently in different subjects. Source 1.5 explains what these key words mean in the context of studying history.

Question words	Thinking skill required	Explanation	Sentence starter tips
Explain	Lower order	Provide reasons or examples for a particular event or issue. This might be explaining how or why an event occurred. Similar question words are 'why', 'how', 'identify', 'list', 'report', 'understand' or 'describe'.	▪ This happened because … ▪ A major issue was … ▪ This sparked … ▪ Another main cause was … ▪ There are three main reasons … ▪ This resulted in … ▪ As a consequence …
Discuss	Middle order	Provide both sides of an issue, without needing to come to a conclusion. This might mean providing the advantages and disadvantages of a particular event or issue. Similar question words are 'summarise', 'consider' or 'investigate'.	▪ There were many reasons both for and against … ▪ Another main reason for this was … ▪ … had many advantages. ▪ The disadvantage of this was … ▪ One main perspective is … ▪ From the point of view of … ▪ Furthermore … ▪ This was influenced by …

continued …

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

Question words	Thinking skill required	Explanation	Sentence starter tips
Compare	Middle order	Provide ways in which two things are the same and ways they are different.	▪ The main similarity was … ▪ … have in common was … ▪ Another similarity was … ▪ Unique causes of … were … ▪ An obvious difference was … ▪ Despite the differences … ▪ An important contrast was … ▪ Alternatively …
Analyse	Higher order	Provide a breakdown of the smaller, deeper parts of a particular event or issue. Importantly, discuss how these parts relate to the other parts and to the whole. This might be both sides of an argument on a particular event or issue. Similar questions words are 'examine' or 'explore'.	▪ The major causes of the revolution were … ▪ Important themes in the Nazi regime were … ▪ There is a strong link between … and … ▪ The relationship between these were … ▪ This had negative consequences because … ▪ On the other hand …
Evaluate	Higher order	Provide an argument about which event or issue is most justified. This can only be done after the close detail of the 'analysis' step, which then also provides evidence to support your argument. Evaluate questions are often written as 'To what extent … ?' or 'How significant … ?'	▪ The most significant cause of the revolution was … ▪ … is most important because … ▪ When considering … ▪ When assessing the … ▪ A number of factors need to be considered such as … ▪ The predominant consequence was …

▲ **Source 1.5** Key words in the context of studying history

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1.5 How do I analyse sources?

The following are three helpful models that can be used for written or visual source analysis. The advantage of using a model is so that you routinely ask yourself the best questions, meaning that you notice and comment on specific aspects of the source. Regular routines result in right and rigorous reflection! There is an activity at the end of every chapter in this book called 'Analysing historical sources as evidence' to give you the opportunity to practise your source analysis skills.

VOCABULARY FOR SUMMARISING MAIN MESSAGES OR ARGUMENTS IN SOURCES

- argues
- asserts
- challenges
- claims
- confirms
- contends
- defends
- disagrees
- evidences
- justifies
- persuades
- promotes
- proves
- qualifies
- quantifies
- refutes
- reinforces
- specifies
- supports
- verifies

Model 1: DAMMITT U model

D	Date	When was it produced? What was happening at that time?
A	Author	Who wrote or produced it? Who are they?
M	Message	What does it say? What is its message?
M	Motive	Why did the author produce it? What is its purpose?
I	Intended audience	Who is it produced for? How do you know?
T	Timing	What historical context can you provide about this source?
T	Tone	Is it formal or informal? What emotion is conveyed? How might the tone help you to understand the intended audience?
U	Usefulness	Do you consider this source to be reliable? Is the main message supported or contradicted by other events?

▲ **Source 1.6** DAMMITT U model

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Model 2: APPARTS model

A	Author	Who created the source?
P	Place and time	Where and when was this source created? Does the date make this a primary or secondary source? What are the advantages of each?
P	Prior knowledge	What do you already know that would further your understanding of this source? For example, you may already know something about the author, the place it was produced, what was happening there at the same time, or the event or topic on which the source is focusing.
A	Audience	Who was the intended audience of this source? Who was it made for?
R	Reason	Why was this source produced at the time it was produced?
T	The main idea	What is the key message, argument, perspective or point of view shown in this source?
S	Significance	Why is this source important? How does this source help you to better understand the key issues or events occurring there at the time?

▲**Source 1.7** APPARTS model

Model 3: CCF model

C	Content	What do I see in this image? What does each item symbolise or mean? Which groups or individuals are included in the image? Are any groups or individuals excluded from the image?
C	Context	What was happening at the time this image was produced? How might this have led to its creation?
F	Function	What is the message of this image? Which side does it take?

▲**Source 1.8** CCF model

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1.6 How do I write a strong essay?

Forming clear arguments that are supported by convincing evidence is the essential skill involved in writing strong history essays. To create a clear argument, you must first interpret the essay question/statement, as understanding what you are being asked or instructed to do is essential. One way to make sure you interpret the whole question is outlined below.

▲**Source 1.9** Interpreting an essay question

The instructional verb is not the only important part of a question. You also need to pay attention to 'content words' – words that indicate the person, event, issue or idea you must focus on. Further you must carefully consider 'limiting words' – these are words that further define the content and may be dates or provide more specific information about the content words. For example:

> *To what extent were the actions of Adolf Hitler responsible for the development of international tensions in the period from 1933 to 1939?*

An additional key word in the question above is 'responsible' – this indicates you need to evaluate the extent to which the actions of Adolf Hitler *caused* or generated international tensions.

Next, you need to consider to what extent do you agree with the statement. In what ways, or in which time periods, are they correct? When was it not correct? How could the essay statement be challenged? Brainstorming answers might lead to a clear argument that you could then use for your essay.

A clear structure allows your ideas to be easily understood. Structure includes your introduction and conclusion plus the topics for each of your body paragraphs. Relevant introductions are crucial in history essays because they include your main argument and how you are responding to the essay statement. Convincing paragraphs use a wide range of examples – rather than just one in depth – from throughout as much of the time period as the question allows. Remember that providing evidence is different from just listing lots of facts. Facts become evidence when they are supporting an argument rather than just filling up a sentence.

The formula for a strong essay can be:

Strong essay = structure (argument + evidence + fluency of expression)

How do I know if I have written a good essay?

Checklist

- I have used a relevant historical argument.
- I have addressed the specific demands of the essay question.
- I have demonstrated historical knowledge.
- I have used historical thinking concepts.
- I have used primary sources as evidence.
- I have used historical interpretations as evidence.
- I have structured my essay clearly.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1.7 How do I use historical interpretations?

> *There is no such thing as impartial history: the story we receive is always to some degree contaminated by the interpretation put on it by the historian.*
>
> Rayner, 1998

Historians are meant to be objective. They are supposed to tell stories based on truth; stories that reflect the facts from the past. Yet every historian's work reflects their country of birth, personality, political views, personal beliefs and values, life experiences and the political period in which they write. So, as Rayner stated, these influences mean that historians' writing cannot be completely without prejudice, even if they attempt to be objective. Interestingly, many do not try to be objective at all.

The first aim of studying historians and the sources these men and women write is to identify their different interpretations on the same events, issues and individuals. Are they positive or negative about the particular event? Do they support or criticise the role of individuals and their ideas? What events or issues do they emphasise? You can identify the interpretation or perspective of a source through the vocabulary, tone and examples used. For example, in studying the modern ideologies that emerged after World War I, a negative interpretation might read something like: 'The problematic rise of fascism in Europe was based on senseless violence and was therefore totally unjustified.' A positive interpretation might read something like: 'The victorious rise of fascism in Europe has been largely misunderstood: it improved economic, social conditions and restored pride.'

The second aim of studying historians is to compare their interpretations. How does the perspective of one historian compare with that of another? Are they similar or different? And, ultimately, which point of view do you believe is more justified by the events you have studied?

VOCABULARY AND SENTENCE STEMS FOR EMBEDDING QUOTES

When you want to directly quote a historian's interpretation of the past, you need a way to introduce the quote into your writing in an effective way. Here are some sentence stems you could try:

- according to
- argues
- claims
- contradicts
- proposes
- reinforces
- states
- supports
- Another interpretation is offered by Historian Z who contends that …
- From this, Historian Y forms the assumption that …
- Historian X rejects this assumption and suggests that …

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Unit 1: Change and conflict
Area of Study 1
Ideology and conflict

'All in all, I would not have missed this century for the world.'

– GORE VIDAL, AMERICAN POLITICAL COMMENTATOR

Overview

Old Empires empires that dominated imperial expansion in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – first Spain and Portugal, and eventually France, Great Britain and Russia

Great Depression the global economic depression that devastated capitalist societies around the world where unemployment rates above 30 per cent were not uncommon

The twentieth century heralded a significant change in the world order, where the **Old Empires** of Western Europe entered a steep decline. The devastating World Wars and the **Great Depression** destabilised their economies and social structures. Their colonies all over the globe had been agitating, sometimes successfully, for independence in the nineteenth century. With the Old Empires devastated by war, this process accelerated while Europe lay in ashes after the first half of the twentieth century. The superpowers of the USA and the USSR would emerge in a new and dangerous theatre of rivalry thereafter.

Many historians consider World War I as the real beginning of the twentieth century because it left behind the known and relatively peaceful past. Conflicts became mechanised in nature and global in scope, fuelled by the technical and manufacturing refinements of the industrial revolution. Emerging nations, led by Germany, challenged the existing power order and brought imperial conflict back to the European continent for the first time in more than half a century. Most significantly, the war directly influenced the following decades. The war had challenged old certainties and reshaped the world as it had been known.

Therefore, Part 1 explores the tentative position of the global empires centred in Europe and their responses to the emergence of new powers such as Germany and its allies. The section focuses particularly on the emergence of Germany and its political system as this continued to play a critical role in the direction of Europe and the world in the first half of the twentieth century. Within this context, the mechanisation of warfare, the arms race and the alliance systems are explored, but primarily through the lens of Germany's emergence. Part 1 also explores the events, ideologies and movements that emerged after World War I and how each of these contributed to the development of World War II. The chapters that follow investigate the Versailles Treaty, which concluded the Great War by enforcing strict conditions on the conquered nations, redrawing the map of Europe and breaking up defeated empires. The League of Nations was also established as an organisation to keep peace and security between nations.

New ideologies of communism, fascism and socialism gained popular support because they were seen to provide solutions to postwar problems. Hence, these chapters explore how these aggressive political orders shaped the directions of their respective countries:

- communism in Russia
- fascism in Italy
- Nazism in Germany
- militarism in Japan.

Economic instability, territorial aggression and totalitarianism combined to create a volatile political climate from which another dangerous global conflict emerged by 1939.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Peter Stanley and Mark Dapin 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Key concepts

- fascism
- ideology
- imperialism
- internationalism
- militarism
- nationalism
- Nazism
- racism
- rearmament

Learning goals

After completing this Area of Study, you should be able to answer these questions:

- How did significant events and ideas contribute to conflict and change?
- How did individuals and movements challenge existing political and economic conditions?
- What were the consequences of World War I?
- How did ideology influence the emergence of new nation states?
- To what extent did the events, ideas, individuals, movements and new nations contribute to the causes of World War II?

Outcome 1

On completion of this unit the student should be able to explain the significant events and ideologies that contributed to political and economic changes at the time and analyse the causes of World War II.

To achieve this outcome the student will draw on key knowledge and key skills outlined in Area of Study 1.

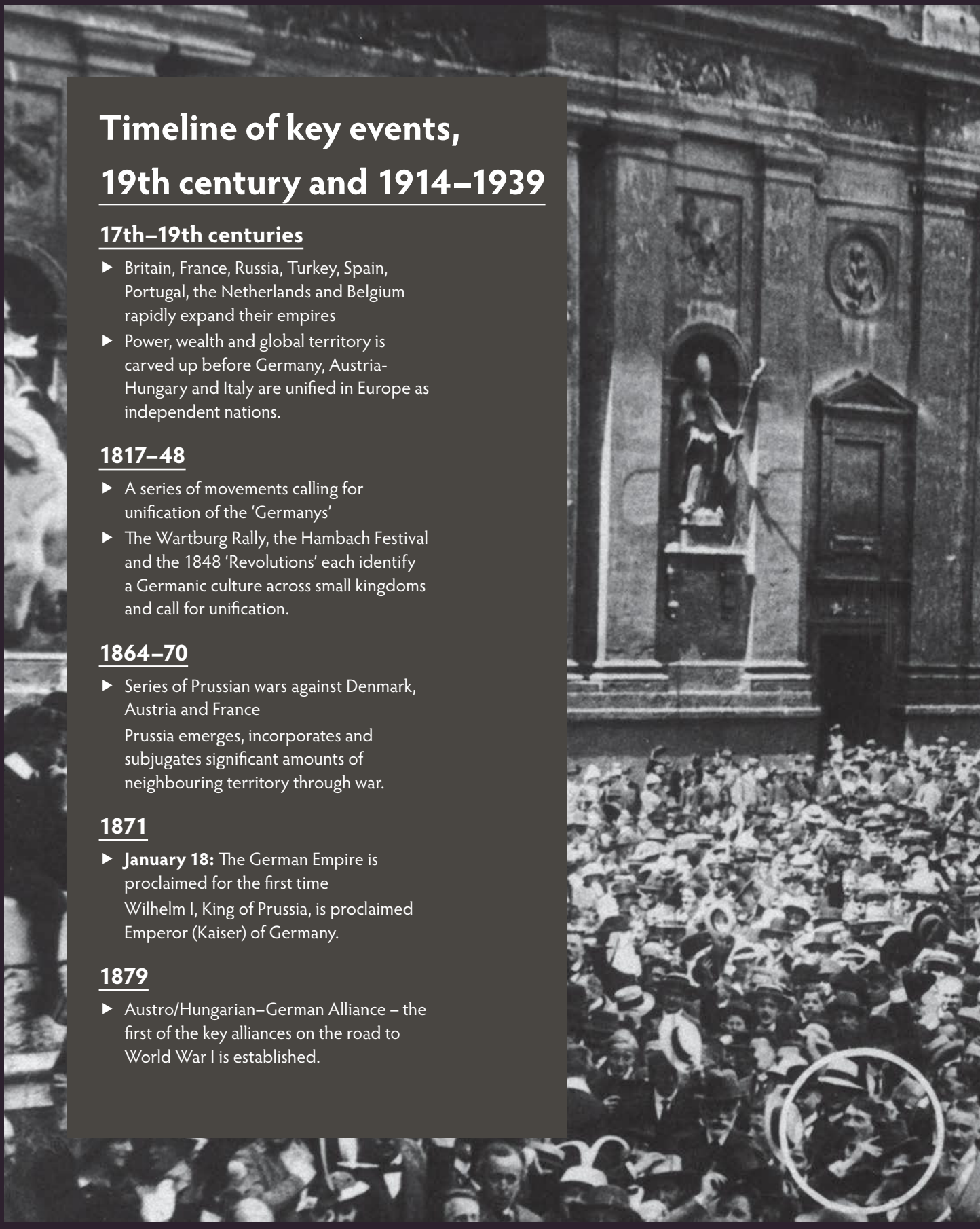
Key knowledge

- This is detailed in Chapters 2–4.

Key skills

- Ask and use a range of historical questions to understand political and economic change prior to World War II.
- Analyse sources and use as evidence to understand political and economic changes.
- Identify the perspectives of people and how these perspectives changed over time.
- Identify different historical interpretations of political and economic change.
- Analyse the consequences of World War I and the causes of World War II.
- Explain how political and economic conditions changed and/or stayed the same.
- Explain the historical significance of events, ideas, individuals and movements.
- Construct arguments about political and economic change using sources as evidence.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



Timeline of key events, 19th century and 1914–1939

17th–19th centuries

- Britain, France, Russia, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Belgium rapidly expand their empires
- Power, wealth and global territory is carved up before Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy are unified in Europe as independent nations.

1817–48

- A series of movements calling for unification of the 'Germanys'
- The Wartburg Rally, the Hambach Festival and the 1848 'Revolutions' each identify a Germanic culture across small kingdoms and call for unification.

1864–70

- Series of Prussian wars against Denmark, Austria and France

  Prussia emerges, incorporates and subjugates significant amounts of neighbouring territory through war.

1871

- **January 18:** The German Empire is proclaimed for the first time

  Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, is proclaimed Emperor (Kaiser) of Germany.

1879

- Austro/Hungarian–German Alliance – the first of the key alliances on the road to World War I is established.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1882

- Italy–Austro/Hungarian–German Alliance – the Triple Alliance is established, pressuring other European powers to form their own treaties. Italy would later switch sides and be replaced by the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) in August 1914.

1888

- **15 June:** Kaiser Wilhelm II ascends the German Throne
  Germany moves into militarisation and imperial ambition.

1889

- Great Britain begins naval arms race
- Britain's 'Two-Power Standard' compels the nation to rapidly expand its naval construction.

1895

- Franco-Russian Alliance – France and Russia respond to the Triple Alliance by signing their own defensive pact.

1904

- Franco-British Alliance – France and Great Britain sign a defensive pact.

1907

- Russo-British Alliance – Russia and Great Britain sign their defensive pact and the Triple Entente is established.

◄ **Source 2.0** A crowd of around 100 000 people gather in Munich on 1 August 1914 to hear the announcement that Germany is at war. Prussian and German warfare experiences had only been successful in their nation's recent memory. Can you recognise the lowly ranked soldier in the inset?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1914

- **28 June:** World War I begins
  European powers align and begin a devastating war.

1917

- **March:** Russian Revolution introduces communism
  Communism becomes a government ideology.

1918

- **11 November:** World War I ends
  Peace is achieved but the course of the twentieth century is permanently changed for Western countries.

1919

- **28 June:** Versailles Treaty signed, imposing significant restrictions and loss of territory on Germany.
  Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires dismantled.

1920

- **28 June:** League of Nations formed
  Promoted by US president Wilson, a peacekeeping organisation is established.

1922

- **October:** Mussolini's Fascist Party takes control in Italy
  The ideology of fascism becomes popular in Italy.

1925

- **3 January:** Mussolini declared dictator in Italy
  Mussolini becomes the first of a series of powerful dictators who dominate the interwar years.

1928

- Stalin takes control of Soviet Russia
- Stalin's dictatorship lasts for 25 years.

1929

- **29 October:** Wall Street stock market crash, New York
- The worldwide Great Depression begins.

1931

- **19 September:** Militaristic Japan invades Manchuria
- Japan begins its aggressive territorial expansion of the 1930s. Appalling, genocidal atrocities are committed against the Chinese people.

1933

- **30 January:** Hitler's Nazi Party takes control of Germany
- The growing popularity of Hitler forces President Hindenburg to select Hitler as Chancellor.

1934

- **August:** Hitler declared dictator in Germany
  After a mere 18 months, Hitler has used his political position to gain total control over Germany.

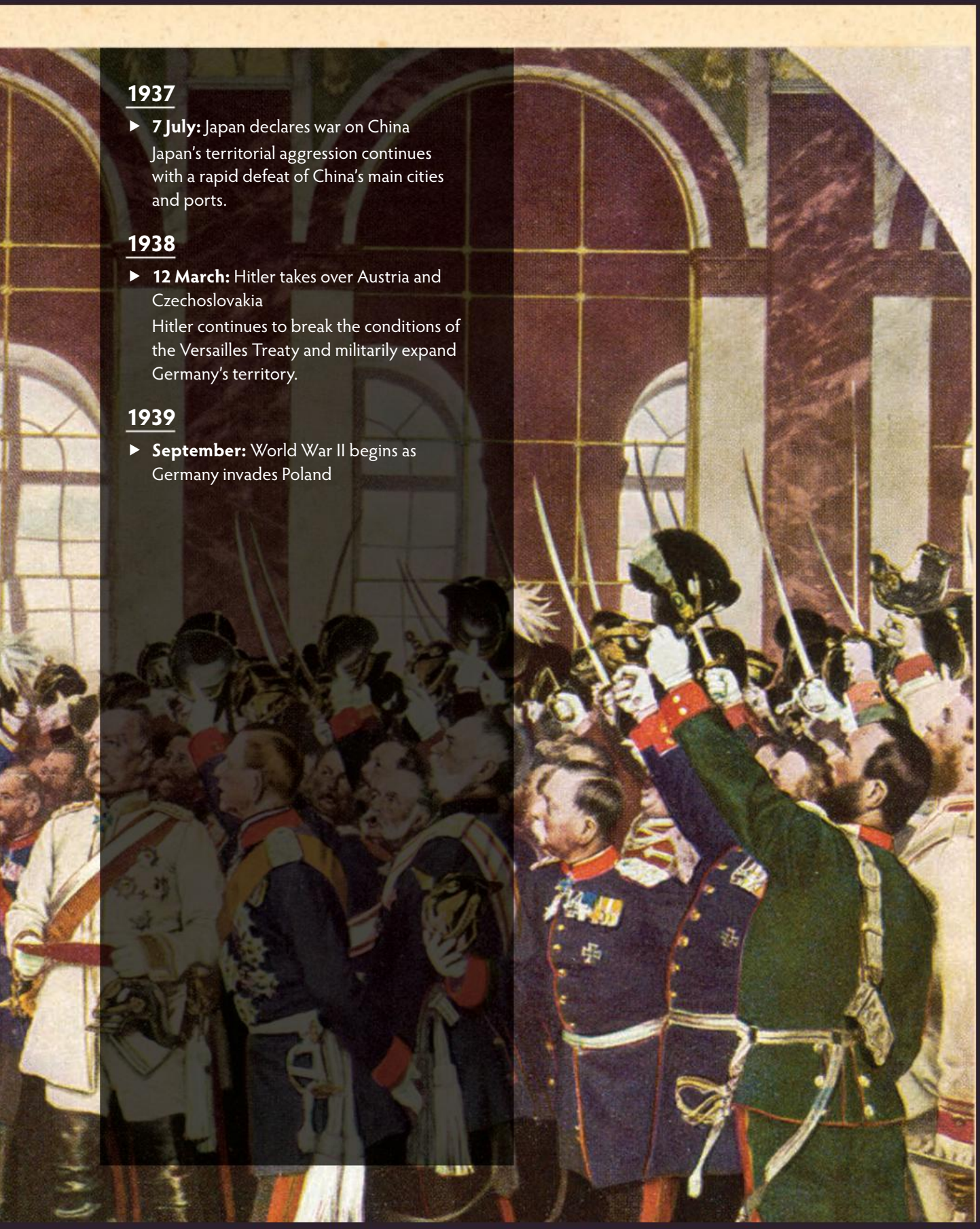
1935

- **October:** Mussolini invades Abyssinia (Ethiopia)
- The League of Nations fails to stop fascist territorial aggression.

1936

- **6 November:** Germany, Italy and Japan sign the Anti-Comintern Pact
  These countries begin developing a war mindset.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



1937

- **7 July:** Japan declares war on China
  Japan's territorial aggression continues with a rapid defeat of China's main cities and ports.

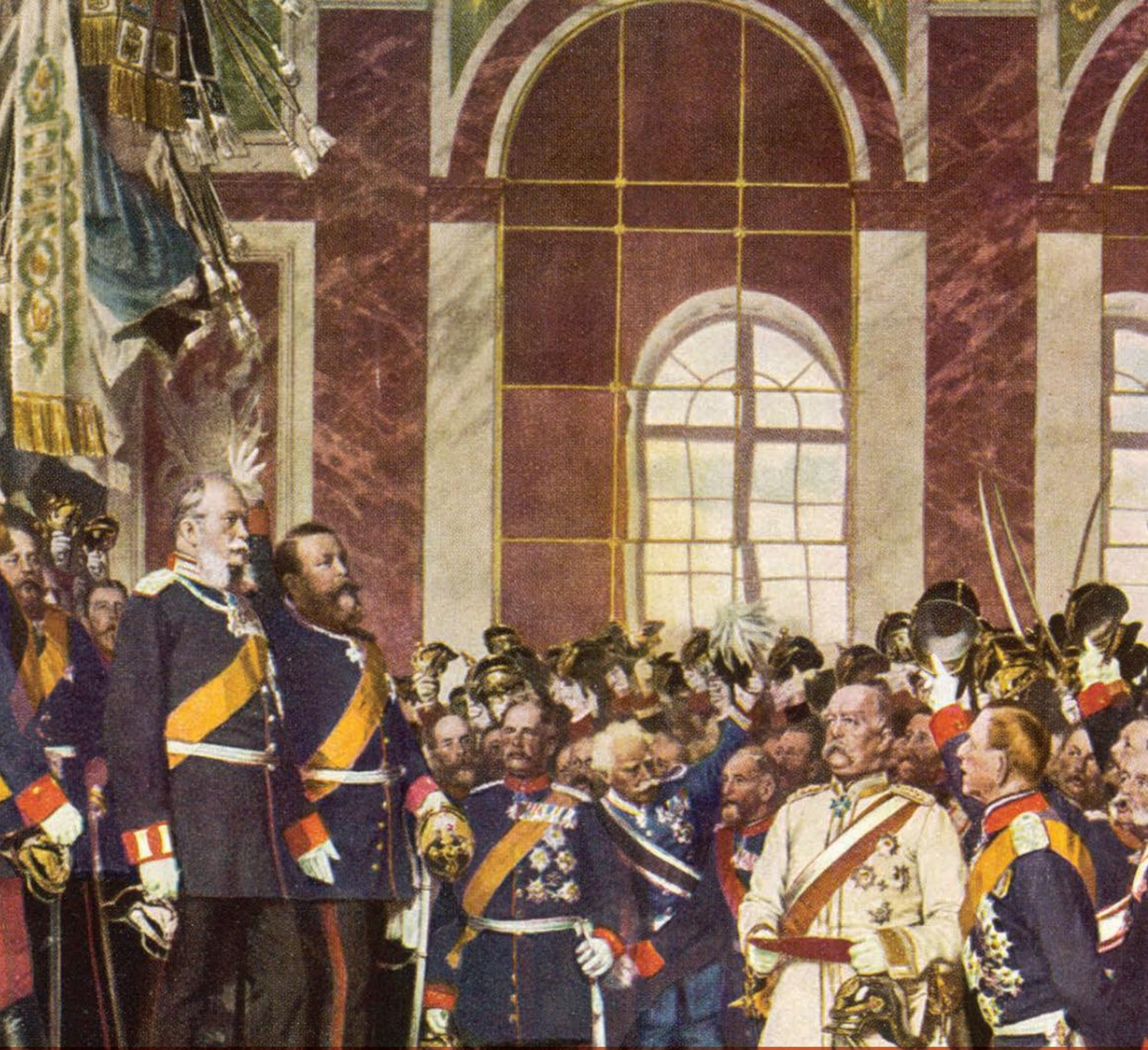
1938

- **12 March:** Hitler takes over Austria and Czechoslovakia
  Hitler continues to break the conditions of the Versailles Treaty and militarily expand Germany's territory.

1939

- **September:** World War II begins as Germany invades Poland

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



2 THE END OF EMPIRES AND THE ROAD TO WORLD WAR I

[T]he Old Country must wake up if she intends to maintain her old position of pre-eminence in her colonial trade against foreign competitors.

– KING GEORGE V, KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 5 DECEMBER 1901

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

Hindsight is a powerful thing. While the horrors of World War I (also known as the Great War) would have been almost impossible to predict at the time, it seems fairly logical once you have all the facts. The key empires of Europe that were involved in the war – France, Russia and Great Britain – had been established for hundreds of years. They were uneasy about the emergence of the new industrial powerhouse of Germany, with its military victories and wealth. Germany wanted its own empire and the established powers were willing to make that difficult for them. The strategic defensive alliances and arms race that developed from the 1880s until 1914 saw the established, Old Empires align against the newer aspiring players on the global stage. As with all history, the events that would unfold resulted from the decisions and actions of certain individuals and had enormous, far-reaching consequences.

The focus of this chapter is to explore the political conditions that led to the Great War. This includes an overview of the Old Empires and their dominance of the world prior to Germany's unification, as well as the rise of the German Empire and its challenge to these old power structures. The expansion of the dominant Germanic state of Prussia, including its wars, significant individuals and political system, is also explored as it moved towards the foundation of the German Empire in 1871. With the power balance of Europe in flux, the alliance system and arms race that occurred is considered as the pretext to the outbreak of the Great War.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- How did nationalism and imperialism contribute to the foundation of the German Empire in 1871?
- What was the structure of the new German Empire's political system?
- How was the traditional power balance in Europe disrupted in the second half of the nineteenth century?
- How did significant individuals in the German Empire contribute to its 47-year history (1871–1918)?
- How did the arms race and the alliance system position Europe at the edge of disaster by the start of the twentieth century?

Digital resources for this chapter

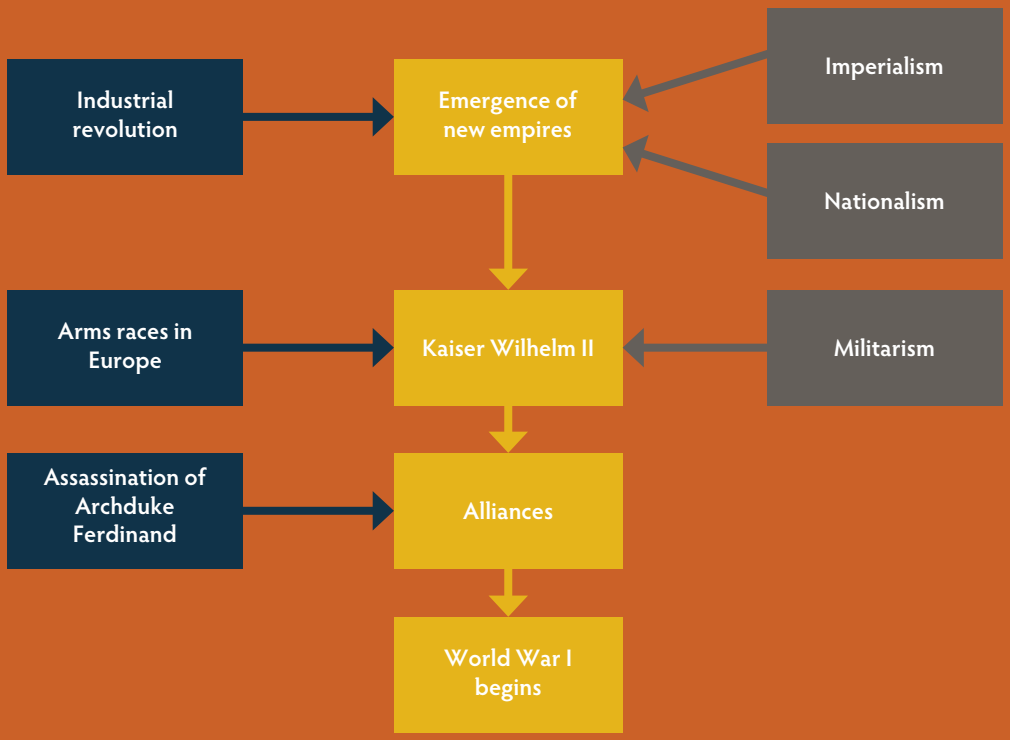
In the ***Interactive Textbook***:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◄ **Source 2.1** The German Empire is proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles, after Germany's defeat of France, 1871. Wilhelm I, King of Prussia (in white), is named emperor.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

17TH–19TH CENTURIES

Britain, France, Russia, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Belgium rapidly expand their empires

1817–48

A series of movements calling for unification of the 'Germanys'

1871

18 JANUARY

The German Empire is proclaimed for the first time, with Kaiser Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, named Emperor of Germany

1879

Austro/Hungarian–German Alliance

The first of the key alliances on the road to World War I is established.

1882

Italy–Austro/Hungarian–German Alliance

The Triple Alliance is established, pressuring other European powers to form their own treatises. Italy would later switch sides and be replaced by the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) in August 1914.

1888

15 JUNE

Kaiser Wilhelm II ascends the German throne

Germany moves into militarisation and imperial ambition.

1889

Great Britain begins naval arms race

Britain's 'Two-Power Standard' compels the nation to rapidly expand its naval construction.

1895

Franco-Russian Alliance

France and Russia respond to the Triple Alliance by signing their own defensive pact.

1904

Franco-British Alliance

France and Great Britain sign a defensive pact.

1907

Russo-British Alliance

Russia and Great Britain sign their defensive pact and the Triple Entente is established.

1914

28 JUNE

European powers align and begin the devastating World War I

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

2.1 The unification of Germany

Prior to the nineteenth century, the nation now known as Germany was a series of former states of the northern Holy Roman Empire. Some of these states had played a big part in defeating Napoleon in the biggest European battle of the nineteenth century – the 1813 Great Battle of Leipzig where 500 000 troops fought for the German city. After the Napoleonic Wars, they formed a loose confederation of about 40 states. While they were of a similar culture, self-interest and occasional conflict saw this piecemeal state system continue while the other European powers forged ahead with their empire building.

▲**Source 2.2** This 1815 map sets out the borders of the various German-speaking states in the aftermath of Napoleon's defeat at the Great Battle of Leipzig. Only the larger ones are labelled. Note the dominance of Prussia at this stage. Also shown is the boundary of the Confederation of German States, which excluded the east of Prussia.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 2.1

1 Given the nations to the east and west of the provinces depicted in Source 2.2, comment on the German states' strategic need to unify.

2 How might the unification of Germany be expected to impact the political and military balance in Europe at the time?

Three nationalist movements in the German States

Three movements in the early part of the nineteenth century called for unification of the German States.

1 *1817: The Wartburg Rally* – A group of about 500 students rallied at Wartburg Castle to call for unification.

2 *1832: The Hambach Festival* – Up to 30 000 people attended the festival, which called for freedom and peaceful unity.

3 *1848 'Revolutions'* – A series of protests across Europe, particularly in the German States, arose calling for the right to vote for men. Europe's rapid industrialisation had caused immense social problems that many liberals of the time believed the monarchies were unable and unwilling to address. In the German States, this focused on calls to unify Germany under the Prussian King in a parliamentary democracy. This was the first time that the German flag that we know today was hoisted in respect to a unified Germany.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 2.3** Wartburg Castle remains a symbol of German nationalism and was a place where Martin Luther, the founder of the first breakaway movement from the Roman Catholic Church, sought refuge while hiding from Rome and the Pope's death warrants.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 2.2

1 How is the architecture metaphoric of Germany in the early nineteenth century?

2 Discuss the ways in which Martin Luther's life might be a beacon for both German unity and independence. You may need to undertake some brief research on Martin Luther's historical role.

▲**Source 2.4** An 1848 political cartoon from Austria, then a German State, showing the conservative Chancellor Prince Clemens von Metternich forced to flee into exile by the liberal revolutionaries. The mob on the left has a banner supporting constitutional freedoms, while on the right is the flag of a united Germany and a banner of Metternich hanged in effigy.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Prince Otto von Bismarck's story (1815–98)

Social discussions of family background and early years are often overshadowed by interest in political ambition and leadership. Hence, the purpose of this section is to provide an interesting social background to political leaders. To personalise the story, the first name has been used instead of the usual surname.

> *It is not by speeches and majority resolutions that the great questions of the time are decided … but by iron and blood.*
>
> Otto von Bismarck, 30 September 1862

Otto was a military hero and would ultimately become the first German Chancellor (head of government). His ruler in Prussia was King Wilhelm I, who would become Germany's first emperor. Tensions between Otto and his emperors over international policy would build over the years after 1871, but in the period leading up to unification, Otto was undoubtedly the individual who made it happen, both on the battlefield and in the complicated diplomacy of the emerging Greater Germany. His clever mix of militarism and foreign policy made him a formidable politician at a time when Germany needed someone just like him. Germany's difficult geographic position between powerful empires in Europe would always need this careful diplomacy.

▲**Source 2.5** Prince Otto Von Bismarck of Prussia (1815–98)

Three defining nineteenth-century wars

War with Denmark: 1864

Prussian forces had technologically advanced weapons, including guns that could fire several rounds at a time and did not require standing up to reload. The Danes were using muzzle-loaded single-shot muskets. Superior military hardware would become a focus for German industrial policy for the next 80 years.

War with Austria: 1866

Prussia and Austria came into direct conflict over which empire would gain the various kingdoms that lay between Berlin and Vienna once unification began. Indeed, these kingdoms struggled to choose sides and struggled with the notion of Germanic peoples warring over such matters. Otto was rapidly emerging as a diplomatic genius though. He had secretly arranged for the newly unified Italy to invade Austria from the south so that he could do so from the north. Again, superior Prussian equipment and tactics saw Austria defeated.

War with France: 1870

Napoleon III (nephew of Napoleon the Great) tried to play the various bitter and defeated European nations and kingdoms against Otto as his diplomacy started to reach into France's strategic affairs. Otto was attempting to plant a Germanic king in Spain after the Spanish had overthrown their own monarchy. France, refusing to be surrounded by potential Germanic allies, moved to war. To France's surprise at the time, no other European nation joined them in alliance. Prussia humiliated the French, capturing their emperor and almost their entire army. Otto then arranged for French border territories (Alsace and Lorraine) to be handed over to the new nation that would be called Germany. These territories would become symbolic of the bitter German–French rivalry over the next 80 years as they changed hands numerous times across the two world wars.

▲**Source 2.6** The surrender of Napoleon III, 2 September 1870. This artist's impression depicts the surrender of Napoleon III, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, as he hands his sword to Wilhelm I, King of Prussia, after the Battle at Sedan during the Franco-Prussian War. Otto is positioned in an important and symbolic location immediately behind Wilhelm.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.
continued ...

... continued

The effect on France is summed up in the term **revanchism**, meaning a nationalistic desire for revenge and the restoration of lost territory. It was prominent in French politics from 1871 to 1921, and in culture to an extent, inspiring numerous patriotic paintings related to war. It drove France to seek alliances against Germany and to set up the Triple Alliance, and also explains why France was motivated to go to war in 1914.

▶**Source 2.7** *La Tache Noire* (The Black Spot) by Albert Bettannier, painted in 1887, depicting French students being taught about the lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, taken by Germany in 1871.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.1

The city of Strasbourg is perhaps the best example of the intense conflict on the French–German border throughout history. Research which country it currently belongs to and explain its history of nationality from 1681 onwards. Your extended response should also include why it is such a sought-after region historically.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.2

Le Petit Journal

ADMINISTRATION

5 CENT. SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ 5 CENT.

ABONNEMENTS

26me Année — Numéro 1.268

DIMANCHE 11 AVRIL 1915

LE CENTENAIRE DE BISMARCK

▲**Source 2.8** The front page of French newspaper *Le Petit Journal* on the anniversary of the centenary of the birth of Otto von Bismarck in 1915

This front-page image appeared in *Le Petit Journal* in the early stages of World War I. Citing the series of visual elements, explain the message the artist is attempting to convey about Bismarck's legacy.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

2.2 The path to empire

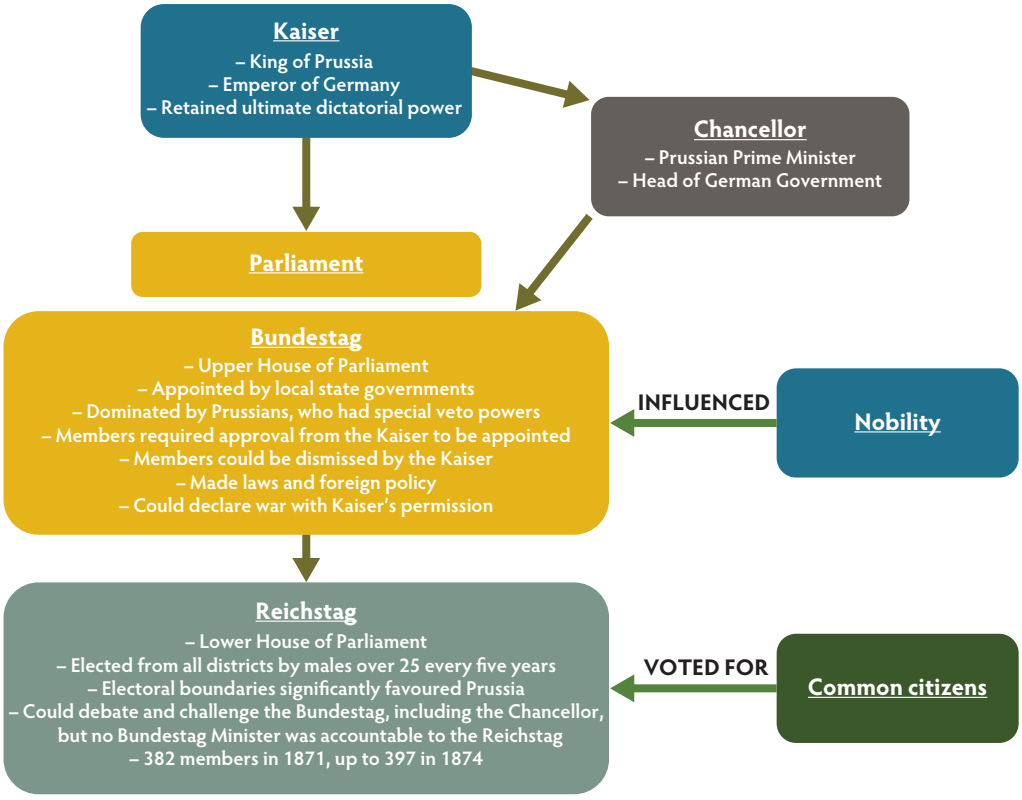
1871: Unity finally achieved

On 18 January 1871, after defeating France, the victorious Germanic nobility and military commanders anointed Wilhelm I as German Emperor in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles, on French territory. The power of Prussia had ultimately prevailed and following numerous military victories, they were able to both encourage and subjugate vast tracts of central Europe under the new 'Germany'. Known as the 'Second Reich' in later years (partly in reference to Hitler's Third Reich), this new nation would rapidly grow in wealth and power. In fact, by the time World War I commenced Germany was the most industrious nation in Europe. It had surpassed its rival, the industrial revolution titan, Great Britain and was only second in the world to the United States. Austria and Hungary did not agree to join the new nation, instead forming the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Austria's recent humiliating defeat in war against Prussia had made unification with the Prussian-dominated Germany all but impossible politically. Germany had a population of 41 million people at its birth. This would grow to 67 million by the outbreak of World War I.

A new political structure

Unlike other European monarchies that tried to hold on to power with an iron grip (the French monarchy was overthrown and executed in 1793), the German Empire was forged directly into an early form of a **parliamentary democracy.**

The new system was **liberal** in its gestures, but ultimately remained a **monarchic dictatorship**. Essentially, the Kaiser had the final say in who was appointed or dismissed from the law-making house of Parliament. As depicted in Source 2.9, the only **democratic** institution (only males above 25 could



▲**Source 2.9** The new political system in Germany

revanchism Nationalistic desire for revenge and restoration of lost territory after a defeat

parliamentary democracy a political system that allows eligible voters to elect their representatives to parliament. Some systems have a president as head of state, others a monarchy.

liberal a political viewpoint that believes in people's freedom, their right to vote and to speak freely

monarchic dictatorship a political system ruled autocratically by a royal family

democratic a system whereby parliament, or part of it, is elected in free and fair secret ballot by eligible citizens. The concept originated in ancient Greece.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

vote), the **Reichstag**, had no legal or legislative influence over the **Bundestag** above them, the members of which were appointed by the established nobility. This appointment system made the German parliament similar to the British system, where their upper house (the House of Lords) is also appointed. However, the British House of Lords does not by **convention** block legislation made by the lower house. Britain was therefore significantly more democratic than Germany at the time.

Reichstag the lower house of the first German parliament. While it was democratically elected, it had no law-making powers and could not hold any of the upper house members to account.

Bundestag the upper house of the first German parliament. Appointed by each German state's leadership and approved by the Kaiser, this house could make laws and manage foreign policy.

convention A formal or informal agreement, in the latter case often guiding actions, such as not doing something even though one has the power. Numerous political systems rely on convention for their everyday function.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.3

Choose one of the USA, England, New Zealand, Australia or modern-day Germany and compare their political structures with that in Source 2.9. Ensure that you refer to both houses of parliament and also the executive branch. You may write your response, annotate a diagram in your workbook or do both.

'Missed the boat' on global empire?

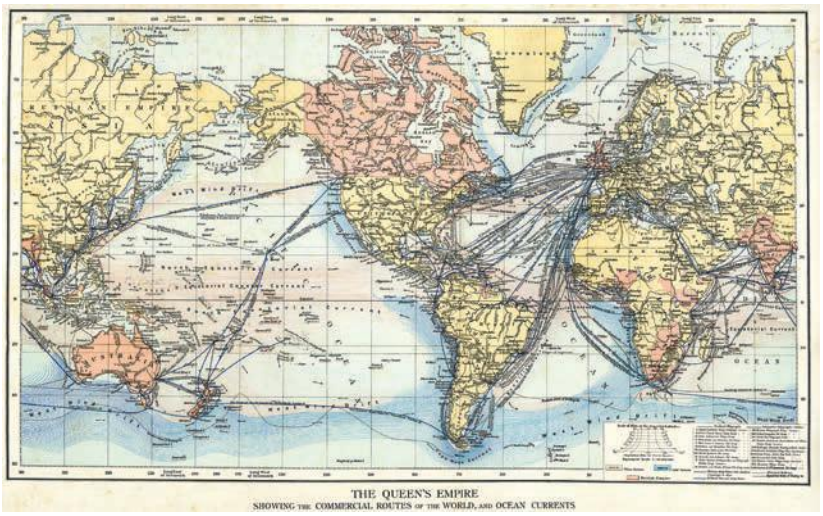
Germany's greatness makes it impossible for her to do without the ocean, but the ocean also proves that even in the distance, and on its farther side, without Germany and the German Emperor, no great decision dare henceforth be taken.

Kaiser Wilhelm II, July 1900

In the context of other European nations, Germany (as well as Austria-Hungary and Italy) unified very late. This meant that many of the other European nations had already accumulated vast colonial empires. These nations had subsequently benefitted from slave labour, theft of treasures and strategic military advantages such as global ports. They had also grown enormously wealthy from compulsory trade arrangements where colonies had to give raw materials to their imperial master nation and buy back the manufactured goods. Source 2.11 details the extent of global trade undertaken by one rival of Germany, Great Britain. Between 1859 and 1869, the Suez Canal was dug by forced labour in the British colony of Egypt, changing this shipping pattern and creating even more strategic advantages for the British, importantly also in troop movements from the colonies to Europe.

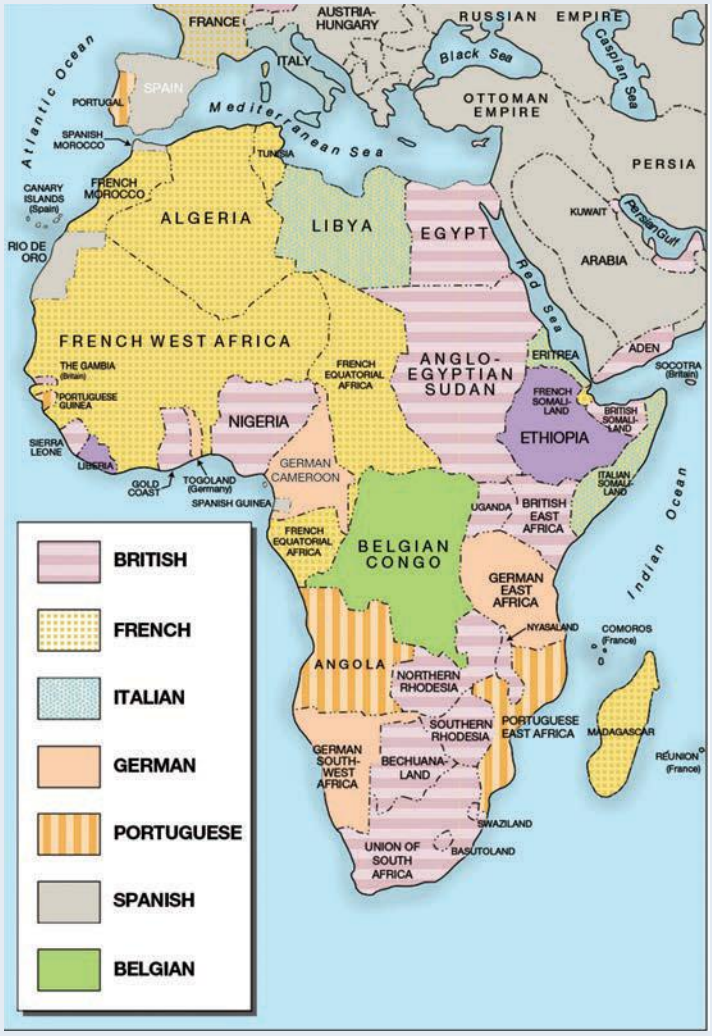
▶ **Source 2.10** This map shows European colonial claims in 1900 – the year of some of Wilhelm II's early inflammatory remarks about Germany's intentions.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲**Source 2.11** This vintage map from c.1890 details the commercial trade routes of the world and ocean currents. The nations of the British Empire are coloured orange. This global empire was an enormous source of wealth and power for Great Britain.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.4



▲**Source 2.12** European interests in Africa, 1914

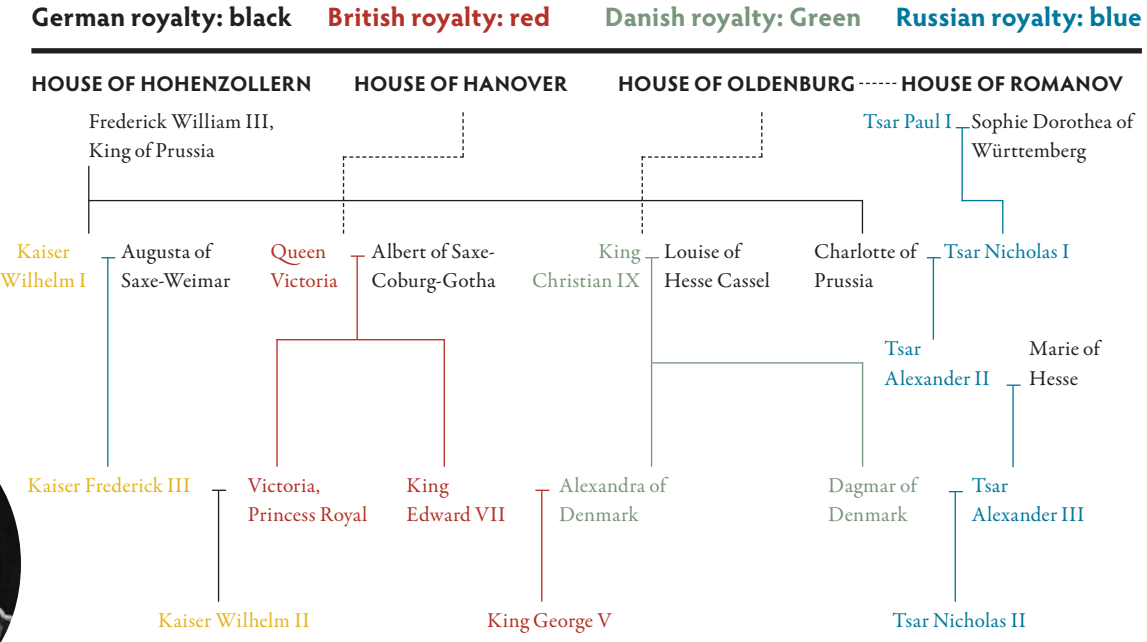
Using Source 2.12 and the above information, explain in an extended paragraph how colonial history and Germany's emergence under Wilhelm II as a late imperial power would put it on a collision course with the Old Empires.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Britain's empire was enormous, controlled by its powerful navy. France also had vast territorial claims. The Americas had experienced their colonial invasions, but by 1900 had forged some varying degrees of independence. From the seventeenth century onwards the Spanish and Portuguese had carved up the majority of South and Central America. The British, Spanish and French had done so in North America. As in all cases historically, the indigenous peoples suffered immeasurably and were all but wiped out both physically and culturally across the world as their riches and resources were pillaged. By the time Germany unified, the race for Africa had all but finished and claims were already being made in Antarctica. Germany had relatively small holdings and felt it had inherited the meagre leftovers. Wilhelm II saw the situation as an embarrassment.

The Year of the Three Kaisers

When the original Kaiser, Wilhelm I, died in 1888, the throne passed on to his son, Frederick III. Frederick had a severe dislike for warfare and intended to follow in his father's footsteps of focusing on Germany's growth and consolidation as a new nation. He was married to an English royal and had strong liberal views.



▲**Source 2.13** The three Kaisers of Germany (1871–1918) are highlighted in yellow in this simplified family tree. It also shows how they were related to the British, Russian and Danish royal families, which had German roots from way back as well as recent intermarriages with German royalty. Wilhelm II and George V were first cousins, and so were George V and Nicholas II, while Wilhelm II and Nicholas II were third cousins. These royal relationships, however, could not prevent the countries of George V and Nicholas II going to war with Wilhelm II.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

He disliked Bismarck's **militarism** and clashed with him before and during his reign. Frederick III, however, had cancer of the larynx and died ninety-nine days after taking over. His son, Wilhelm II, then took over and moved Germany in a radically different direction.

Wilhelm II disagreed with Bismarck over numerous matters, from domestic social policies to foreign diplomacy. He also found Bismarck's **cult of personality** overbearing and a threat to his new agenda as to what he thought should be the next stage of Germany's imperial emergence. Ultimately, Bismarck served under all three Kaisers that ever ruled the German Empire. On 18 March 1890, he was forced into retirement only two years into the new Kaiser's reign. While Bismarck was a militarist, he also had a ruthlessly accurate sense of diplomacy. History tells us now that Kaiser Wilhelm II did not. His speeches and foreign policy would be a key driver in the emergence of the **arms race** and **alliances** that would make World War I so prolonged and devastating.

▲ **Source 2.14** Kaiser Wilhelm II, Emperor of Germany 1888–1918

> *Our German Fatherland to which I hope will be granted … to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world-empire was, and that, just as in the old times they said, Civis romanus sum, hereafter, at some time in the future, they will say, I am a German citizen.*
>
> Kaiser Wilhelm II, October 1900

It is arguable that Wilhelm II was only doing what other nations were also engaging in and had been doing so for centuries. One case in point was that the British had implemented the 'Two-Power Standard' in 1889, whereby they wrote into law that Britain's navy needed to be larger than its next two rivals' navies combined. This was the act of an arms race. As Germany armed itself, Britain went further. Germany already had the largest active army in Europe at the time. Air forces were non-existent at the time, so the two key military measures of the late nineteenth century were accelerating.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.5

The British had long held a huge power advantage with their empire and navy. Air forces did not exist back then so the navy was key to supremacy. As Lord George Hamilton indicated in 1889, Great Britain felt entitled to this supremacy and had no intention of giving it up:

> *Our supremacy on the sea must, after all, be measured by the number of battleships we can put into line. It is further our duty, as we find other nations pushing forward this particular class of ship, to do the same. I have endeavoured during the past year to study the speeches of those who, in previous years, have held my position and that of Prime Minister, so as to ascertain the paramount idea underlying their utterances when they spoke of the standard of strength upon which our naval establishment should be maintained. I think I am accurate in saying that our establishment should be on such a scale that it should at least be equal to the strength of any two other Countries.*
>
> Lord George Hamilton, First Lord of the British Admiralty, 1889

1 Germany would eventually lose World War I and, with it, much of a voice about the history that was subsequently written. Despite this, do the British bear some culpability for the build up to World War I? Explain your answer using evidence.

militarism the belief within a country that it should maintain strong military capability and be willing to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests

cult of personality a powerful following of an individual leader, usually meaning that people will trust them and pursue their agenda, even at personal risk and sacrifice

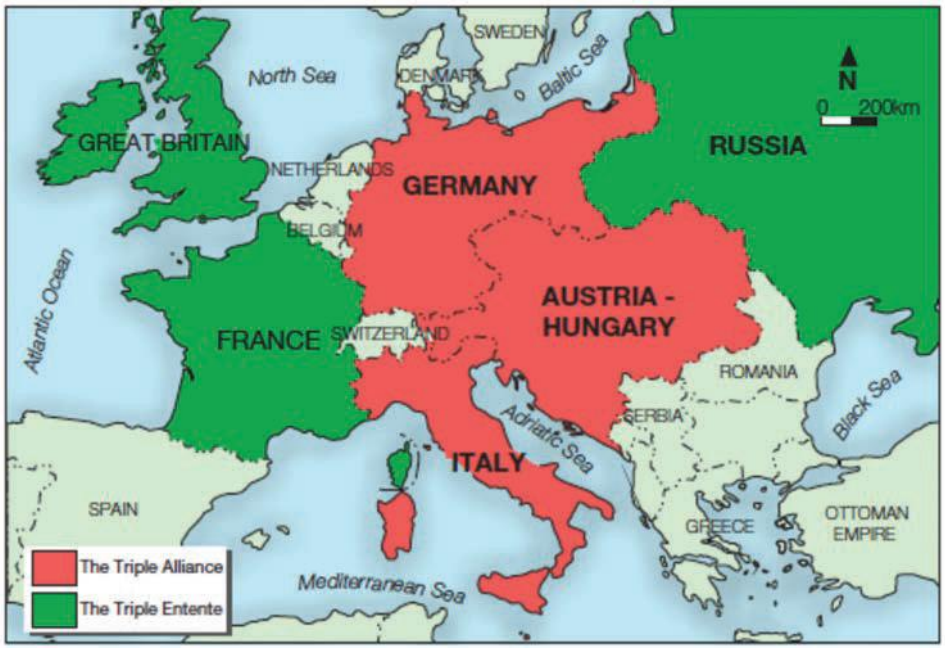
arms race a competitive 'race' where two or more nations engage in a policy of growing and modernising their military capacity to be ready for conflict

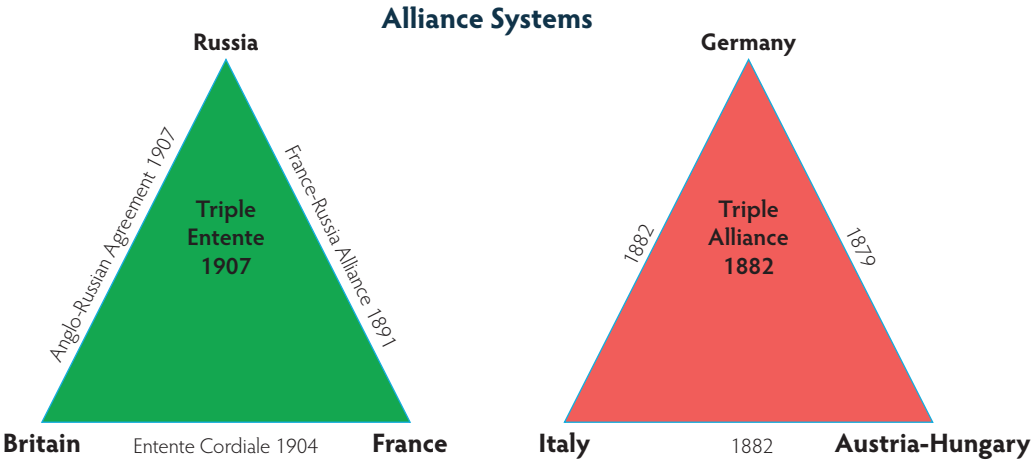
alliances legal treaties signed between nations that pledge military involvement together when one enters a war

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Tensions build

The various speeches by world leaders and the collective sense of superiority of each European nation led to the arms race and alliance system that set the continent on a collision course. The Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy) had their 'Triple Alliance' in place by as early as 1882. It took until 1907 for Russia, Great Britain and France to have fully established their 'Triple Entente'. Italy would eventually refuse to join the war with Germany and Austria-Hungary, instead entering the war against them, but to little overall effect. Upon the war breaking out in 1914 Germany hurriedly signed an alliance with the strategically important Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and supplied extensive military and tactical support.





▲**Source 2.15** Europe's rival alliance systems by 1907. The two opposing systems were very evenly balanced, creating the conditions for a devastating and long war.

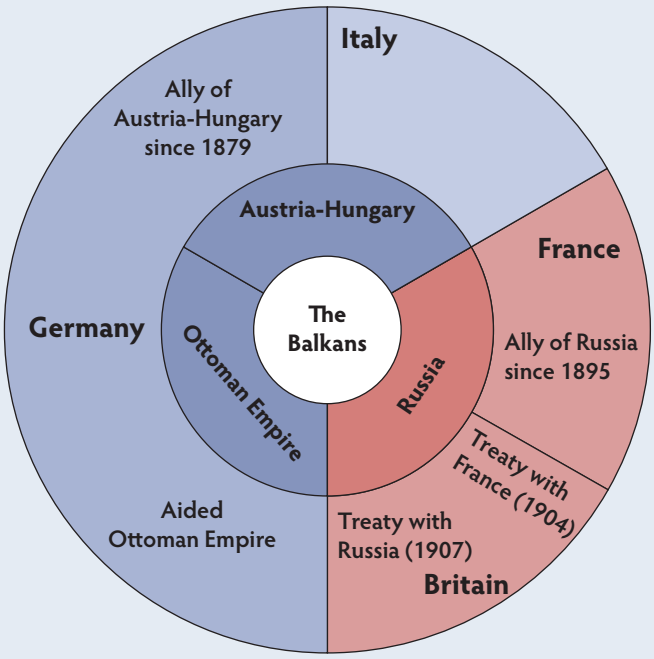
It only took a spark …

The arms race that had been accumulating enormous levels of military hardware and personnel across all of Europe for 25 years sat like a tinderbox in the second decade of the twentieth century. Europe had been an extremely violent place for centuries, but it was ill-prepared for the utter devastation that a new industrialised form of conflict would bring.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

It could have been any particular small dispute that would set conflict off and drag all nations and their vast colonial populations in. It was, however, an incident in the hostile Balkans region. In 1914, a young Serbian **nationalist**, Gavrilo Princip, assassinated the Archduke of Austria, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, Sofia. They had been travelling through Sarajevo, a hostile city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire previously owned by Serbia, in an attempt to appease the citizens there. Ferdinand was heir to the Austrian throne and had planned to be kinder to the Serbs than his king, his ageing uncle. There was a movement in Serbia at the time that wanted a Serb revolution against Austria-Hungary. The possibility that Serbs would be happier under Ferdinand's rule threatened to derail their revolutionary plans. They therefore chose to assassinate him.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.6



▲**Source 2.16** The alliance system progressively grew more complicated and intertwined in the 30 years leading up to World War I.

Two dangerously powerful **blocs** had formed in the years leading up to 1914. All of these would be honoured except Italy, which joined Britain, France and Russia. The collective population of these nations was in the hundreds of millions of people, and they used **conscription**. The conflict would be sparked by issues in **The Balkans**.

1 Why would Germany be keen to form alliances, given its geographical position and imperial status?

2 Explain why this diagram has the Balkans in a central position with those three particular nations circling it.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

By also assassinating Franz Ferdinand's wife, Sofia, the Serb assassin actually killed three royals. She was pregnant at the time.

◄**Source 2.17** Franz Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, and his wife Sophie riding in an open carriage at Sarajevo shortly before their assassination

nationalist a person who acts to further their own nation's interests. This can be in minor, patriotic ways, or violent and aggressive ways.

blocs groups of nations that unite on certain matters; these can be trade or military

conscription a ballot system whereby nations force their eligible citizens of a certain age to perform military duty

The Balkans the region of small nation states that lay between Austria-Hungary, the Ottomans and Russia. It had traditionally been a difficult area of conflict as the larger empires attempted to invade and occupy the region. Even Ancient Rome had trouble there.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Austria suspected that Serbia itself had sponsored the terrorist act, and ultimately declared war on it. Russia mobilised to defend Serbia, and the rest of the alliance system formally activated once Germany backed Austria and **mobilised** against France and Russia. Britain sent its army and navy to France and the North Sea. The entire colonial armies of the European powers were also deployed. Outdated and **attritional military tactics** sent millions of men against modern machine guns in an appalling theatre of **trench warfare** across Europe, and as far as Gallipoli. Empires and thrones that were centuries old fell within years as Europe self-immolated.

mobilised the process of activating a nation's armed forces ready for imminent conflict. In the first half of the twentieth century, this also meant rapidly enlarging the army.

attritional military tactics the military approach of sending as many soldiers into the battlefield as possible in the belief that sheer numbers will prevail. This did not work in the trench warfare of World War I where machine guns simply cut down thousands of soldiers at a time.

trench warfare fighting war from trenches, dug in the ground. This meant that warfare was not mobile and that defence prevailed repeatedly, prolonging the war and leading to enormous casualties.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.7

If the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand had not occurred, could World War I have been avoided? Explain your response with references from this chapter and any research you see fit to use. Your response should be one page long.

THE STORY SO FAR

- The Old Empires of Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, France, Russia and to a lesser extent Belgium and the Netherlands had a set system of power, which was in balance for the first half of the nineteenth century after the defeat of Napoleon.
- A sense of a common nationality emerged in the Germanic kingdoms during the first half of the nineteenth century. This gathered pace through several significant events before Germany actually unified.
- Germany was not a unified nation until 1871. Prussia, having won a series of wars against its rivals in Europe, founded the German Empire with many smaller Germanic states under its control.
- Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy had formed the Triple Alliance by 1882.
- In 1888, the 'Year of Three Emperors' occurred in Germany. The founding emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm I died; his son Kaiser Frederick III ruled for 99 days before dying of cancer; and the last emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, ascended the throne.
- France and Russia signed a defensive pact in 1895 in response to the potential threat posed by the Triple Alliance.
- Great Britain formed a defensive alliance with France in 1904 and Russia in 1907, completing the Triple Entente.
- The arms race continued until the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his pregnant wife, Sofia, by a Serb nationalist. Austria ultimately invaded Serbia, drawing in Russia and the remaining alliance partners.
- Italy declined to join Germany and Austria-Hungary, instead joining on the other side. Desperate for a strategic ally, Germany signed up the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) immediately upon the outbreak of war.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 How was it possible for Prussia to so heavily dominate the German political system upon founding the Empire?

2 Name the key people in the foundation of the German Empire.

3 Which countries formed alliances and what were the names of those alliances?

Analysing historical sources as evidence

In the following extracts, various diplomatic opinions and efforts are visible. Read the quotes and respond to the subsequent questions. Remember, a good historian will always look at the person and the date in order to put the quote in the correct context.

Bismarck's prediction

One day the great European War will come out of some damned foolish thing in the Balkans.

Otto Von Bismarck, 1888

1 How many years before the outbreak of World War I did Bismarck make this chilling prediction?

2 How long after this statement did Kaiser Wilhelm II force Bismarck to retire?

3 How might Bismarck's prediction have related to his view of the emerging alliances?

The 'Willy-Nicky' telegrams

Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia were distant cousins, as shown in Source 2.13. They were both related to Queen Victoria of Great Britain. The following telegrams were the first in a series of frantic exchanges in the two days before they declared all-out war on each other. Read them and answer the questions that follow.

Tsar Nicholas II to Kaiser Wilhelm II, July 29, 1 a.m.

Am glad you are back. In this serious moment, I appeal to you to help me. An ignoble war has been declared to a weak country. The indignation in Russia shared fully by me is enormous. I foresee that very soon I shall be overwhelmed by the pressure forced upon me and be forced to take extreme measures which will lead to war. To try and avoid such a calamity as a European war I beg you in the name of our old friendship to do what you can to stop your allies from going too far.

Nicky

Kaiser Wilhelm II to Tsar Nicholas II, July 29, 1.45 a.m.

It is with the gravest concern that I hear of the impression which the action of Austria against Serbia is creating in your country. The unscrupulous agitation that has been going on in Serbia for years has resulted in the outrageous crime, to which Archduke Francis Ferdinand fell a victim. The spirit that led Serbians to murder their own king and his wife still dominates the country. You will doubtless agree with me that we both, you and me, have a common interest as well as all Sovereigns to insist that all the persons morally responsible for the dastardly murder should receive their deserved punishment. In this case politics plays no part at all.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

On the other hand, I fully understand how difficult it is for you and your Government to face the drift of your public opinion. Therefore, with regard to the hearty and tender friendship which binds us both from long ago with firm ties, I am exerting my utmost influence to induce the Austrians to deal straightly to arrive to a satisfactory understanding with you. I confidently hope that you will help me in my efforts to smooth over difficulties that may still arise.

Your very sincere and devoted friend and cousin

Willy

1 Tsar Nicholas II's telegram suggests that he is under some degree of pressure in his country. Explain what you think this is and why.

2 How does Kaiser Wilhelm II's telegram seek to explain Germany's side of the story?

3 The Kaiser's telegram was not actually in response to the Tsar's. Due to the close timing of their creation, they crossed over. As such, each telegram was the first effort in the exchange from each leader. Knowing this, which leader to you believe is taking a more aggressive tone? Explain your answer with quotes from the telegrams.

4 What does the use of 'Nicky' and 'Willy' say about the relationship between the two monarchs?

5 Although the two men were cousins and part of the wider royal families of Europe, Queen Victoria only enjoyed the company of one of them. One of them she refused to invite to her Diamond Jubilee or to her 80th birthday. The same one she labelled as 'a hot-headed, conceited, and wrong-headed young man', who performed 'mischievous and unstraight-forward proceedings'. Perform some research and name which one she was referring to.

▲**Source 2.18** An official portrait of Queen Victoria (1819–1901) on the occasion of her Diamond Jubilee, after a reign of 60 years, 22 June 1897

▲**Source 2.19** Tsar Nicholas II (reigned 1896–1917) and Emperor Wilhelm II (reigned 1888–1918) hunting in Potsdam, Germany, November 1910

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 2.20** On Christmas Day in 1914, only a few months into the war, soldiers from Germany and Britain climbed out of their trenches to shake hands and exchange gifts. They also played a friendly soccer game against each other. Moments later they returned to their trenches and resumed hostilities. This statue from 2014 commemorates the 'Christmas Truce' of 1914 to remind people that the common soldiers of each nation had no reason to hate each other.

Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement: *Germany had a right to seek an empire of its own. World War I was as much the Old Empires' fault as Germany's.*

In writing your response, consider the following points.

- Did Germany's industrial might and sense of nationalism permit it to seek to match the nations around it?
- Was the arms race and alliance system Germany's fault?
- Was the war a tragic mistake or the natural conclusion of the events and personalities in power at the time?
- Did any one personality at the time bear more responsibility than others?
- Was Germany's rise to power always going to lead to war? Why or why not?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

3 THE CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR I

At eleven o'clock this morning came to an end the cruellest and most terrible war that has ever scourged mankind. I hope we may say that thus, this fateful morning, came to an end all wars.

– DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, 11 NOVEMBER 1918

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

The horrific conflicts of the Great War could never have been predicted. Europe was transformed from street celebrations in August 1914 to devastating ruins by November 1918. Australians who had enthusiastically joined the war for the motherland, patriotism and regular pay either lay dead on a battlefield or returned home with images of horror forever etched into their minds. Trench warfare had witnessed the slaughter of tens of thousands. Matching modern weapons against out-of-date tactics and weapons resulted in horrifying consequences. For example, the German machine gun triumphed over the Russia bayonets. Interestingly, the war was called the Great War because it was the first war of its kind in world history. It only later became known as World War I once a second major war commenced in 1939, which became known as World War II.

The focus of this chapter is to explore the outcomes of the Great War – the conference to debate the Treaty of Versailles, the signing of the treaty and the conditions it imposed in an attempt to avoid another costly war, the subsequent responses from all major leaders and the formation of the League of Nations.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- How did the war end and what were the costs of the war?
- What were the different attitudes of world leaders in creating peace?
- What were the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles?
- What was Germany's response to the Treaty of Versailles?
- What were the reasons for forming the League of Nations?

Digital resources for this chapter

In the *Interactive Textbook*:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◄ **Source 3.0** The opulent Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles in France, where the peace treaty between nations that had fought in World War I – the Treaty of Versailles – was signed on 28 June 1919.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter

Timeline of key chapter events

1914
28 JUNE
World War I begins
European powers align and begin a damaging war

1917
MARCH
Russian Revolution introduces communism
Communism becomes a government ideology

1918
11 NOVEMBER
World War I ends
Peace is achieved but the course of the twentieth century is permanently changed for Western countries

1919
28 JUNE
Versailles Treaty signed
World leaders impose significant restrictions on Germany and other empires are divided

1920
28 JUNE
League of Nations formed
Promoted by US president Wilson, a peacekeeping organisation is established

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

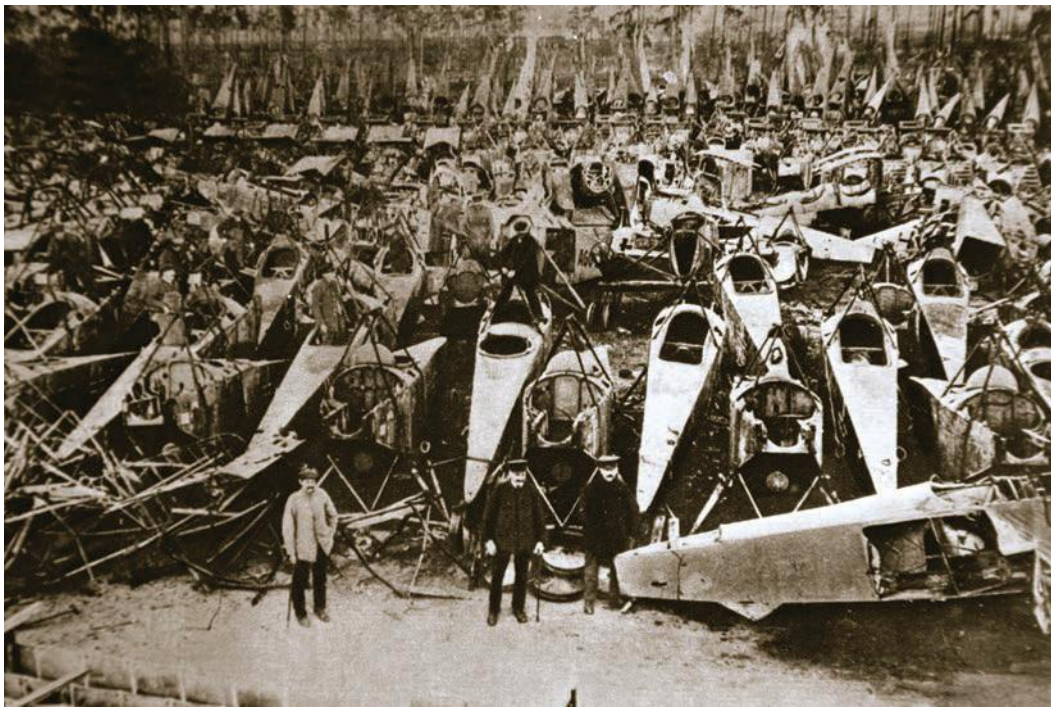
3.1 The end of World War I

War ends

The ruler of Germany, Kaiser Wilhelm, abdicated on 9 November 1918 and escaped to the Netherlands. Two days later, two low-level German government officials signed the peace treaty, called the **armistice**, with the **Allies**, which took effect at 11 a.m. on 11 November 1918. When the war ended, crowds in London and Paris lost their voices from repeatedly singing their national anthems; people in Sydney burnt a stuffed figure of the German leader.

armistice an agreement between opposing sides in a war to temporarily cease hostilities

Allies referring to states that have allied themselves for mutual benefit; in World War I, Britain, France and the United States were known as the Allies



▲**Source 3.1** Under the terms of the armistice ending World War I, the German military was compelled to surrender 5000 cannon, 30 000 machine guns, 3000 trench mortars and 2000 aircraft. The German High Seas Fleet was also interned. Pictured are numerous destroyed aircraft.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

One of the last victims in World War I was Private George Price from Canada, who was killed at 10.58 a.m. on 11 November, two minutes before the German surrender.

The cost of war

The Australian War Memorial in Canberra website states:

> *For Australia, as for many nations, the First World War remains the most costly conflict in terms of deaths and casualties. From a population of fewer than five million, 416,809 men enlisted, of whom over 60,000 were killed and 156,000 wounded, gassed or taken prisoner.*

In comparison, Germany lost just over 1.7 million soldiers, four times more dead than Australia even sent to war.

▼**Source 3.2** A column of German prisoners marching along an empty street of Germany on 1 October 1918

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.
Cambridge University Press

On a world scale, it is estimated that over eight million people were killed during World War I and over 21 million were wounded. Given the smaller populations of countries 100 years ago, these numbers were horrific and equated to 57 per cent of all involved. Every second person was a **casualty** of war.

casualty a person killed or wounded in war

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Ironically, more people died from a terrible outbreak of Spanish influenza in mid-1918 than in the whole four years of World War I. Estimates range from 50 million to 100 million deaths, with over 500 million people infected.

FOCUS QUESTION 3.1

Talk the thought – human graphs

This activity is designed to capture your initial opinion about the cost of war. To answer the question, imagine that there is a line across your classroom with 'Totally agree' on one wall and 'Totally disagree' on the other. Respond to the deliberately provocative statement: **'War is pointless.'** Stand anywhere along the imaginary line depending on the extent to which you agree with this statement. Share your point of view with others in the class, using examples to support your argument

▶**Source 3.3** The human toll of World War I was enormous; pictured are British troops passing the bodies of German soldiers during the Battle of the Somme, 1916.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 3.1

Due to the horror and unpredictability of World War I, exact figures of casualties and deaths are difficult to determine. Source 3.4 shows the accepted figures by many historians. Australian figures are included as part of the British Empire, but have been added in as a separate listing for interest and comparison.

Country	Total mobilised forces	Killed	Wounded	Prisoners and missing	Total casualties	Casualties as a percentage of forces
Allied and associated powers						
British Empire	8 904 467	908 371	2 090 212	191 652	3 190 235	35.8
Australia	416 809	61 516	155 133	4 044	220 693	64.8
Russia	12 000 000	1 700 000	4 950 000	2 500 000	9 150 000	76.3
France	8 410 000	1 357 800	4 266 000	537 000	6 160 800	73.3
Italy	5 615 000	650 000	947 000	600 000	2 197 000	39.1
United States	4 355 000	116 516	204 002	4 500	323 018	7.1
Japan	800 000	300	907	3	1 210	0.2
Romania	750 000	335 706	120 000	80 000	535 706	71.4
Serbia	707 343	45 000	133 148	152 958	331 106	46.8

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

Country	Total mobilised forces	Killed	Wounded	Prisoners and missing	Total casualties	Casualties as a percentage of forces
Belgium	267 000	13 716	44 686	34 659	93 061	34.9
Greece	230 000	5 000	21 000	1 000	27 000	11.7
Portugal	100 000	7 222	13 751	12 318	33 291	33.3
Montenegro	50 000	3 000	10 000	7 000	20 000	40.0
Total	*42 188 810*	*5 142 631*	*12 800 706*	*4 121 090*	*22 062 427*	*52.3*
Central and associated powers						
Germany	11 000 000	1 773 700	4 216 058	1 152 800	7 142 558	64.9
Austria-Hungary	7 800 000	1 200 000	3 620 000	2 200 000	7 020 000	90.0
Turkey	2 850 000	325 000	400 000	250 000	975 000	34.2
Bulgaria	1 200 000	87 500	152 390	27 029	266 919	22.2
Total	*22 850 000*	*3 386 200*	*8 388 448*	*3 629 829*	*15 404 477*	*67.4*
Grand total	**65 038 810**	**8 528 831**	**21 189 154**	**7 750 919**	**37 466 904**	**57.5**

Source: Adapted from Encyclopedia Brittanica, as reported by the U.S. War Department in February 1924. U.S. casualties were amended by the Statistical Services Center, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Nov. 7, 1957.

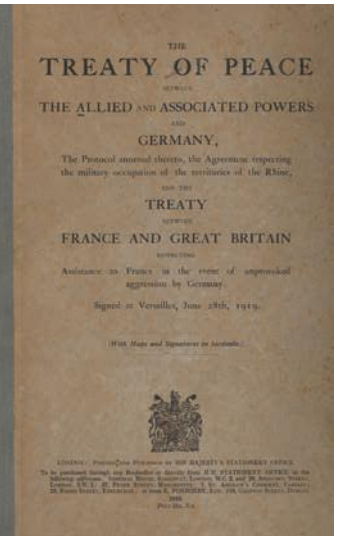
▲**Source 3.4** Deaths and casualties of World War I

- Which four countries mobilised the most people to go to the war?
- Which four countries had the most people killed?
- Which four countries had the greatest percentage of casualties from their forces?
- Why did the United States and Japan have such a low percentage of overall casualties? (You might need to conduct some research to find this answer.)
- What are four things that you learned from this table of statistics?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

3.2 The Treaty of Versailles, 1919

In January 1919, the Versailles Palace outside of Paris was chosen as the location for an international conference (the official name was the Paris Peace Conference) to decide on how Germany should be punished for World War I. Germany was not invited to the meeting and the Treaty of Versailles was imposed on it rather than it being a party to negotiations.



▲**Source 3.5** The cover of an English version of the Treaty of Versailles

▲**Source 3.6** A crowd of diplomats gathers in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles for the peace conference at the end of World War I.

Although 32 countries met at the Versailles Palace, the major decisions were made by the 'Big Three': the leaders of France, Great Britain and the United States. The 'Big Three' were Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States; Georges Clemenceau, the Prime Minister of France; and David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Britain. All three leaders wanted to stop a war ever happening again, but they did not agree about how to do this. They wanted different things from the peace and, as a result, they did not get on well.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 3.2

Return to these questions after you have read pages 46-48.

1 Why did the main leaders have such different attitudes?

2. What were the major outcomes that each leader was promoting?

French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau

French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau was aggressive towards Germany because Germany had invaded France twice in the past 50 years. His determination to win both the war and the peace had earned him the nickname 'Tiger'. Clemenceau was determined to make Germany pay for the damage it had caused during the war and to make it so weak that it would never be able to attack France again.

America is far away, protected by the ocean. Not even Napoleon himself could touch England. You are both sheltered; we are not.

Georges Clemenceau, debating with Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George

▼**Source 3.7** French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Clemenceau summed up his attitude to Germany: 'There are 20 million Germans too many!'

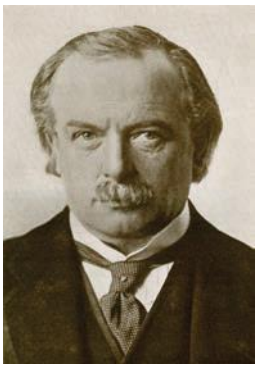
ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

British Prime Minister David Lloyd George

British Prime Minister David Lloyd George said that he would 'make Germany pay' because that was what his British people wanted to hear. However, he was reluctant to punish Germany too severely for fear of German revenge later on, and to ensure that Germany could withstand and block the potential spread of **communism** from Russia. Hence, he proposed a treaty that was not too harsh and found himself compromising between Wilson and Clemenceau.

We want a peace which will be just, but not vindictive … Above all, we want to protect the future against a repetition of the horrors of this war.

Lloyd George speaking to Parliament, 1919



▲**Source 3.8** British Prime Minister David Lloyd George

communism
A theory or system of social organisation in which all property is owned by the community and each person contributes and receives according to their ability and needs

AMAZING BUT TRUE …

When asked how he thought he had done at the Versailles Conference, Lloyd George replied: 'Not badly, considering I was seated between Jesus Christ and Napoleon.'

Our peace ought to be dictated by men who act in the spirit of judges … and not in the spirit of vendettas.

David Lloyd George at Versailles

US President Woodrow Wilson

US President Woodrow Wilson was previously a history professor. He wanted to make the world safe and to end the war by making a fair peace. He did not believe that the war was entirely Germany's fault and focused not on revenge but on restoring peace and democracy in Europe.

We have no jealousy of German greatness … We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power.

Woodrow Wilson in a speech to the US Congress, 8 January 1918

▲**Source 3.9** US President Woodrow Wilson

President Wilson's 14 Points

Before arriving at Versailles, Woodrow Wilson had devised a 14-point plan that he believed would bring stability to Europe. Wilson delivered these 14 Points in a speech to the United States Congress on 8 January 1918, even before the war had ended.

1. *Open diplomacy* – There should be no secret treaties between powers.
2. *Freedom of navigation* – Seas should be free in both peace and war.
3. *Free trade* – The barriers to trade between countries such as custom duties should be removed.
4. *Multilateral disarmament* – All countries should reduce their armed forces to the lowest possible levels.
5. *Colonies* – People in European colonies should have a say in their future.
6. *Russia* – Russia should be allowed to operate whatever government it wants and that government should be accepted, supported and welcomed.
7. *Belgium* – Belgium should be evacuated and restored to the situation before the war.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see archival footage from the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

8 *France* – Should have Alsace-Lorraine and any lands taken away during the war restored.

9 *Italy* – The Italian border should be readjusted according to nationality.

10 *National self-determination* – The national groups in Europe should, wherever possible, be given their independence.

11 *Romania, Montenegro and Serbia* – Should be evacuated and Serbia should have an outlet to the sea.

12 *Turkey* – The people of Turkey should have a say in their future.

13 *Poland* – Poland should become an independent state with an outlet to the sea.

14 *League of Nations* – An assembly of all nations should be formed to protect world peace in the future.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see archival footage about Wilson's 14 Points.

While Wilson believed that his 14 Points was the only way to secure everlasting peace, negotiations between the main leaders did not go smoothly. The French wanted the defeated nations to be punished severely and believed Wilson's plan was too lenient. Privately, Lloyd George sided with Wilson, although he was concerned about the threat from communism; however, the British public, like Clemenceau, wanted Germany to be punished severely. Lloyd George knew that if he sided with Wilson he would lose the next election. The final conditions of the treaty were therefore very different from Wilson's initial 14 Points. There were a total of 440 clauses in the final treaty. The first 26 clauses dealt with the establishment of the League of Nations and the remaining 414 clauses dictated Germany's punishment. Representatives of the German Government were invited to the French palace of Versailles to sign the treaty on 28 June 1919.

▼**Source 3.10** 'Peace and future cannon fodder', a cartoon from 1920 by the Australian artist Will Dyson. 'The Tiger' was a nickname for Georges Clemenceau, and in the caption Clemenceau is saying, 'Curious! I seem to hear a child weeping'. Above the child the words '1940 class' appear. This cartoon, which was a strong criticism of the Treaty of Versailles and the actions of Clemenceau, predicted, correctly, that another war would occur in another 20 years.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

3.3 Conditions of the Treaty

The Treaty of Versailles was one of five treaties that affected all of the defeated countries, such as Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. The conditions listed below are those that specifically affected the main aggressor of the war, Germany.

Forced acceptance of guilt

Germany had to accept full blame and responsibility for starting World War I. This was called the War Guilt Clause.

Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles read:

> *The Allied Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany for causing all of the loss and damage to which the Allies have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany.*

This clause was probably the single most important aspect of the Treaty for the German state, as it was the legal basis for imposing other conditions. If Germany was guilty of aggressive war and accepted this, then every other aspect of the Treaty of Versailles could be legally justified. The historian Richard Evans notes that the 'real purpose' of this article 'was to legitimize the imposition by the Allies of punitive financial reparations'.

◀ **Source 3.11** A close detail from a painting by William Orpen of the signing of the peace treaty in the Hall of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles. At the centre are the Big Three: Woodrow Wilson, Georges Clemenceau and David Lloyd George.

Redrawing of the borders

Reparations

A fine of £6600 million (over A$15 billion in current conversion rates) was imposed on Germany to pay the Allies' war costs. This was called 'reparations' because the money would literally be used to repair the damage caused by the war. The majority of this money went to France and Belgium, given the massive destruction in those countries. The demand was that this money should be paid each year for the next 70 years, until completely paid in 1988.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Germany finally paid off the World War I reparations in 2010.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 3.12** Territory lost by Germany after the Treaty of Versailles

Dawes Plan a short-lived strategy for the collection of reparations from Germany that tried to limit the hyperinflation the country was suffering

In 1924, a US committee chaired by Charles G. Dawes was assembled to decide how to collect reparation money from Germany. This plan was known as the **Dawes Plan** and when it proved unsuccessful it was replaced by the Young Plan in 1929.

Loss of territory and population

Land

Germany's total land size was reduced by 12 per cent, with land on every border given away. For example, the region called Alsace-Lorraine was given back to France.

Colonies

Germany was required to surrender control of all its colonies, including New Guinea to Australia.

Economic and political sanctions

Military

The German military was reduced to 100 000 men. This was a significant loss, given that two million German soldiers were killed in World War I. No tanks, planes or submarines were permitted. Only six battleships were permitted to protect Germany's northern border. Any ship under construction was to be destroyed. No soldier was allowed in the Rhine region on the French border.

Industry

Due to its loss of land, Germany's coal mines were reduced by 16 per cent and its iron production by 48 per cent.

Alliances

Germany was forbidden to unite with Austria to form a superpower.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

3.4 German responses to the Treaty

The German Chancellor was so upset when he saw the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles that he resigned in protest. When asked for his opinion after reading the treaty for the first time, the new leader, Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau, stated:

> *I have heard the victor's passionate demand that as vanquished we shall be made to pay and as the guilty we shall be punished. The demand is made that we shall acknowledge that we alone are guilty of having caused the war. Such a confession in my mouth would be a lie.*

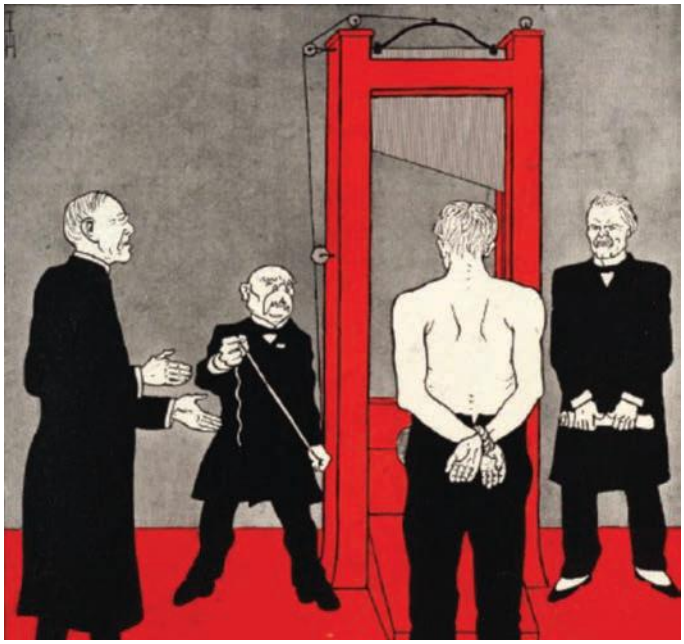
Despite Germany's opposition to the Treaty of Versailles, two representatives of the German Government reluctantly signed the treaty on 28 June 1919 after the Allied powers threatened to renew the fighting.

The most significant impact of the Treaty of Versailles was the sense of defeat and resentment it bred among the German people. Not only was Germany's pride as a nation destroyed by the War Guilt Clause, but it also experienced the economic hardship of having to pay for the rebuilding of other nations when the German nation was also in ruins. Many Germans felt that average citizens were being punished for a war they did not want. This was complicated by the fact that the government that had signed the treaty no longer existed and had been replaced by a new government, known as the Weimar Republic.

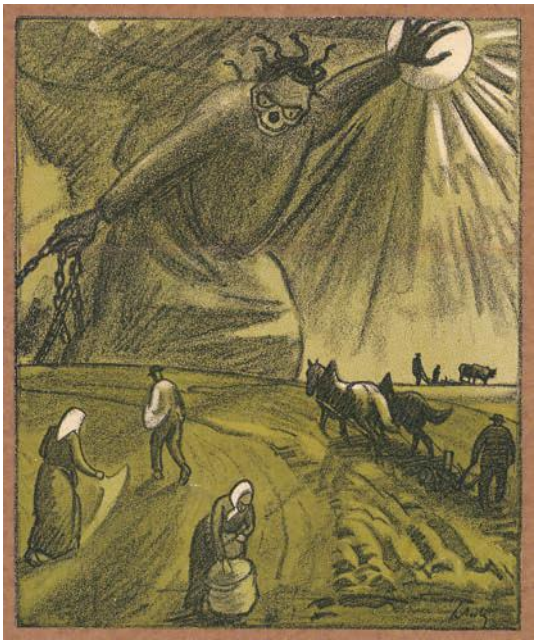
> *Today in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles a disgraceful treaty is being signed. Never forget it! … There will be vengeance for the shame of 1919.*
>
> German newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung*, 28 June 1919

AMAZING BUT TRUE …

After signing the Treaty of Versailles, the German delegates broke the pen in protest.



▲ **Source 3.13** A German cartoonist's interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles, with Clemenceau ready to guillotine a man who represents Germany while Wilson (left) and Lloyd George (right) look on



▲ **Source 3.14** A political sketch by German artist Wilhelm Schulz, which appeared in the German publication *Simplicissimus* on 27 May 1919. To Schultz and many Germans, the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles meant that even the sun would be taken away from the defeated German people.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

[The Treaty of Versailles] was greeted with incredulous horror by the majority of Germans. The sense of outrage and disbelief that swept through the German upper and middle classes like a shock wave was almost universal, and had a massive impact on many working-class supporters of the moderate Social Democrats as well. Germany's international strength and prestige had been on an upward course … and now, suddenly, Germany had been brutally expelled from the ranks of the Great Powers and covered in what they considered to be undeserved shame. Versailles was condemned as a dictated peace, unilaterally imposed without the possibility of negotiation.

Richard Evans, 2004

FOCUS QUESTIONS 3.3

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your thoughts. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Do you think that the Treaty of Versailles was fair?'** A student responds. The teacher or partner asks 'Why do you think that?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' The aim is for each response to become more thoughtful.

The other defeated nations

The Treaty of Versailles formalised Germany's punishment. The countries that supported Germany – Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey – signed separate treaties. Austria and Hungary were divided and therefore signed separate treaties. The main points for each country are outlined below.

Austria – Treaty of St Germain, 10 September 1919

- Land – Austria lost land to Italy, Czechoslovakia and Serbia (Yugoslavia).
- Army – To be reduced to 30 000 men.
- *Anschluss* – Union with Germany was forbidden.
- Reparations – Austria was to pay reparations, but became bankrupt before the rate could be set.

Hungary – Treaty of Trianon, 4 June 1920

- Land – Hungary lost land to Austria, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Serbia (Yugoslavia), reducing its size from 283 000 square kilometres to less than 93 000 square kilometres. Consequently, the population was reduced from 18.2 million to 7.6 million.
- Army – To be reduced to 35 000 men.
- Reparations – Hungary was to pay reparations, but the amount was never set.

Bulgaria – Treaty of Neuilly, 27 November 1919

- Land – Bulgaria lost land to Greece, Romania and Serbia (Yugoslavia).
- Reparations – Bulgaria had to pay 90 million pounds in reparations.
- Army – Restrictions were made on the size of Bulgaria's army.

Turkey – Treaty of Sèvres, 20 August 1920

- Land – Turkey lost land to Greece. The League of Nations took control of Turkey's colonies.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

3.5 The League of Nations

The establishment of a **League of Nations** was one of President Wilson's major aims that was authorised through the Treaty of Versailles. The League of Nations was an international organisation that was quickly established in 1920 with the twin aims of preventing war occurring again and being able to immediately settle problems between countries and administer the Treaty of Versailles. Germany was not allowed to join this peacekeeping agency. The **United Nations** became the successor organisation of the League of Nations at the end of **World War II** in 1945, which Germany eventually joined, and is still active in today.

▲**Source 3.15** One of the early meetings of the League of Nations in the Palais des Nations (Palace of Nations) in Geneva, Switzerland

League of Nations the international organisation established in 1920 with the purpose of preventing war and resolving conflicts between countries

United Nations the League of Nations eventually developed into the United Nations and it is now the intergovernmental organisation for promoting international cooperation

World War II a war fought from 1939 to 1945 between the Axis powers – Germany, Italy and Japan – and the Allies, including France, Britain and later the Soviet Union and the United States

THE STORY SO FAR

- World War I formally ended on 11 November 1918 with Germany's surrender to the Allies.
- Significant debate occurred between the leaders of the United States (Woodrow Wilson), France (Georges Clemenceau) and Britain (David Lloyd George) over the best way to punish Germany for being the aggressor in World War I.
- On 28 June 1919, Germany was forced to sign the crushing Treaty of Versailles. This included accepting full blame for World War I, significant fines, and reductions to its military, industry and land size, as well as impacts on its colonies, population and alliances.
- The Treaty aroused significant resentment in the German people and leadership, especially as Germany was blamed for the war through the War Guilt Clause.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 What were the different attitudes of world leaders in creating peace?

2 What were the specific conditions of the Treaty of Versailles?

3 What was Germany's response to the Treaty of Versailles?

Analysing historical sources as evidence

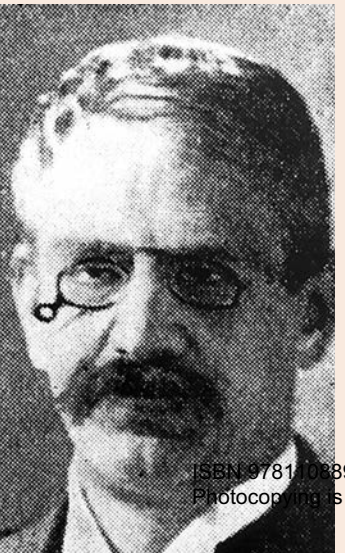
In the following extracts, two significant German figures consider the impact of the Treaty of Versailles, and particularly the question of 'war guilt'. The first is Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau, leader of the German delegation at Versailles, while the second is Ernst Troeltsch, a German theologian, politician and philosopher of history.

▼**Source 3.16** Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau, 1919

We are under no illusions as to our defeat and the degree of our powerlessness. We know that the strength of the German army is broken. We know the intensity of the hatred which meets us, and we have heard the victor's passionate demand that as vanquished we shall be made to pay and as the guilty we shall be punished. The demand is made that we shall acknowledge that we alone are guilty of having caused the war. Such a confession in my mouth would be a lie. We are far from seeking to escape from any responsibility for this world war … [But] the measure of guilt of all those who have taken part can be established only by an impartial inquiry, a neutral commission before which all the principles in the tragedy are allowed to speak … A peace which cannot be defended before the world as a peace of justice would always evoke new resistance.

Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau, 7 May 1919

▼**Source 3.17** Historian Ernst Troeltsch, 1919



What emerges with considerable clarity from the peace at Versailles is the enormous importance of the question of guilt … This peace, while presenting itself as a court of inquisition, is also an imperialist monstrosity made possible by the deceit [or lie] of the Fourteen Points and by Germany's voluntary disarmament. It is reminiscent of the way Rome once proceeded against Carthage [Note: Rome famously forced Carthage to reduce its armed forces and pay reparations to Rome, and then eventually destroyed it.] … The belief in German guilt and German responsibility for a war made inevitable by this same guilt fed the world's prejudice … [If] Germany's actions were represented as criminal, its entire military undertaking and the ensuing destruction took on the character of wanton brutality and crime … The real precondition [for war guilt] was that the whole world was eager to believe the accusations. Germans were already hated to such a degree that the worst appeared plausible and required no authentic proof whatever.

Ernst Troeltsch, 19 June 1919

1 What aim do you think each of these writers may have had? Consider their role, the way that they discuss the end of the war, and the date of each extract.

2 What does Count Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau accept about Germany's situation after World War I, and what does he deny? Why might this be?

3 Describe how Ernst Troeltsch characterises the views of Germany's enemies in the war. Identify the language that he uses to indicate how he views the Treaty of Versailles.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

4 Using this chapter and these sources as your evidence, including key quotations or references to visual sources, write an extended response on ONE of these two topics:

- 'Within Germany, there was no desire to accept any responsibility for World War I.' To what extent do you agree?
- 'The Treaty of Versailles was seen within Germany as creating the conditions for another war.' To what extent do you agree?

In the following extract, historian Wolfgang Mommsen, from the University of Dusseldorf, explains the Treaty of Versailles from the German point of view.

> *Mentally, Germany was not prepared in 1919, to accept defeat. In 1914, the Germans entered the war with quite unreal assumptions about its origins, about its nature and about its objectives. They had developed a huge assembly of claims which, in fact, would have meant that Europe could be dominated by German* **hegemony** *totally, and were mentally not willing to forfeit this all in 1918–1919.*
>
> *All of a sudden, we are confronted with what the bulk of the Germans considered an entirely unjust treaty. So resistance against this Treaty was enormous.*
>
> *The Treaty of Versailles created a political climate in Germany in which the right put all the blame on everything that went sour, onto the Treaty and the lost war. And that created this climate in which many people then began to think one had to fight the war once again.*
>
> *Basically, I think one can say the Treaty was harsh, but understandable.*
>
> Wolfgang Mommsen, 1930–2004

hegemony the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control others

1 According to Wolfgang Mommsen, what were Germany's aims at the start of the war?

2 List two strong words that Mommsen uses to describe the German attitude to the Treaty.

3 Describe the political climate created in Germany by the Treaty.

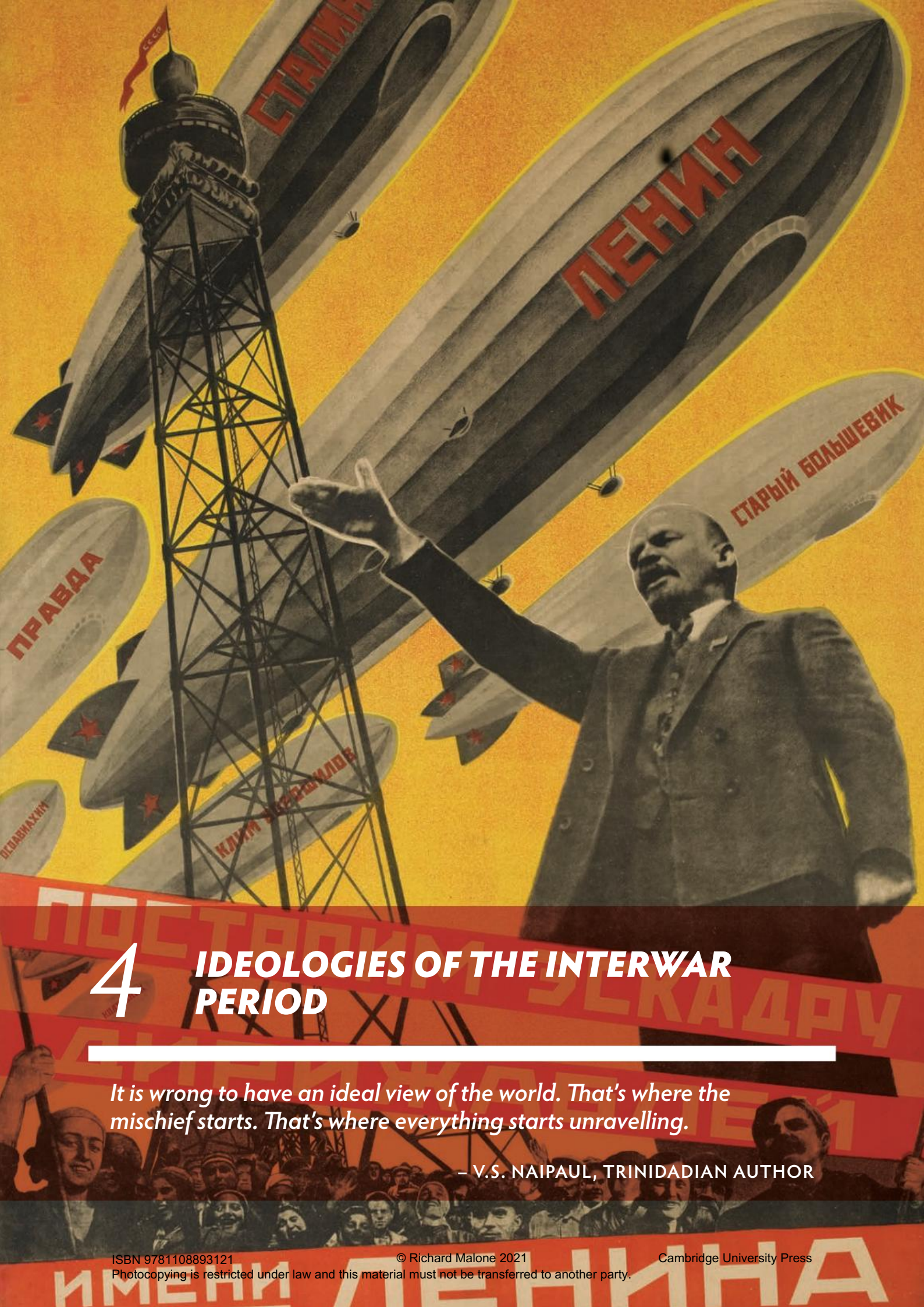
Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement about the Treaty of Versailles: *The Versailles treaty was dominated by the United States and was therefore poorly thought out.*

Think about your response before beginning to write it. A strong essay will agree with some parts of the essay statement and, importantly, disagree with other parts of it. Disagreeing shows that the response contains original thought and a strong use of evidence. Consider the following prompts:

- Was the Treaty of Versailles dominated by the United States? Do you agree with this part of the essay statement?
- What were the demands of the United States? Consider the 14 Points published by President Wilson.
- What were the aims of French Prime Minister Clemenceau and British Prime Minister Lloyd George?
- In what ways did they impact on and change the demands of President Wilson?
- Do you agree that the conditions of the Versailles Treaty were 'poorly thought out' as claimed in the essay statement?
- Look back at the conditions placed on Germany. Do you think these conditions should have achieved the aim of peace in Europe?
- The statement links the two comments by using the words 'and was therefore'. Do you think it is true that the United States influenced the Treaty to be poorly thought out? If not, then this is a good thing to state in your essay because it shows you are responding directly to the words in front of you in the essay question.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



4 IDEOLOGIES OF THE INTERWAR PERIOD

It is wrong to have an ideal view of the world. That's where the mischief starts. That's where everything starts unravelling.

– V.S. NAIPAUL, TRINIDADIAN AUTHOR

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

The end of World War I was not the end of international conflict. In fact, it was only the beginning. The start of the twentieth century had encouraged idealism and hope for a better future. Blatant imperialism had led to the outbreak of World War I but, in doing so, had birthed several other powerful political philosophies and ideologies.

These ideologies were specific sets of beliefs about the best way to run a country, and included ideas about the social, economic and political organisation of society. The devastating impact of the war was made worse by the economic troubles of the interwar period, such as the Great Depression, as well as the negative impact of the Treaty of Versailles. All of these factors created the unstable environment in which radical leaders and ideologies were able to take root and grow in popularity.

Many of the future world leaders – like Lenin, Hitler and Mussolini – had already been active disciples of particular ideologies and had begun agitating for their implementation. This chapter explores the ways in which these leaders used various ideologies to justify change in their countries.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- How can political ideologies be explained?
- What were the ideologies of socialism and communism and how were they adopted by Vladimir Lenin in Russia?
- What was the ideology of fascism and how was it adopted by Benito Mussolini in Italy?
- What was the ideology of Nazism and how was it adopted by Adolf Hitler in Germany?

Digital resources for this chapter

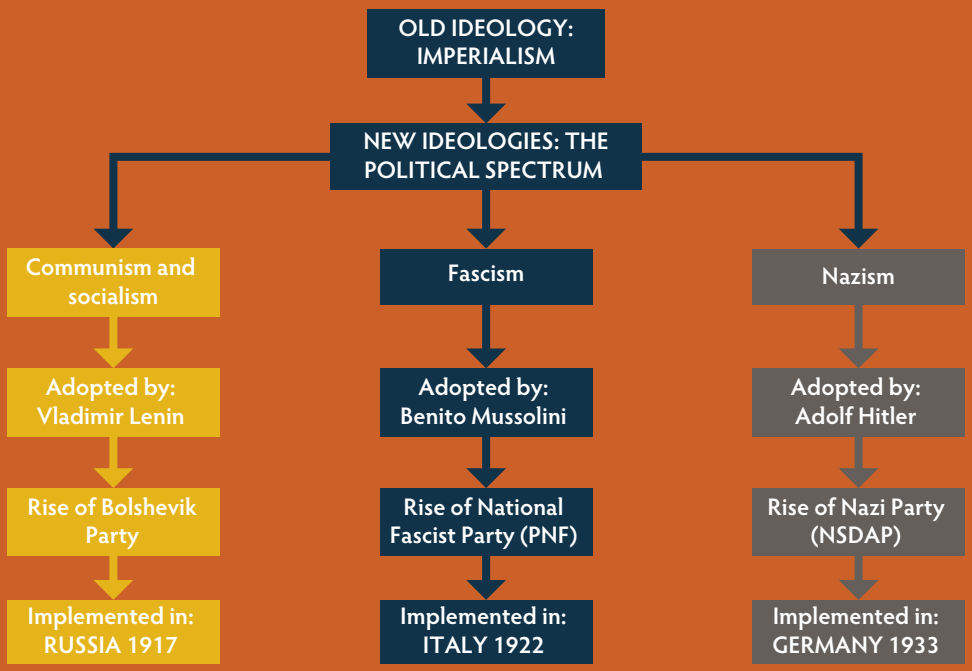
In the *Interactive Textbook*:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◀ **Source 4.0** A propaganda poster from the Soviet Union (Russia) in 1931, featuring former leader Vladimir Lenin, who had died in 1924. Lenin led the world's first communist revolution in Russia in 1917; a political ideology that would play a key role over the next 70 years.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

1848
Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels publish The Communist Manifesto

1917
MARCH
Russian Revolution introduces communism

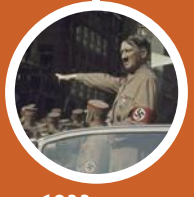
1922
OCTOBER
Mussolini's March on Rome

1925
3 JANUARY
Mussolini declared dictator in Italy

1928
Stalin takes control of Soviet Russia

1931
19 SEPTEMBER
Militaristic Japan invades Manchuria

1933
30 JANUARY
Hitler's Nazi Party takes control of Germany



1934
AUGUST
Hitler declared dictator in Germany

1935
OCTOBER
Mussolini's fascist Italy invades Abyssinia (Ethiopia)

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

4.1 Political ideologies

In a simple definition, an ideology is a collection of ideas. A more complex definition would be that ideologies are sets of ideals, principles and doctrines that explain how a society should best work. Typically, an ideology contains certain ideas on what it considers to be the best form of government (democracy, autocracy etc.), and the best economic system (capitalism, socialism etc.). Political ideologies have two parts – first, goals (how society should be organised) and second, methods (the best way to achieve these goals).

Political spectrum

An ideology can be positioned on a political spectrum – left, centre or right – that attempts to identify the core nature or characteristics of that ideology. Political spectrums are a widely debated concept by historians and political scientists. A linear spectrum is controversial because it can never convey the complexity of political ideologies or the actual policies of political parties throughout history.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The terms 'left wing' and 'right wing' came from the French Revolution in 1789. The right was considered to be the place of privilege. Hence, the traditional aristocracy, who represented the nobles and church, sat on the right of the king, while the most radical politicians, who were elected by the common people, sat on the left.

Right

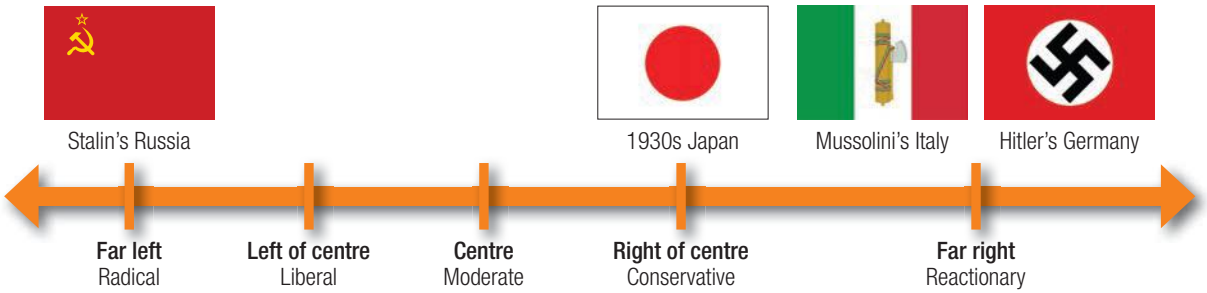
These are governments and political parties that defend and rationalise the existing economic, social and political order, which are called status quo ideologies. Right wing usually refers to more 'conservative' views; that is, wanting things to stay the same or return to how they used to be. It is characterised by a belief in the individual nature and rights of humans and governments that promote individual responsibility.

Left

These are governments and political parties that promote fundamental changes in the existing economic, social and political order, which are called *radical* ideologies. Left wing generally refers to more 'liberal' or 'progressive' views; that is, wanting to change things in ways that have not been tried before. It is characterised by the belief that people are basically good and governments have a responsibility to care for all of their citizens.

Centre

In between there is a large grey area, including left of centre and right of centre, which may be called the moderate ideologies.



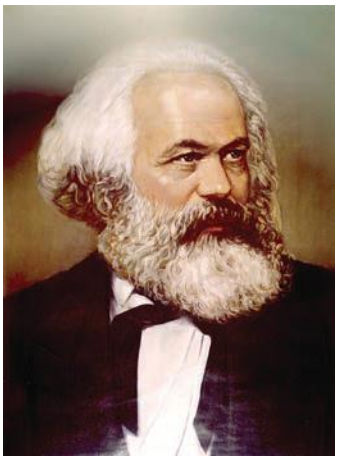
▲**Source 4.1** An example of a traditional linear political spectrum illustrating the locations of the three political ideologies profiled in this chapter. Note that there are many other graphical representations that perhaps better represent the complexity of categorising these historical regimes.

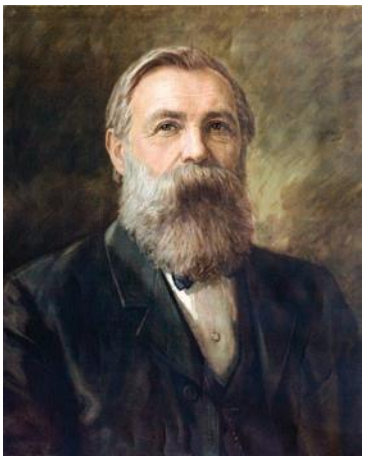
ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

4.2 Socialism and communism

Defining communism

In 1848, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote a world-changing pamphlet called *The Communist Manifesto*, outlining the problem of unfair work roles between the rich and poor classes. In the system of capitalism everything was owned and controlled by individuals, who could make a personal profit while their employees worked long hours in poor conditions. Marx and Engels' solution was a new system called communism, in which everything was owned and controlled by the community as a whole. Communism proclaimed that private enterprise and big business exploited the common worker, and therefore should be eliminated and replaced with government control.





◄ **Source 4.2** Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, circa 1870

▼ **Source 4.3** The symbol of communism: a hammer (worker) and sickle (peasant)

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Marx and Engels' manifesto was a short pamphlet that was poorly written in six weeks and contained numerous errors. Yet it changed the history of the Western world.

Lenin's communist ideology in Russia

The foundations for the growth of communism really began in 1917, when communist ideology was introduced by Vladimir Lenin into Russia. The new political and economic system formed the basis of the Russian **Revolution**.

revolution an uprising that overthrows the political authority of the day

Romanov family dynasty that ruled Russia from 1613 to 1917

tsar Russian name for 'king'; the tsar was the ruler of Russia

The Russian Revolution was a pivotal event in the twentieth century, because it was the first attempt to introduce communism as a system of government. Russia had a rich history of royalty and culture. The **Romanov** family had ruled Russia for 304 years, and **Tsar** Nicholas II had governed since 1894. His reign included two major wars: one against Japan in 1904–05, and the devastating World War I involving the rest of Europe from 1914. But his greatest battle was against his own people, who revolted in Petrograd due to chronic food shortages, high unemployment and a belief that the war was futile. St Petersburg was renamed Petrograd in 1914 because its name sounded too Germanic.

This erupted into the February Revolution of 1917, which witnessed the abdication of Tsar Nicholas and the establishment of an elected government. This much-anticipated Provisional Government, however, failed to solve the economic problems that had caused the Tsar's downfall, primarily because it decided to continue fighting in World War I. This caused even greater discontent and social unrest. The Provisional Government was easily defeated eight months later in the famous October Revolution led by Vladimir Lenin. Lenin and his Bolshevik Party then began the experiment of running Russian society politically, socially and economically using the concepts of communism.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◀ **Source 4.4** Vladimir Lenin

▶ **Source 4.5** Joseph Stalin

While Lenin introduced communism, it was Stalin who exploited it. Joseph Stalin gained total control of Russia after Lenin's death through his position as General Secretary of the Communist Party from 1922. Stalin's 26-year rule of the Soviet Union (1928–53) made economic advances and industrialised Russia, but at high social costs, including the removal of civil rights. Stalin eliminated all political and personal opposition through execution, deportation and exile to concentration camps, called gulags. In World War II, Stalin initially aligned with Nazi Germany, but switched and joined the Allied nations after Hitler invaded Russia, breaking the pact of non-aggression between Russia and Germany. Estimates are that 62 million Russians were killed under communist rule between 1917 and 1987. It is crucial to understand the beginnings of communism, as by the end of World War II it had become one of the two most dominant world ideologies, and therefore receives considerable focus in Unit 2 of this book when the Cold War is analysed.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.1

Use the information above to indicate whether the following statements are true or false.

1 The concept of a linear political spectrum is controversial.
2 An ideology is an idea.
3 *The Communist Manifesto* was written by Karl Marx in 1948.
4 Communism promotes the idea that everything is owned by the community as a whole.
5 Vladimir Lenin defeated Tsar Nicholas II in the February Revolution.
6 Stalin was the second communist leader after Lenin.
7 Stalin was responsible for the deaths of millions of Russians.

Defining socialism

As a term, socialism precedes communism and can be described as a political and social theory that focuses on equality and people working collectively together. The historian Philip Gasper notes that 'as the nineteenth century progressed, "socialist" came to signify not only concern with the social question, but opposition to capitalism and support for some form of social ownership.' This means that seemingly opposing stances can be considered socialist. Communism is a socialist ideology, but a specific variant which demands a high level of government involvement. Anarchism is also born out of the socialist movement, but instead calls for an abolition of social hierarchies and government organisation in order for people to work together cooperatively.

Under communism in the 20th century, socialism was given a much more specific definition. Lenin described socialism as a necessary stage between capitalism and communism; a sort of halfway point where class and private property were not yet fully abolished. This definition is contested by anarchist socialists who do not agree with the tenants of communism, but regardless it has had significant influence. When reading historical documents, it is worth considering how the term 'socialism' is being applied and whether it is interchangeable with communism or not.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.2

◄ **Source 4.6** 'Comrade Lenin cleans the land of garbage', Soviet propaganda poster from 1920 by artist Viktor Deni

Examine the image then answer the following:

1. Try to identify the figures in the image. You may only be able to identify one figure by name, but what types of people do the other figures represent, in your opinion?
2. Explain what Lenin is doing, and what this is a comment on.
3. In what ways does the artist convey a political message through the cartoon? Consider both the image (especially the depiction of Lenin) and the caption.
4. What does this image tell you about Lenin's ambitions for communism?

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.3

This is a 'Communist Confession of Faith' from the Communist League in 1847.

***Question 1**: Are you a Communist?* ***Answer:** Yes.*

***Question 2:** What is the aim of the Communists?* ***Answer:** To organise society in such a way that every member of it can develop and use all his capabilities and powers in complete freedom and without thereby infringing the basic conditions of this society.*

***Question 3:** How do you wish to achieve this aim?* ***Answer:** By the elimination of private property and its replacement by community of property.*

***Question 4:** On what do you base your community of property?* ***Answer:** Firstly, on the mass of productive forces and means of subsistence resulting from the development of industry, agriculture, trade and colonisation, and on the possibility inherent in machinery, chemical and other resources of their infinite extension. Secondly, on the fact that in the consciousness or feeling of every individual there exist certain irrefutable basic principles which, being the result of the whole of historical development, require no proof.*

***Question 5:** What are such principles?* ***Answer:** For example, every individual strives to be happy. The happiness of the individual is inseparable from the happiness of all …*

***Question 6:** How do you wish to prepare the way for your community of property?* ***Answer:** By enlightening and uniting the proletariat.*

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The statement below comes from the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, in which they describe a series of measures that they think might arise from a 'proletarian' (industrial working-class) revolution, and eventually lead to a communist state. These include:

1 *Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.*

2 *A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.*

3 *Abolition of all rights of inheritance.*

4 *Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.*

5 *Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.*

6 *Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.*

7 *Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.*

8 *Equal liability of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.*

9 *Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.*

10 *Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production …*

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another.

1 How do both texts believe that 'communism' will eventually be achieved?

2 What are key points in common between the 'confession of faith' and Marx and Engels' view of communism?

3 Do these texts define communism as a class issue or an economic issue? You should justify your argument with extracts from the core texts.

Manifest
der
Kommunistischen Partei.
Veröffentlicht im Februar 1848.
Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt euch.
London.

▲**Source 4.7** The title page of the first edition of *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, published in London in 1848

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

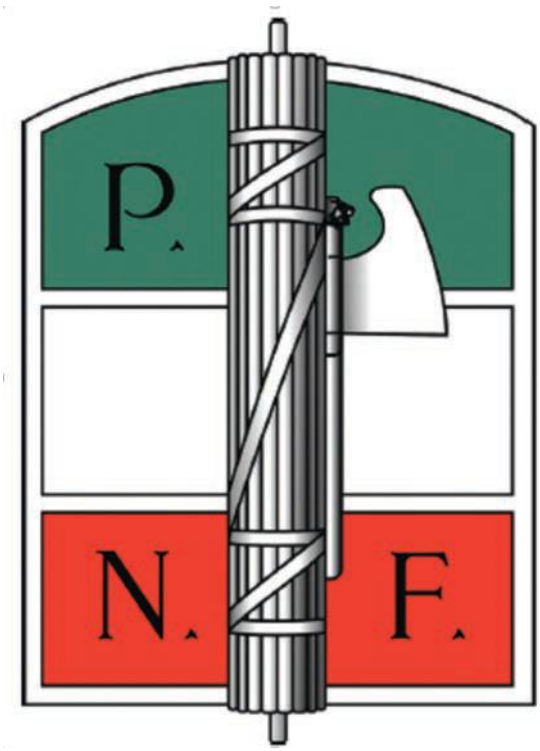
4.3 Fascism

Defining fascism

Fascism is a nationalistic ideology that is achieved through totalitarian leadership and methodology. It borrowed theories and terminology from communism but replaced communism's focus on class conflict with a focus on conflict between nations and races.

fasces image of power and unity from ancient Rome used as the fascist symbol

The historian and theorist Roger Griffin wrote a famous work, *The Nature of Fascism*, in which he argued that this political idea represents 'a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism'. This means that fascism is an ideology obsessed with 'rebirth' or 'renewal' (palingenesis) and that nationalism was '[o]ne of the pervasive ideological forces in the shaping of modern history'. In a fascist government system, total power is given to a dictator. Individual rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of the press are denied. The nation and its power are what counts, not the independence of the individual.



▲ **Source 4.8** *(Left)* The symbol of fascism, a Roman **fasces** on the Italian flag. Fasces were rods bound in the form of a bundle, and containing an axe. The rods symbolised the power to punish, while the axe symbolized the power of capital punishment. In Roman-era society, the fasces were symbols of state authority, and carried before consuls, magistrates, commanders and other positions of power. Imagery of the ancient Roman fasces was used to suggest that fascism was as powerful as Rome had been, and suggested strength through unity. *(Right)* A Lictor, bearer of the Fasces.

Fascism includes the following characteristics:

- *Rule by a central leader* – one leader with total power controls almost everything.
- *Nationalism* – an absolute determination to build up the nation's glory and power.
- *Central government control* – the unity of the nation is what matters most, not the rights of the individual.
- *Superiority* – a belief in the superiority of the nation's own race or ethnic group.
- *Military power* – to expand the nation's territory.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Benito Mussolini's story (1883–1945)

Social discussions of family background and early years are often overshadowed by interest in political ambition and leadership. Hence, the purpose of this section is to provide an interesting social background to political leaders. To personalise the story, the first name has been used instead of the usual surname.

▲ **Source 4.9** Benito Mussolini in 1940

His childhood

Benito Mussolini was born on 29 July 1883 in northern central Italy, the eldest of three siblings. His father was a blacksmith and active in political affairs, but was described as having an 'unloving' relationship with young Benito. Employment prospects were so poor that Benito moved to Switzerland in 1902 where he became avidly involved in socialist politics as a 19-year-old. Two years later he returned to Italy and began working as a journalist for a socialist newspaper, *Avanti* (meaning 'Forward'), and had become the editor by 1910. But his support for Italy's entry into World War I led to him being expelled from the Socialist Party as he had adopted an aggressive belief in territorial expansion to its 'natural frontiers'. He was drafted into the Italian army in September 1915, served on the front lines and was promoted to the rank of corporal, but was injured by a grenade explosion later that same year and discharged from service.

▲ **Source 4.10** Benito Mussolini with arm outstretched greeting soldiers in 1938

Italy was defeated in 1917. At the end of World War I, Benito formed the Fascist Party and became dictator by 1925. (Details of his years of leadership are covered in this and the next chapter.)

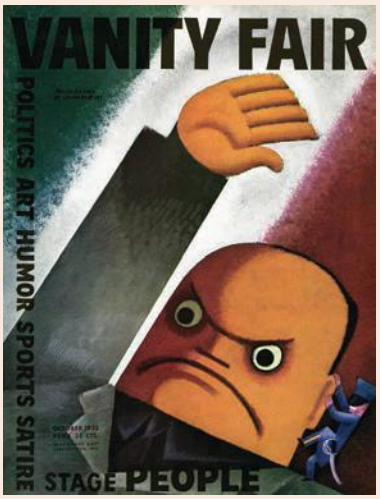
His family

Like his father, Benito was reported to have been a terrible family man and father. He had a secret family that was hidden by the Fascist Party after he became a prominent leader. He apparently put his first partner, Ida Dalser, into a lunatic asylum, calling her 'dangerous, unbalanced, and criminal' and an 'enemy alien'. He married Donna Rachele in 1915 and they had four children; one daughter Edda (1910) was apparently his favourite and looked very much like her father, but she did not reciprocate his affection. She once remarked, 'There are only two solutions that will rehabilitate him in my eyes, to run away or to kill himself'. Benito also had three sons: Vittorio (1916), who was an enthusiastic fascist but helped negotiate the Italian surrender with the Allies in September 1943; Bruno (1918), who became an air-force pilot in the war but died testing a new bomber; and Romano (1927), who became a jazz pianist. Benito was also known to have many mistresses, the most famous being Clara Petacci.

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued



His death

After fighting alongside Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany during World War II, Benito was overthrown in July 1943 when Allied troops landed in Sicily. Italy signed a surrender a few months later and withdrew from the war. In a last-ditch attempt to save their war partner, German commandos rescued Benito, but his reinstatement as Italy's leader had little effect. Benito attempted to flee Italy in a German military column heading towards Switzerland to escape the advancing Allies. The Germans handed him over after being confronted by Italian partisans, who then shot him on 28 April 1945. Benito's body was left hanging at a local petrol station in Milan.

◄ **Source 4.11** Mussolini looking fierce in a caricature on a US *Vanity Fair* cover, 1932

FOCUS QUESTION 4.1

Talk the thought – human graphs

This activity is designed to prompt your initial opinion about Mussolini after reading this section. To answer the question, imagine there is a line across your classroom with 'Totally agree' on one wall and 'Totally disagree' on the other. Respond to the deliberately provocative statement: **'Benito's troubled personal life should be taken into account in our opinion of his political leadership.'** Stand anywhere along the imaginary line depending on the extent to which you agree with this statement. Share your point of view with others in the class, using examples from this section to support your argument.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Despite being expelled from several schools due to bullying and defying authority, Mussolini became a teacher for one year in 1901.

Mussolini's fascist ideology in Italy

Reaction to the Treaty of Versailles

Mussolini was bitterly disappointed that Italy did not receive any extra land, despite fighting in the war on the side of the Allied nations. Economically, like all European nations involved in the war, Italy suffered from a struggling economy, which resulted in increasing numbers of workers going on strike. Rising unemployment increased discontent and communism was becoming a popular undercurrent among lower class workers. Italy had five governments between 1919 and 1922, all of which failed to take decisive action to address the problems.

Black Shirts armed squads of fascists identified by their black shirts that acted under Mussolini's orders

Formation of Fascist Party and the Black Shirts

Mussolini founded the *Fascio-dicombattimento* (Italian League of Combat), which was renamed as the National Fascist Party (Partito Nazionale Fascista; PNF) in 1921. Mussolini's party was very popular with many returned soldiers who could not find employment. He organised them into military-style armed squads called the **Black Shirts**. Their aim was to terrorise their political enemies. The use of fear and force became foundations of Mussolini's success in politics.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 4.12** Il Duce (Mussolini) singing surrounded by Black Shirts during the inauguration of a square in Rome, 1922

March on Rome

In 1921, the Fascist Party won 25 seats at the national elections and was invited to be one of the many parties that formed a coalition government in Italy. Within a year, however, the government was unable to control the country's difficult problems. Meanwhile, Mussolini's party had grown to 300 000 members amid growing unemployment and tension. After deciding against staging a coup to overthrow the government, Mussolini and his Black Shirts marched to Rome, the capital of Italy, and demanded that he lead the government, declaring him the only one capable of restoring order within the country. King Victor Emmanuel agreed and Mussolini was invited to form a new coalition government on 30 October 1922.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see archival footage about Mussolini's March on Rome.

Elections: Use of fear and force

The April 1924 elections were characterised by fascist violence against opposition parties. Politicians or intellectuals who opposed Mussolini were denounced as traitors to Italy. The most significant example of this was the 'disappearance' of Giacomo Matteotti, a socialist member of parliament who was aggressively critical of fascism. Most believed that Mussolini had given the order to have Matteotti murdered, despite his denial of this. Mussolini immediately used the murder to weaken the influence of the parliament on issues of national policy. For example, he imposed limits on the press, including shutting down the newspapers of his political opponents.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

At the time of the elections in Italy in April 1924, Hitler was being sentenced to five years in prison on a charge of high treason. He was released in December 1924 and refounded his Nazi Party.

Il Duce – 'the leader'

Between 1922 and 1925, Mussolini gradually removed all democratic policies and practices and declared himself a leader, Il Duce, in 1925. He set about attempting to re-establish Italy as a great European power. The regime was held together by strong state control and Mussolini's cult of personality. Mussolini's reign as the dictator of Italy from 1925 is analysed in the next chapter.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.4

Copy and complete this graphic organiser. Add explanations under each of the main events listed.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.5

In an essay co-written by Mussolini in 1932, he outlined a 'Doctrine of Fascism':

In the Fascist conception of history, man is man only by virtue of the spiritual process to which he contributes as a member of the family, the social group, the nation, and in function of history to which all nations bring their contribution. Hence the great value of tradition [is] in records, in language, in customs, in the rules of social life … Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State … The right to national independence does not arise from any merely literary and idealistic form of self-consciousness; still less from a more or less passive and unconscious de facto situation, but from an active, self-conscious, political will expressing itself in action and ready to prove its rights … A nation, as expressed in the State, is a living, ethical entity only in so far as it is progressive. Inactivity is death.

1 How does Mussolini define the purpose of an individual's life?
2 Why does he view traditions, language and customs as important, and how do these relate to fascism?
3 Why does he define fascism as 'anti-individualistic' but also part of a 'spiritual process'?
4 Re-read the extract from Roger Griffin from earlier in the chapter: does Mussolini fit with Griffin's definition or not? You should support your interpretation with evidence.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.6

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below: *What factors led to Mussolini's rise to power?*

- Black Shirts
- Giacomo Matteotti
- Il Duce
- King Victor Emmanuel
- march on Rome
- National Fascist Party

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

4.4 Nazism

Defining Nazism

National Socialism an extreme and exclusionary form of socialism that involved collective responsibility and working together, but within a community that was limited by 'nation' or 'race'

The ideology of **National Socialism** was commonly referred to as Nazism. It was a form of fascism that promoted the idea that the Germanic people were racially superior. To prove this belief, Nazism included a particular focus on excluding those who did not meet this glorified stereotype. Hence, anti-Semitism – that is, discrimination against Jews – and exclusion of other minorities were important aspects of Nazi ideology. Politically, Nazism was also against big business, capitalists and communists. Interestingly, Nazis themselves rejected classification on the conventional political spectrum (left/right wing), believing they had created a unique ideology.

Nazism includes the following characteristics:

- *Rule by a central leader* – one leader with total power controls almost everything.
- *Nationalism* – an absolute determination to build up the nation's glory and power.
- *Central government control* – the unity of the nation is what matters most, not the rights of the individual.
- *Superiority* – a belief in the superiority of the nation's own race or ethnic group.
- *Military power* – to expand the nation's territory.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The use of the Nazi swastika is banned in Germany today for fear of encouraging hatred and racism. Its use is also illegal in Austria, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, France, Ukraine, Israel, Russia and Brazil.

The swastika is a 3000-year-old religious symbol predating ancient Egypt. Images of swastikas have been found on artefacts from Troy in modern-day Turkey, such as pottery and coins, indicating use of the symbol dates back to at least 1000 BCE. The word 'swastika' itself comes from the Sanskrit *svastika*, with 'sv' meaning 'good', 'asti' meaning 'to be' and 'ka' as a suffix. Therefore, the word has the positive connotation 'to be good' and has been used by different cultures to represent life, power, strength, sun and good luck. It was used in the 1800s on postcards, buildings, coins and cigarette cases. Hitler's Nazi Party changed it slightly and made it an official symbol, thereby giving the symbol a negative connotation. In his autobiography, called *Mein Kampf* (1925), Hitler described the reasons why the Nazis created their new flag in 1920: 'In *red* we see the social idea of the movement, in *white* the nationalistic idea, in the *swastika* the mission of the struggle for the victory of the **Aryan** man'. To the Nazi Party, the swastika particularly represented a 'sun-wheel', and it was believed to be a symbol that was connected to the perceived 'racial group' of the 'Aryans' and to the central belief in rebirth that also characterised fascist theories: indicating a new dawn for Germany.

Aryan in Nazi ideology a person of a supposedly 'white race' that was meant to be the polar opposite of a perceived 'Jewish race'

◀ **Source 4.13** The symbol of Nazism, the swastika. The symbol was originally a sacred symbol of Hinduism and Buddhism; however, the Nazis adopted it in 1920 to display the 'struggle for victory'.

◀ **Source 4.14** *Svastika* on an ancient Roman mosaic

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The swastika was such a positive symbol of good luck that the US 45th Division of soldiers wore a swastika on their shoulder patch in World War I.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Adolf Hitler's story (1889–1945)

Social discussions of family background and early years are often overshadowed by interest in political ambition and leadership. Hence, the purpose of this section is to provide an interesting social background to political leaders. To personalise the story, the first name has been used instead of the usual surname.

The parents

Adolf was born on 20 April 1889 in Braunau, Austria, and had a younger sister named Paula. While the young Adolf was close to his mother, Klara, he had quite a different relationship with his father, Alois Hitler. Alois was a strong and unforgiving man who was 51 (23 years older than Klara), when Adolf was born. His previous two wives and first three babies had all died of poor health, so he was particularly determined to make Adolf strong and resilient, but he did this through strict discipline and beatings. While Adolf was not born in Germany itself, he consistently viewed himself as fundamentally 'German' by heritage, language and (in his view) by 'race'.

▲ **Source 4.15** Portrait of Hitler as a child, 1889

The teenager

Klara's constant praise of her son meant he developed a high opinion of himself. A weak work ethic mixed with high expectations was evident both at school and in his dictatorship – he disliked paperwork and was quite disorganised. His two favourite subjects were history and art.

▲ **Source 4.16** Klara (left) and Alois (right) Hitler. Klara Hitler was always kind and gentle with her son. Adolf Hitler was so distraught when she died of cancer when he was 18 that he carried a photo of her wherever he went. It is also claimed that he was clutching this same photo of her in his hand when he died in 1945.

Hitler's 1906 Report Card			
Art	*Excellent*	Gymnastics	*Excellent*
Chemistry	*Adequate*	History	*Satisfactory*
French	*Unsatisfactory*	Mathematics	*Unsatisfactory*
Geography	*Satisfactory*	Physics	*Adequate*
German	*Adequate*		

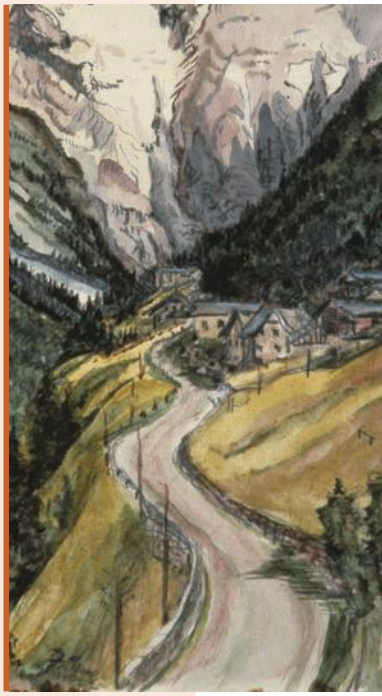
▲ **Source 4.17** Hitler's school results from 1905 when he was 16

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Adolf loved giving orders at lunchtime at school, which meant that he mostly played with younger students. His favourite fighting game was to re-enact the role of a commando who rescued Boers from British concentration camps during the Boer War in 1902. When Adolf's mother let him leave school at 16, he celebrated by getting drunk. He found it such an awful experience that he vowed never to get drunk again. He kept his promise and eventually gave up alcohol.

The artist

From childhood, Adolf had wanted to be an artist. From the age of 20, he moved out of home and lived in youth hostels in Vienna, earning a low wage painting pictures for postcards while trying to be accepted into the Academy of Fine Arts. It is estimated that he produced around 3000 drawings, watercolours and oil paintings during these years. Interestingly, Adolf was mainly interested in architecture, rarely drawing people. When he later set out to reshape Germany, he thought of himself as an artist creating his greatest masterpiece.



▲ **Source 4.18** A watercolour from Adolf Hitler's sketchbook, circa 1914

The soldier

Adolf was forced to join the Austrian army in 1913, but failed the medical because he was officially 'unfit for combat'. Desperate to join the war, Adolf was accepted into the German army. Adolf's record as a German soldier was excellent. His most important role was as a dispatch runner, the dangerous job of carrying messages from headquarters to the front line, which made him a direct target for the enemy. Overall, he won five medals, including the prestigious Iron Cross. But in 1917, Adolf was trapped in a mustard gas attack and suffered blindness and severe shock.

Adolf continued painting behind the front lines in World War I, drew cartoons for the military newspaper and later produced architectural drawings for new buildings and monuments.

▼ **Source 4.19** Adolf Hitler and Eva Braun, circa 1940, pictured at Hitler's Berchtesgaden retreat. The photograph was found among Braun's personal belongings.

His relationships

Adolf took a serious interest in women only in his 30s. He liked younger women who were beautiful, simple and uninterested in politics. Records show that he had three key relationships with women, all of whom were teenagers when they first became involved with him. The first, Maria Reiter, was a 16-year-old who tried to commit suicide because she found the relationship too intense. The second was his niece, Geli Raubal, who came to live with Adolf when he was 40. After a stormy two-year relationship, Geli shot herself – the only way she could see to break free of Adolf's intense possessiveness.

Adolf's final relationship was with Eva Braun. The relationship began when she was 17 years old. Eva was largely kept hidden from the public eye so that the Nazi Party could promote Hitler's image as a bachelor 'married' to the nation.

His suicide

As Allied armies approached Berlin, Adolf and Eva committed suicide together. After a 12-year relationship, they had been married for only two days when, on 30 April, Eva decided to die with Adolf rather than live without him. To avoid being taken prisoners of war, both took cyanide pills and Adolf also shot himself in the head.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see archival footage about how news of Hitler's death spread across the world.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTION 4.2

Talk the thought – human graphs

This activity is designed to prompt your initial opinion about Hitler. To answer the question, imagine there is a line across your classroom with 'Totally agree' on one wall and 'Totally disagree' on the other. Respond to the deliberately provocative statement: **'Adolf's troubled personal life should be taken into account in our opinion of his political leadership.'** Stand anywhere along the imaginary line depending on the extent to which you agree with this statement. Share your point of view with others in the class, using examples from this section to support your argument.

RESEARCH QUESTION 4.1

In the brief tale 'Genesis and Catastrophe', author Roald Dahl imagined what Hitler's birth must have been like for his mother. Find a copy of this story on the internet and describe Hitler's mother's perspective of her son.

patriotism deep love of one's country

propaganda information provided in a selective way to promote a specific perspective

persecution any form of undeserved punishment

Hitler's Nazi ideology in Germany

Reaction to the Treaty of Versailles

At the time of Germany's surrender in World War I, Hitler was recovering in hospital from temporary blindness due to exposure to mustard gas. Given the fervour of his **patriotism**, Hitler was devastated when he heard the news of the Kaiser's abdication. He called the 1919 Treaty of Versailles a *diktat*, meaning a 'dictated peace' – one that Germany had never agreed to or accepted.

Rather than blame Germany's defeat on external factors such as poor military strategy, Hitler adopted the newly emerging theory of *Dolchstoßlegende*. This literally meant the 'Dagger stab legend' or the 'Stab-in-the-back myth'. The basis of this perspective was that Germany's defeat could be attributed to internal enemies. These varied enormously, ranging from the view that the 'home front' had collapsed (mostly blaming women) to the idea that communists or socialists in Germany had 'stabbed' the German soldiers in the back through revolution. One of the main proponents of this was the General Paul von Hindenburg, who did not give specifics when he first argued this viewpoint in 1919. Hindenburg, a prominent general in the German army in World War I and later the President of Germany during the Weimar Republic, was attempting to defend his own military record and deny that the German army had failed in World War I.

▼ **Source 4.20** Adolf Hitler at the Nazi Party's Nuremberg Rally, 1935

The concern as to whether the homeland would be resolute until the war was won never left us … At this time [towards the end of the war] the secret intentional mutilation of the fleet and the army began … An English general said with justice: 'The German army was stabbed in the back.' No guilt applies to the good core of the army. Its achievements are just as admirable as those of the officer corps.

Paul von Hindenburg, 18 November 1919

Hitler, who was obsessed with racial ideology and anti-Semitism, blamed 'the Jews' (people from any nation who followed the Jewish faith) and those under their influence. Hitler's **propaganda** and **persecution** of all enemies during his dictatorship was born from this ideology. The historian Ian Kershaw has noted that one of the points that was consistent from the start of Hitler's political career to its very end was 'anti-Semitism based on race theory'. The following section outlines how Adolf Hitler went from lying in a hospital bed in 1918 to becoming the Chancellor of Germany by 1933.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Nazi Party policies

Given the background of the losses in World War I, the weaknesses of the Weimar Constitution, the severe economic problems brought about by the Treaty of Versailles and the subsequent Dawes Plan to claim reparations, Hitler's Nazi Party offered hope. His policies appealed to a broad base of Germans because he appeared to offer solutions, although in practice much of his campaigning was negative – *against* the Treaty of Versailles, or *against* the new democratic parliament.

> *Of course, I was ripe for this experience. I was a man of 32, weary with disgust and disillusionment, a wanderer seeking a cause, a patriot seeking an outlet for his patriotism.*
>
> Karl Ludecke, an early follower of Hitler, 1924

Hitler's party offered hope for the German people through their specific vision for the future. The Nazis imagined that an ideal German society would be a ***Volksgemeinschaft*** – a 'people's community'. The *Volksgemeinschaft* would feature a unified and hierarchically organised militaristic population, and the interests of individuals would be strictly subordinated to those of the nation. To achieve this aim the Nazis implemented a policy known as ***Gleichschaltung*** to coordinate Germany's social and political reorganisation. In service of their vision, a common Nazi mantra declared that the people must put 'collective need ahead of individual greed' – a widespread sentiment in this era of economic and social hardship.

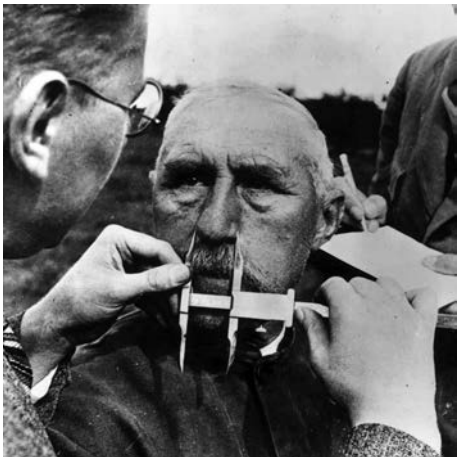
A key belief for the Nazis was racial purity – a nation of 'superior' people with Aryan blood, known as the ***Übermensch***, would populate the *Volksgemeinschaft*, free from genetically 'inferior' non-Aryans, known as the ***Untermensch***.

Volksgemeinschaft a people's community; this was the Nazis' overall vision for a unified, racially pure Germany

Gleichschaltung a policy introduced in Nazi Germany that involved the coordination of all aspects of society

Übermensch the German term for 'superior human' and used by the Nazis to describe Aryans

Untermensch the German term for 'inferior human' and used by the Nazis to describe non-Aryans



◄ **Source 4.21** *(Left)* A man having his nose measured during Aryan race determination tests under Nazi Germany's Nuremberg Laws that was applied to determine whether a person was considered a an *Übermensch* or an *Untermensch* 'Jew'. *(Right)* Hitler with a girl considered to be 'Aryan', 1937.

> *Every manifestation of human culture, every product of art, science, and technical skills, which we see before our eyes today, is almost exclusively the product of Aryan creative power.*
>
> Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1925

> *Hitler took over existing ideas and converted them into a comprehensive programme for a racial new order. Without doubt, racial anti-Semitism was the key element in a programme designed to achieve the 'recovery' of the 'Aryan Germanic race.' … The extermination of the Jews was crucial to these policies. In Hitler's mind they were not only 'racial aliens', but also a threat to his plans … They were both a 'lesser race' and one bent on destroying the 'racial properties' of Hitler's 'Aryans.' … The regime's 'national community' was ultimately based upon the exclusion and extermination of all those determined to be 'alien,' 'hereditarily ill,' or 'asocial' … The criteria [for the* Volksgemeinschaft*] included not merely 'racial purity' but also biological health and socio-economic performance.*
>
> Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State*, 1991

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

*[T]he vague (and ultimately also negative) 'idea' of the 'national community' (*Volksgemeinschaft*) … [and the] appeal before 1933 of the 'national community' slogan – symbolising the transcending of class, denominational, and political divisions through a new ethnic unity based on 'true' German values – is undeniable. Socially, it reflected not only the desire to banish the cancer of Marxism, but also to overcome the rigid immobility and sterility of the old social order by offering mobility and advancement through merit and achievement, not through inherited social rank and birthright. The mood of social protest was at its most radical … among young Germans, where the drive and [energy] of the Nazi movement held especial appeal.*

Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, 1989

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.7

The concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* was used heavily in Nazi rhetoric and propaganda in the 1920s and 1930s. After years of national shame, the Nazis offered a vision of a proud and unified Germany, and any political opponents were easily dismissed as unpatriotic.

1 Examine all three texts above. How was the '*Volksgemeinschaft*' defined by the Nazis?
2 According to Burleigh and Wippermann, what were some of the consequences of this for the population in Germany?
3 According to Kershaw, why was the idea of a 'national community' potentially an attractive idea?
4 In your view, was the *Volksgemeinschaft* mostly defined by key features or by groups that it opposed? You should use evidence to support your answer.
5 Compare the statements by Burleigh and Wippermann to those by Kershaw, and answer the question: how was the *Volksgemeinschaft* viewed at the time, and how do we view it now?

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.8

Hitler held loosely to formal political policies, mostly because he believed that it was necessary to try to appeal to as wide a range of people as possible. He was concerned that the Nazi Party might become too heterogeneous or diffuse if it did not have a core program, and the Nazis produced a 25-point program in 1920. Shown here is a selection of those points. Read them and then answer the questions that follow.

- *We demand the union of all Germans in a Greater Germany on the basis of the right of national self-determination.*
- *We demand equality of the German People with all other nations, and abolition of the Peace Treaty of Versailles.*
- *None but members of the nation may be citizens of the State. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation.*
- *Anyone who is not a citizen of the State may live in Germany only as a guest and must be regarded as being subject to the Alien laws.*
- *The right of voting on the leadership and legislation is to be enjoyed by the citizens of the State alone.*

continued…

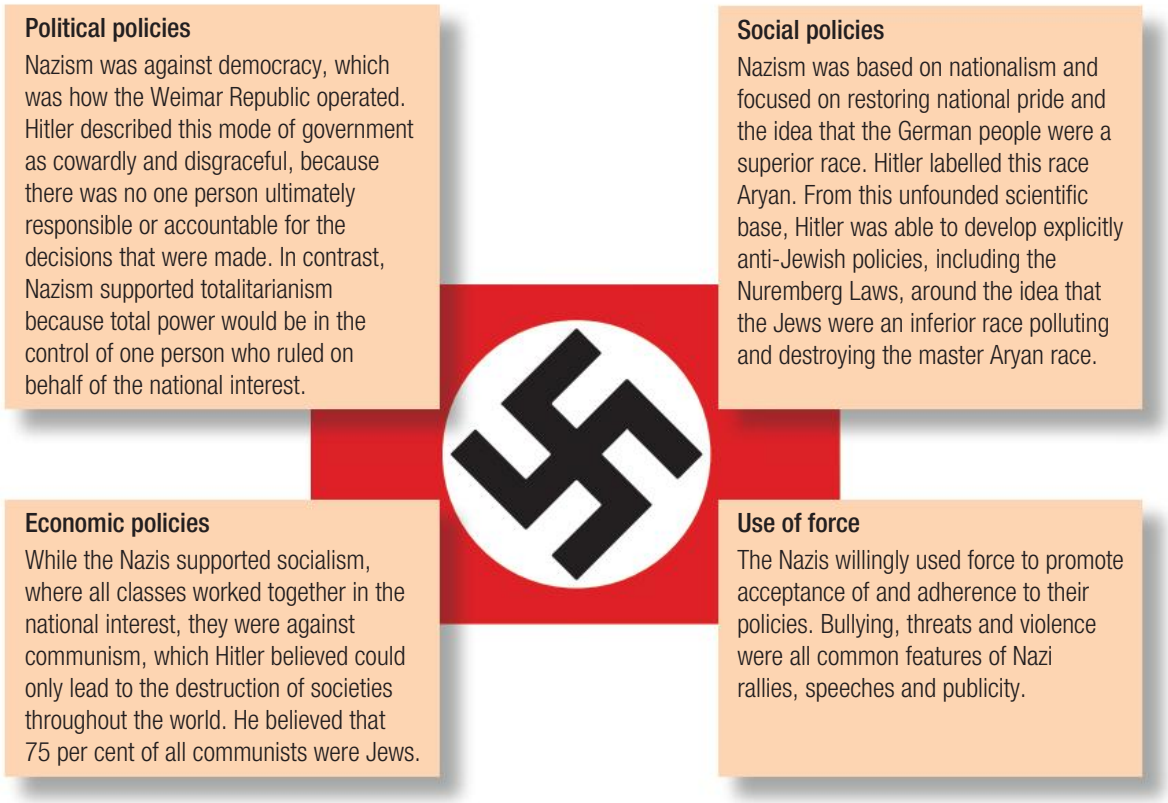
ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

…continued

- *All non-German immigration must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans … shall be required forthwith to depart from the Reich.*
- *It must be the first duty of every citizen to perform mental and physical work.*
- *We demand a fight against those whose activities harm the common good. Traitors, usurers, profiteers and the like … are to be punished by death.*
- *The State must take charge of a thorough extension of our entire national education system … to make it possible for every able and industrious German to obtain a higher education.*
- *The State must improve public health through protection of mother and child … by imposing a physical fitness program by means of establishing legal obligations in gymnastics and sport.*

Extracts from the NSDAP '25-point program', 1920

1 Summarise what the Nazis believed about immigration.
2 According to this document, what were the responsibilities of German citizens?
3 According to this document, what were the responsibilities of the state?
4 Who were the enemies of the Nazis that they wanted to fight against?
5 Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model (see Chapter 1, p. 12) in reference to the Nazis' 25-point program.



▲ **Source 4.22** The policies of Nazism

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTION 4.3

Talk the thought – the four Cs

This thinking routine provides a structure for rich discussion. In small groups, each person shares their response to the first 'C': 'Connections' in relation to the ideas of the Nazi Party. Then each member shares a 'Challenge', and so on.

- **Connections** – What connections do you draw between the ideas and your own life and/or other learning?
- **Challenge** – What ideas, perspectives or assumptions do you want to challenge or argue with?
- **Concepts** – What key concepts do you think are important and worth holding on to from the text?
- **Changes** – What changes in attitudes, thinking or action are suggested by the text?

Release from prison

Hitler attempted to overthrow the Weimar Government in 1923 in the infamous Beer Hall **Putsch** in Munich. While in Landsberg Prison for treason against the country, he read a lot and wrote his political autobiography, *Mein Kampf*, which means 'My Struggle'. The book is generally thought to be difficult to read due to a confusing style, repetition and inaccuracy. It is an important historical document, however, in which Hitler first articulated his political and racial ideologies about the threat posed to the superior Aryan race by Jews and communists.

putsch the attempt to overthrow a government illegally or by force; Hitler attempted this in 1923

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Hitler was very fortunate to have survived the failed putsch in 1923. The Nazi Party member standing next to Hitler was killed in the battle. Hitler either dropped to the ground, or he was possibly dragged down by the very person who had been shot (falling on him). Either way, with a dislocated shoulder, Hitler crawled to safety behind the nearest car.

When Hitler was released from prison in 1925, his tactics changed. He went from attempting to steal power through force and violence to obtaining legal victories through democratic elections, turning the disastrous conditions of the Weimar Constitution to his advantage. Germany's political and economic problems were brilliantly exploited by the Nazis.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

In prison, Hitler had few restrictions. He had lots of visitors, wore his own clothes and received numerous presents. Hitler was even allowed to dictate *Mein Kampf* to his close friend and fellow Nazi, Rudolf Hess, who had been imprisoned with him.

Hitler's charismatic oratory

Hitler worked tirelessly to promote his ideology, often making up to 10 speeches per day. In the early days, his main audience was the working class and students in beer halls, where it was quite usual for individuals to stand and have their say. Hitler exploited the potential of the radio as a vehicle for self-promotion. Like many powerful orators, Hitler followed a simple formula: routine, relevance and repetition.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Hitler was one of the first politicians to use an aeroplane, and he flew all over Germany to speak.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Routine

Hitler maintained a set routine when he spoke. He would often arrive late. When Hitler finally took the stage, the crowd was silent, fixated on his every word. He would begin to speak quietly and slowly at first, gradually building to a more passionate delivery complete with wild hand gestures. When Hitler finished he left the stage, refusing to be photographed, adding to the sense of mystery that surrounded him.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Hitler worked himself up into such a frenzy when he gave speeches that his eyes would bulge, his face would turn white and he would often spit all over the people in the front row!

▲ **Source 4.23** Hitler's rise to power was partly down to his skills as an orator. Here he is pictured making a speech in 1934.

Relevance

Hitler spoke about things that were relevant to the German people at that time. He directed his energy towards the economic and social problems caused by the War Guilt Clause of the Treaty of Versailles. He played on people's need to blame someone for these losses, and pointed the finger at Jews and communists. Hitler promised that his Nazi Party would solve these problems. In a climate of anxiety, he provided hope for a glorious German future. Given the weak political situation of the Weimar Republic, Hitler positioned himself as the one option to restore Germany's pride.

> *He was holding the masses and me with them under a hypnotic spell by the sheer force of his beliefs … I experienced an exultation that could be likened only to religious conversion.*
>
> Karl Ludecke, 1924

Repetition

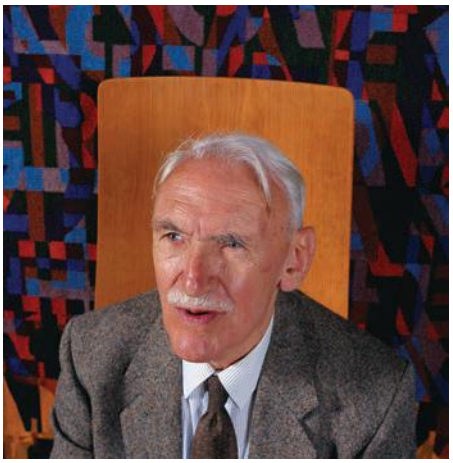
Hitler would repeat slogans and ideas, use simple concepts and speak in short sentences. This helped to reinforce his ideological message and broadened his appeal to many sections of society, from workers to business people. His main repeated topics were the importance of removing the humiliating conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, and the need to make Germany great again.

Historians' views

Alan Bullock was a British historian who wrote a biography entitled *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*. This book, published in 1952, was based on the transcripts from the **Nuremberg Trials**. In it, among other observations, Bullock explains the weaknesses and strengths of Hitler's speaking skills. In a comparable way, Primo Levi, a famous author who survived Auschwitz, discusses what he views as Hitler's great strength as a speaker.

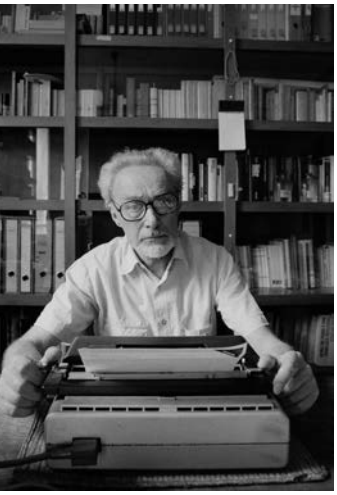
> *As an orator Hitler had obvious faults. The timbre of his voice was harsh, very different from the beautiful quality of Goebbels'. He spoke at too great length; was often repetitive and verbose; lacked lucidity and frequently lost himself in cloudy phrases. These shortcomings, however, mattered little beside the extraordinary impression of force, the immediacy of passion, the intensity of hatred, fury, and menace conveyed by the sound of the voice alone without regard to what he said.*
>
> Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, 1952

Nuremberg Trials held after World War II between 1945 and 1949 to prosecute the main leaders of the Nazi Party for war crimes



◀ **Source 4.24** Historian Alan Bullock, 1996

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲**Source 4.25** Primo Levi, survivor of Auschwitz and a noted historian, 1986

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see archival footage of a speech by Hitler.

Everybody must know, or remember, that Hitler and Mussolini, when they spoke in public, were believed, applauded, admired, adored like gods. They were 'charismatic leaders'; they possessed a secret power of seduction that did not proceed from the credibility or the soundness of the things they said, but from the suggestive way in which they said them … Since it is difficult to distinguish true prophets from false, it is well to regard all prophets with suspicion.

Primo Levi, from an interview in 1986

Use of force and fear

In addition to using his oratorical skills, Hitler attracted attention and then votes through the important role of the ***Sturmabteilung*** **(SA)**, which was the military wing of the Nazi Party. This group was also referred to as storm troopers or Brownshirts because of their brown uniform. Hitler was easily able to recruit unemployed men to the SA, who helped him create a climate of fear, intimidation and violence in German cities.

As a member of the storm troop of the NSDAP [National Socialist German Workers' Party] I pledge myself by its flag; to be always ready to stake life and limb in the struggle for the aims of the movement; to give absolute military obedience to my military superiors and leaders; to bear myself honorably in and out of service; to be always companionable towards other comrades for 1000 years.

SA Oath, 1921

▲**Source 4.26** Nazi leader Adolf Hitler taking the salute as *Sturmabteilung* paramilitaries march past in the Weimar market square, 13 November 1930

Sturmabteilung **(SA)** the original paramilitary wing of the Nazi Party

The Great Depression

Germany was ravaged by economic problems in the 1920s as a result of the Dawes Plan to recuperate the reparations owed after World War I. These woes were made worse by the start of the Great Depression in 1929. These all combined to cause two major economic issues.

The problem of inflation

Inflation occurs when money loses its value because prices rise dramatically. This occurred at a phenomenal rate in Germany between 1922 and 1923. This hyperinflation occurred for a variety of reasons, including the government printing more and more money to pay striking workers in the French-occupied Ruhr region. This is a point where political issues and problems arising from the war reparations began to have a severe impact on the German economy. Because some key territories had been lost as part of the Treaty of Versailles, the actual industrial capability of Germany had been substantially reduced. This meant that both industrial production and grain production were around half of what they had been in Germany before 1914. The only real solution that presented itself to successive German governments was to seek to reorganise debt, and to try to either avoid reparations payments or ensure that they could be paid over a much longer period. When the German government failed to deliver coal from the Ruhr region to France and Belgium, as was required under the terms of Versailles, it led to French forces invading and occupying this region from 1923 to 1925. The intention was to force Germany to meet its commitments, although in practice it led to passive resistance and strikes in the Ruhr. All of this led to inflation in Germany. German money

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

became worthless and depreciated in value against the US dollar. While the middle classes lost their savings, which became worthless as the monetary value changed rapidly, the hardest hit were the poor, young, old and sick. Stories were common of families burning money to keep warm, robbers stealing food but leaving bags of cash, and children using bundled notes as building blocks.

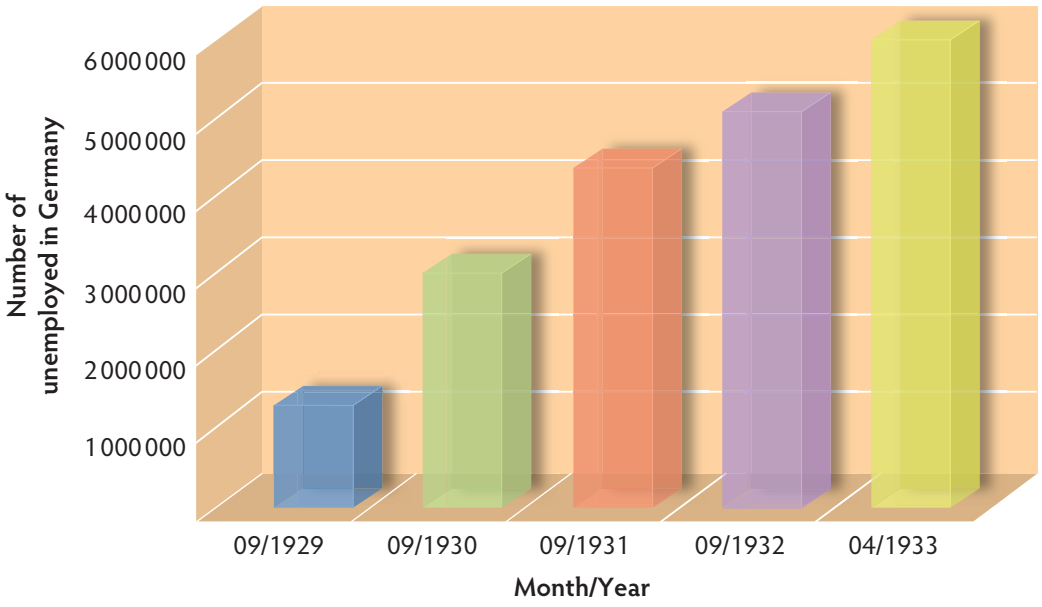
> *Money lost its meaning almost completely. Printing presses were unable to keep up with the need to produce banknotes of ever more astronomical denominations … The most dramatic and serious effects were on the price of food. A woman sitting down in a café might order a cup of coffee for 5000 marks and be asked to give the waiter 8000 for it when she got up to pay an hour later. A kilo of rye bread, that staple of the German daily diet, cost 163 marks on 3 January 1923, more than ten times that amount in July, 9 million marks by 1 October, 78 billion marks on 5 November and 233 billion marks a fortnight later, on 19 November … [C]rowds began to riot and loot food shops. Gunfights broke out … The threat of starvation, particularly in the area occupied by the French, where passive resistance was crippling the transport networks, was very real.*
>
> Richard Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, 2004

▲Source 4.27 Children using worthless banknotes as building blocks

The hyperinflation crisis of Germany did finally end in 1923, largely owing to the efforts of the German Chancellor Gustav Stresemann, who negotiated with foreign powers to assure them that the reparations payments would be met, and called off the strike in the Ruhr region. In addition, Stresemann and the head of the national bank began to issue new currency to replace the now worthless marks. By doing this, Stresemann managed to create some certainty in Germany, and stabilise the economy. However, as Germany began to slowly recover it was hit by another economic crisis.

The problem of unemployment

Due to massive panic selling of shares in October 1929, the Wall Street stock market in the United States collapsed. This had disastrous effects throughout the Western world, specifically with regard to unemployment, as any loans to the United States were required to be paid immediately and many companies were closed. High unemployment made many Germans desperate for change by 1933.



◄Source 4.28 Unemployment in Germany, 1929–33

Figures cited in SM Harrison, *World Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, Macmillian, 1987, p. 69

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Election results

The Nazis considerably improved their political standing in official elections from 1928, making use of a democratic system that they would later go on to crush. Heinrich Brüning, who served as Chancellor from 1930 to 1932, stopped payments to unemployment insurance to attempt to cut government expenditure, which only worsened the crisis for workers. During this period, a significant shift occurred – the working and middle classes, capitalists and landowners turned their support from the conservative government to the alternatives offered by the radical Nazi Party or the Communist Party. This was often out of desperation.

▼**Source 4.29** Political standing of the Nazi Party in official elections

Date	Seats won in the Reichstag by Nazis	Nazi Party position
1928	12	9th
1930	107	2nd
1932 (July)	230	1st
1932 (November)	196	1st

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.9

In this extract, Hans Ostwald tries to summarise the full impact of changes that he believed had occurred during this period of time:

Thinking back on the inflationary years an extravagant image of a hellish carnival appears before the eyes: plunderings and riots, demonstrations and confrontations, profiteering and smuggling, agonizing hunger and gluttonous feasts, sudden impoverishment and rapid enrichment, debauched, maniacal dancing, the horrific misery of children, naked dances, currency conjurers, hoarders of real value, amusement ecstasy – indulgence, materialist worldviews and religious decline, flourishing occultism and clairvoyance – gambling passion, speculation frenzy, an epidemic of divorce, women's independence, the early maturity of youth, Quaker food, student aid, raids and profiteering trials, jazz bands, narcotics … It was a time of intense revaluation – in the economy and culture, in material as well as psychological things. Rich people who could have afforded all the pleasures in the world were suddenly glad to have someone hand them a bowl of warm soup. Overnight little apprentices became powerful bank directors and possessed seemingly inexhaustible funds [as currency manipulation could also allow people to make remarkable profits] … Everything seemed reversed.

The family, too, seemed to be in rapid decline. An ecstasy of eroticism cast the world into chaos. Many things that otherwise took place in secret appeared openly in the bright light of the public stage. Above all it was the women who in many respects completely transformed themselves. They asserted their demands, particularly their sexual demands, much more clearly. In every conceivable way they intensified their claim to the rights of life and a full range of experience. … If during the war women were forced to take over many male jobs, they did not allow themselves afterward to be pushed quite all the way back into the home. That had its effect on relations between the sexes as well. And, as the last stage of development, there arose the female bachelor, the woman in charge of her own life, whether unmarried, divorced, or widowed.

Hans Ostwald, 1931

1 Using this extract, what does Ostwald see as probably the greatest transformation brought about in the 'Weimar' era through the period of hyperinflation? You should justify your response with clear evidence.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Hitler allegedly received political donations from some of Germany's most powerful business leaders, including Hjalmar Schacht, the Head of the Reichsbank, but at the same time his party was often rejected by upper-class or wealthy business leaders, because they thought it was socialist.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.10

Why did the Nazi Party win seats in elections?

The majority of Germans never voted for the Nazis. The Nazis made it clear that they would destroy democracy and all who stood in their way. Why then didn't their enemies join together to stop Hitler? ... Had the Communists and Socialists joined forces they would probably have been strong enough both in the Reichstag and on the streets to have blocked the Nazis. The fact was that by 1932–33 there were simply not enough Germans who believed in democracy and individual freedom to save the Weimar Republic.

S. Williams, *The Rise and Fall of Hitler's Germany*, 1986

1 List the two things that the author believes the Nazis would destroy.

2 List the two reasons the author uses to explain why the Nazis were not stopped.

Hitler is appointed Chancellor

The president was the most powerful man in Weimar Germany. As head of state, he was elected for a term of seven years and had the power to select a Chancellor, as long as this person had majority support within the Reichstag (Parliament). Paul von Hindenburg, the Supreme Commander of the entire German army in World War I, had been president since 1925, despite being over 80 years old.

A complicated series of political manoeuvres and elections in 1932 created significant instability. Although he had once promised never to appoint Hitler as Chancellor, von Hindenburg came to believe that he could control him better if he was in office. Hindenburg succumbed to pressure from senior politicians and Hitler was appointed Chancellor on 30 January 1933. (More on this in the next chapter!)

◀ **Source 4.30** President von Hindenburg, posing in uniform in 1915

FOCUS QUESTION 4.4

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Why was Hitler such a powerful leader?'** A student responds. The teacher or partner then asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

4.5 Understanding how leaders rose to power

History contains lots of facts for analysis and interpretation. Learning some tricks to remember this information is important. This section uses an acrostic in which each letter of the key word forms the first letter of another word or phrase. The key word used here is POWER to help you remember how and why each leader gained power in his respective country.

P Politics

R Revolutions

O Oratory

E Economy

W Workers

Acronym	Meaning	Summary
P	Politics	Each leader rose to power against a backdrop of a weak and unstable political situation: ▪ Russia – failing government under Tsar Nicholas II ▪ Italy – five governments from 1919 to 1922 ▪ Germany – weak Weimar Republic after World War I.
O	Oratory	Each leader was an incredibly charismatic and gifted speaker who could inspire, or manipulate, the hearts and minds of his listeners. Each used the successful formula of routine, relevance and repetition.
W	Workers	Each leader focused his political attention on the working classes and promised them better conditions. Each promised to restore the nation's pride.
E	Economy	Each leader promised to address and fix the major economic problems, such as unemployment, caused by a combination of World War I and the Great Depression.
R	Revolution	Each leader coordinated a revolution where his beliefs and political party became the dominant ideology: ▪ Lenin seized power in October 1917. ▪ Mussolini was granted permission to form a government in 1922. ▪ President Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor in 1933.

▲ **Source 4.31** Using the acrostic POWER to help you remember how each leader came to power

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

THE STORY SO FAR

- *Communist ideology in Lenin's Russia:* The ideology of communism was consolidated through Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' publication of *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848. It gained many radical followers, including Vladimir Lenin. The February Revolution of 1917 witnessed the forced abdication of Tsar Nicholas II. His replacement, the Provisional Government, was then overthrown by Lenin in October 1917 and he subsequently introduced communism as Russia's official ideology.
- *Fascist ideology in Mussolini's Italy:* Mussolini capitalised on the political instability of five failed governments in three years, being granted the opportunity by the Italian king to form a government in 1922. Mussolini's National Fascist Party changed political laws to minimise parliamentary influence and, combined with tactics of force and intimidation, this resulted in him declaring himself Il Duce, or the totalitarian leader, by 1925. The symbol of fascism, the Roman fasces, was proven true: strength through unity and violence.
- *Nazi ideology in Hitler's Germany:* The Treaty of Versailles aroused significant resentment in the German people, made worse by the resulting economic hardships. Against this backdrop of instability, Adolf Hitler's newly founded Nazi Party gained popularity, with Hitler speaking passionately about the problems Germany faced and offering the promise of a glorious future for the nation. Hitler coupled his leadership appeal with strategies of violence and intimidation of opposition parties and leaders, using the Nazi Party's personal police force, the *Sturmabteilung* (SA). In January 1933, Hitler gained official political power when he was selected by President Hindenburg to be the new Chancellor of Germany.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 Explain each of the ideologies on the political spectrum – communism, fascism and Nazism.

2 What were the ideologies of socialism and communism and how were they adopted by Vladimir Lenin in Russia?

3 What was the ideology of fascism and how was it adopted by Benito Mussolini in Italy?

4 What was the ideology of Nazism and how was it adopted by Adolf Hitler in Germany?

Analysing historical sources as evidence

British historian Alan Bullock wrote an influential biography of Adolf Hitler in 1952 called *Hitler:* A *Study in Tyranny*, published a mere seven years after the Nazi regime was defeated. In the following extract, Bullock explains why Hitler won so many votes from the common people.

> *The foundation of Hitler's success was his energy and ability as a political leader … Hitler's genius as a politician lay in his unequalled grasp of what could be done by propaganda and his flair for seeing how to do it. He had to learn in a hard school, on his feet night after night, arguing his case in every kind of hall, from the smoke-filled back room of a beer-cellar to the huge auditorium of the Zirkus Krone; often, in the early days, in the face of opposition, indifference or amused contempt; learning to hold his audiences, finding the sensitive spots on which to hammer. 'He could play like a virtuoso on the well-tempered piano of lower middle-class hearts,' says Dr Schacht.*

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Behind that virtuosity lay years of experience as an agitator and mob orator. Hitler came to know Germany and the German people at first hand as few of Germany's other leaders ever had. By the time he came to power in 1933 there were few towns of any size in the Reich where he had not spoken. Here was one great advantage Hitler had over nearly all the politicians with whom he had to deal, his immense practical experience of politics, not in the Chancellery or the Reichstag but in the street, the level at which elections are won, the level at which any politician must be effective if he is to carry a mass vote with him.

Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, 1952, pp. 62–4

1 List three examples that Bullock uses to explain Hitler's success.

2 According to Bullock, what advantage did Hitler have over nearly every other politician?

3 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the type of policies that Hitler spoke about.

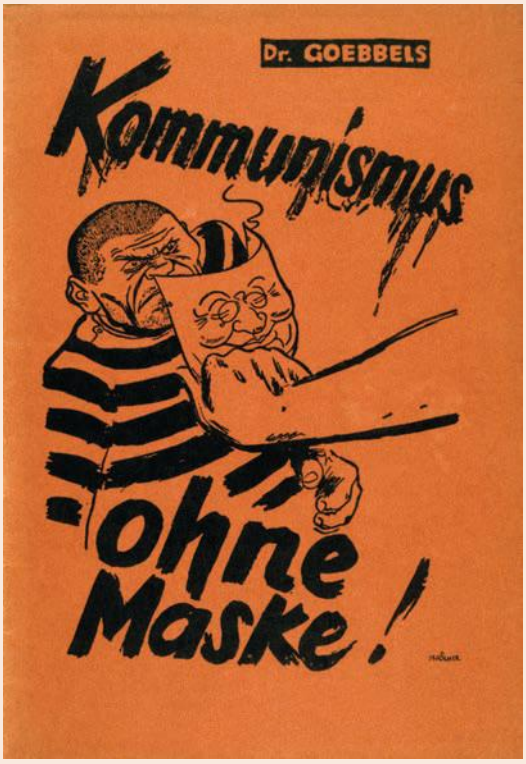
4 Using this extract and your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Bullock's point of view.

Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement about political ideology: *The ideologies of fascism and Nazism can be more easily defined by what they opposed than by what they proposed.*

Use information from this chapter to form an argument that is supported with evidence.

- To answer this question you will need to be able to define both fascism and Nazism. Both have significant similarities, such as a dominant leader.
- Make a list of what fascism and Nazism *oppose*, such as communism. What are some other examples?
- Make a list of what fascism and Nazism *propose*, such as strong nationalism. What are some other examples?
- Compare your two lists. Which is longer, or has the more powerful elements?
- What is your argument? Do you believe that these two ideologies can best be explained and understood by their negative beliefs?



◄ **Source 4.32** The front page of the anti-communist brochure 'Communism unmasked' from 1935, designed by Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels

Analysing historical sources as evidence: the intersection of ideologies

In this period of time, ideologies also 'intersected'. They were not separate, but both existed as key revolutionary forces in places like Germany. Marxists were well aware of the threat posed by the National Socialists or fascists, while Hitler viewed communism (though he most often spoke of 'Bolshevism') as both a key threat and a 'bogeyman' that he could use to gain support for the Nazi Party.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

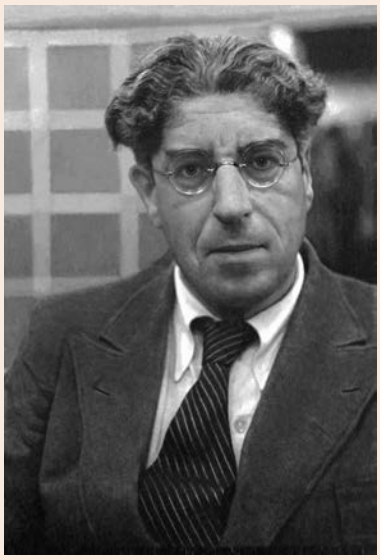
Hitler, in an interview with *The Times* in 1930, said this about communism:

> *If economic developments continued as at present, before the winter was out Germany would be like a powder barrel that a single spark could set off. The Middle parties in the Reichstag would be hopelessly split, and the world would have the choice between a Bolshevist Germany and a National-Socialist Germany. A Bolshevist Germany would repudiate everything – Reparation debts and private obligations too. Those who, with a helpless shrug of the shoulders, had signed the Treaty of Versailles and the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan had been giving bad cheques. A National-Socialist Germany would never sign cheques it could not honour. It would not make the political payments, because it would not honestly be able to; but, like any honest merchant, it would honour all obligations to repay private foreign loans and investments. If the world insisted on the political payments being made, then Germany would go under. The Bolshevization of Russia had already given the civilized world a jolt; if Germany became an annex of Bolshevist Russia, Western civilization would get a much worse and probably fatal jolt. Even Oswald Spengler, who had at least given the decline of Western civilization 300 years to complete itself, would then prove to have been an optimist.*

▲**Source 4.33** Hitler, circa 1930

Ernst Bloch, who was a self-described Marxist, wrote on the threat of National Socialism in 1924:

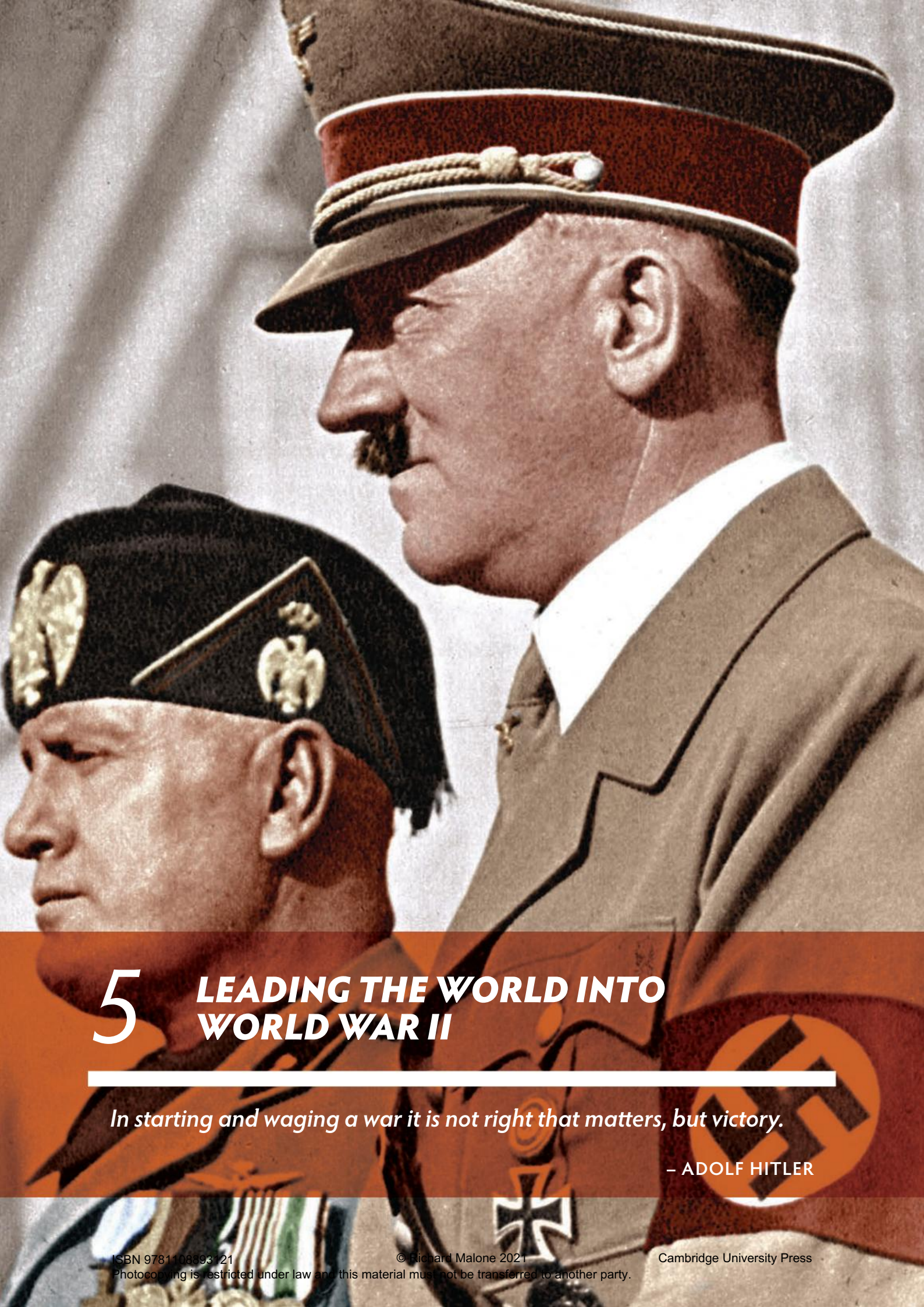
> *At first we coldly ignored it. Shrugged our shoulders at the malicious pack that crawled forth. At the red posters with the drivelling sentences, but the knuckledusters behind them. … [The] extent to which Hitler has young people on his side should not be underrated. We should not underestimate our opponent but realise what is a psychological force for so many and inspires them. From this standpoint various connections with left-wing radicalism become clear, those of a demagogic, formal kind, if not with regard to content. Through this affinity (mostly only an opportunistic copy of socialism …) changing banners [from communism to Nazism] was made all that much easier for the Bavarian rabble. Among the Communists as among the National Socialists an appeal is made to able-bodied youth; in both cases the capitalist, parliamentary state is rejected, in both cases a dictatorship of obedience and command, the virtue of decision, is demanded instead of the cowardly acts of the [middle class], this eternally discussing class. It is above all the type of Hitler and of those who follow his example, who are in psychological terms strongly revolutionary.*
>
> *The Weimar Sourcebook*, pp. 147–8



▲**Source 4.34** Ernst Bloch, pictured around 1935

1. Read Hitler's extract. How does he compare a 'Bolshevist' or communist Germany with a 'National Socialist Germany'? What does he see as the main threat of a 'Bolshevist' Germany?
2. In his interview with *The Times* (a London newspaper) why might Hitler emphasise reparations?
3. Why does Ernst Bloch see Nazism as a threat?
4. Read Bloch's extract carefully. What points does he find in common between Nazism and communism?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



5 LEADING THE WORLD INTO WORLD WAR II

In starting and waging a war it is not right that matters, but victory.

– ADOLF HITLER

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.
Cambridge University Press

Overview

The economic and political instability of the period between the two world wars, largely influenced by the impact of the Treaty of Versailles and the Great Depression, provided a basis for the subsequent rise of authoritarian regimes. Added to this, the League of Nations was an organisation that failed to act adequately during the political crises of the period.

Hitler's and Mussolini's political fortunes were similar. Once they had gained a foothold on leadership – Mussolini from 1922 and Hitler from 1933 – they not only cemented their power but also rapidly expanded it. Their decisions were characterised by ruthless ambition and supported through their willingness to create not only a climate of fear but also a sense of energy and rapid change or 'rebirth'. The historian Detlev Peukert noted that groups like the Italian Fascists or German Nazis created a sense of 'perpetual motion'. In a time when society felt chaotic or potentially stagnant, this perceived 'surge' of activity could prove to be deeply attractive to people who felt disillusioned with the existing structures of society.

This chapter explains how Mussolini and Hitler were able to gain total control of their countries, which then enacted the steps that led to another world war. Japan also played a key role in establishing a dominant military that made aggressive moves in its region, resulting in an alliance with Italy and Germany by 1936. In particular, Hitler's political and territorial aggression and breaking of the conditions of the Versailles Treaty were unable to be stopped by Great Britain and France.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- Why did the League of Nations fail to achieve its aims of peace and disarmament?
- How did Mussolini justify change in Fascist Italy?
- How did Hitler justify change in Nazi Germany?
- How did military leaders justify change in Japan?
- Why wasn't war stopped by Britain and France?

Digital resources for this chapter

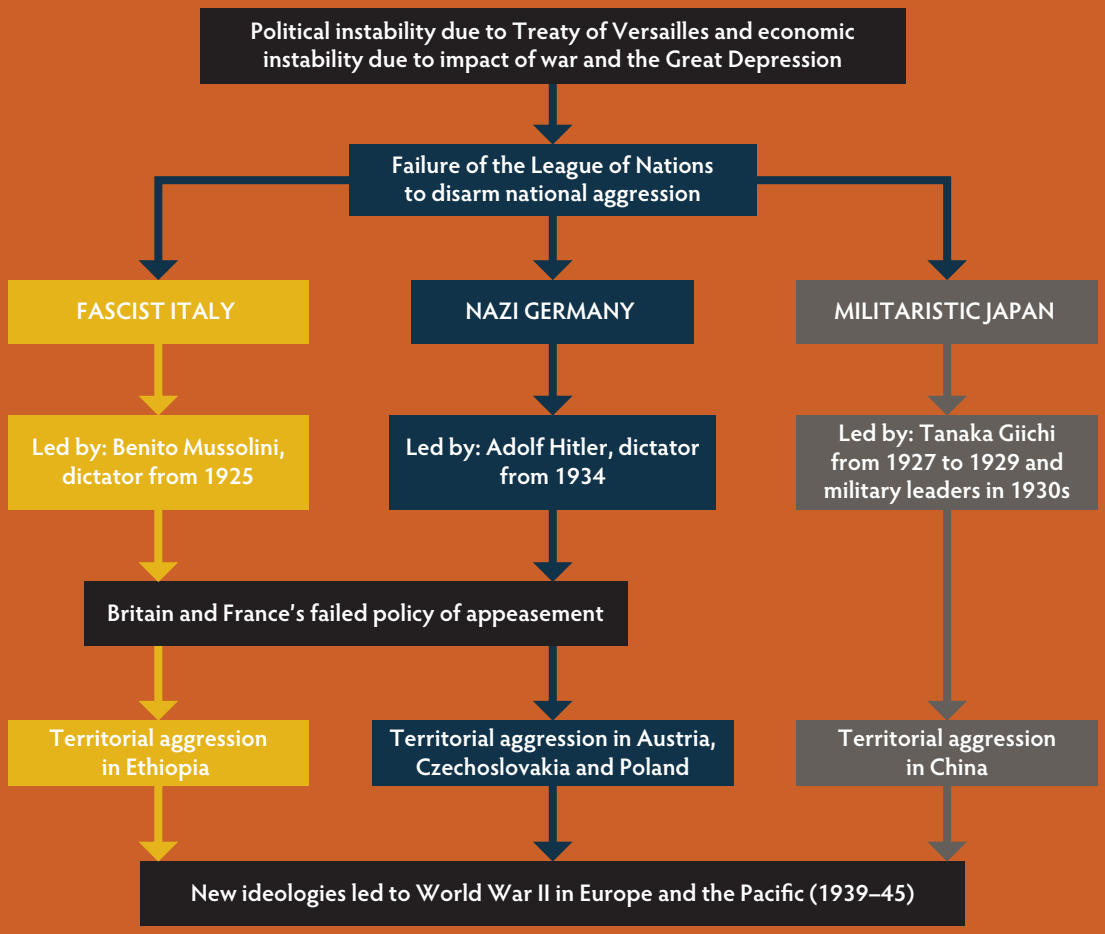
In the *Interactive Textbook*:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◀ **Source 5.0** Fascist Italy's Benito Mussolini and Nazi Germany's Adolf Hitler

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

1931
Japan invades Manchuria

1933
Japan withdraws from the League of Nations

1933
30 JANUARY
Hitler becomes German Chancellor

1933
FEBRUARY
Reichstag fire and Emergency Decree

1933
MARCH
Enabling Act

1934
JUNE
Night of the Long Knives

1935
First political prisoners sent to the first German concentration camp, at Dachau

1937
Japan invades China

1938
SEPTEMBER
Munich Agreement

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

5.1 The failure of the League of Nations

The League of Nations was totally inadequate during the 1930s as international conflicts increased in depth and breadth. For example, neither Japanese aggression in Manchuria nor Nazi Germany's territorial expansion were stopped. So why did the League of Nations fail to achieve its initial goals of international peace and disarmament? The simplistic answer is that the League was the defender of the status quo, which was the Treaty of Versailles. The historian Maurice Vaïsse (1993) provides a more detailed analysis of the failures of the League of Nations.

1 It failed because it was an imperfect instrument for achieving disarmament.
2 It failed because the League was not universal – it did not include Germany and Japan.
3 It failed because of the confrontation between Great Britain and France.
4 It failed because there were domestic forces inside the countries hostile to disarmament.
5 It failed because the 1933 Disarmament Conference was convened too late, under hostile conditions.
6 It failed because of the confrontation between France and Germany at the Disarmament Conference in 1933.
7 It failed because of its overly ambitious aims and the practical problems involved in the reduction of armaments.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.1

Which of Maurice Vaïsse's reasons for the failure of the League of Nations do you consider to be the most damaging? Explain why.

In 2010, Stephen McGlinchey wrote an article called 'E.H. Carr and the Failure of the League of Nations'. McGlinchey, an author and senior lecturer in international relations at the University of the West of England, Bristol, analysed historical debate over the failures of the League of Nations in the 1930s. Here is an extract of his concluding thoughts.

> *It is a major school of thought that gave birth to the philosophy of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, an idealistic view of a future that involves the nations of the world working together rather than being at perpetual war with one another. In the context of the peace settlement of the First World War, it is perfectly understandable that commentators would be swept up in the utopian visions espoused by the elite statesmen of the day. It was no doubt seen as a duty, an investment, to promote these ideals, as the horrors of another great war were too gruesome to be repeated. Of course, this is a noble outlook, but the dose of reality that E.H. Carr dealt to the idealists was significant and timely. It was blatantly obvious to Carr, and to the historians looking back on the events, predominantly of the 1930s, that the League was failing and the march to a serious conflict was underway. The work of Carr is not as it first appears bitter and negative. Carr wishes himself for a successful League of Peace and a future without war and conflict, but recognises that 'those elegant structures must wait until some progress has been made in digging the foundations'. The League was doomed to fail simply because it was a noble idea that was hatched too soon. There were simply too many major problems and grievances left unresolved. Furthermore, the status quo that the League presided over was seen as greatly unfair to many nations, such as Germany and Japan. It is intriguing that this was only seen clearly with the benefit of hindsight (with the exception of Carr). Perhaps the optimism of the League in the interwar years was itself a symptom of the very idealism that Carr bemoaned – an optimism that maintained faith in the League despite its deep flaws and continued inept performance – as the alternative to its failure was too desperate to contemplate.*
>
> McGlinchey, S., 'E.H. Carr and the Failure of the League of Nations', 2010

▼**Source 5.1** The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 is recognised as one of the largest failures of the League of Nations and led to Japan's withdrawal from the League.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.2

1 In the extract from Stephen McGlinchey's article, what was the author's criticism in the first three sentences regarding why the League of Nations was initially established?
2 What do you think the author meant by this sentence: 'The League was doomed to fail simply because it was a noble idea that was hatched too soon'?
3 List two phrases used by the author to describe the League of Nations.
4 E.H. Carr was a famous historian. Research and write a paragraph about him.

5.2 Mussolini's aggression in Fascist Italy

Establishing dictatorship

From 1925 onwards, Mussolini transformed Italy into a one-party state. His National Fascist Party (PNF) was dominant.

Opposition parties abolished

In 1926 all opposition parties were abolished. Special courts were created to try, convict and persecute any political opposition. Socialist leaders Giacomo Matteotti and Giovanni Amendola were both beaten to death. Independent unions were also abolished and strict censorship was imposed on the press. Mussolini developed control over what people saw and heard.

▲ **Source 5.2** Mussolini giving a speech, 1920s

Parliament replaced

The powers of the Italian Parliament were severely limited and then eventually replaced by the National Council of Corporations. Twenty-two corporate bodies were created, each of which controlled a variety of social and interest groups – from businesspeople to farmers – with the aims of achieving harmony in society and promoting coordinated development of the nation. In reality, this was detrimental to workers, whose rights became severely limited; for example, the right to strike was removed. By 1930, workers' wages had dropped to below 1922 levels as the hardships of the Great Depression were realised.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.3

What are some of the problems caused by not having an elected parliament?

Creation of a strong police force

Mussolini's control over the Italian populace had spread incredibly quickly – through both inspiration and persecution – to the point where he reduced his active and public use of violence from late 1926 onwards. Use of force re-emerged from 1935 as the nation prepared for war.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.4

Consider the role of religion in society. Why is religion an important aspect of everyday life for many people?

Unity with the Pope and Roman Catholic church

The Lateran Accords were created in 1929. These Accords established peace between the government and the papacy in Rome for the first time since Italy became one unified state (1871). The Pope was given control over Vatican City, and Roman Catholicism was established as the state religion throughout Italy. In return, the Pope gave up control over the former Papal States. Mussolini ultimately used religion as a tool to manipulate public opinion by combining religious symbols and mythology into his fascist policies.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Use of state propaganda

Government propaganda encouraged party membership. Mussolini also attempted to mould national culture by using propaganda to encourage larger families and physical fitness. The wearing of black shirts became popular to signify one's loyalty to the new regime. Significantly, propaganda promoted the benefits of fascism and the success of fascist ideas. Mussolini provided dreams of greatness in his promotion of a return to the glory days of ancient Rome, when Italy dominated Western Europe through the conquests of powerful leaders such as Julius Caesar and Caesar Augustus. Italian nationalism was emphasised as the core method of reinventing Rome's greatness and achieving its imperial destiny.

▶ **Source 5.3** Fascist propaganda portraying Mussolini as a strong man – in this case a soldier

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Mussolini's actual understanding of Roman history has been challenged, and many classicists believe that he wanted to create a 'myth' of what he perceived Rome to have been.

A scepticism arose [in postwar Italy] which not only influenced people's views of the present, but also those of the past. A need for simplified history, for simple stories, was voiced. Mussolini, himself a veteran of the Great War, was no exception to this enthusiasm for oversimplification. He thought of history in largely mythical terms, as did in fact most of the intellectuals just before and under Fascist rule. His knowledge of classical Rome was very narrow … Although his erudition in the matter was thus not really extensive, Roman history was always present in the background and was considered a direct and privileged heritage of Italy: 'For the Italian people all is eternal and contemporary. For us it is as if Caesar was stabbed just yesterday. It is something proper to the Italian people, something which no other people have to the same extent.' [quoting Mussolini] … As a Fascist, Mussolini struck a clearly imperial note from the very beginning of his career, arguing that – as was the case in classical antiquity – Italy has to return to the sea … 'The Roman arch, symbol of eternal Rome, is your mark … In all of Europe the Latin genius has left its mark, has built its arches, is able to rule the mountains, indestructible and eternal symbols of triumphant Latinism.' [quoting Mussolini]

Jan Nelis, 2007

Using the source text, answer the following questions:

1. How does Nelis depict Mussolini's understanding of Ancient Rome?
2. Why is it argued that 'myths' or simplified stories were seen as more relevant than history?
3. Using the quoted sections from Mussolini, how does he use the idea of Ancient Rome to promote his own ideas? What are these ideas?
4. Why might it be important to study history, and what does the simplified use of history tell us about the rise of groups like the Fascists?

Implementation of anti-Semitism

Mussolini also promoted anti-Semitism against the 50 000 Jews who lived in Italy in the 1930s. Although death camps to exterminate Jews were not established as was the case in Germany and Poland, Jews were excluded from significant roles in Italian society such as teaching, the military and politics. Eight thousand Italian Jews died in German concentration camps, but 75 per cent of Italian Jews survived the war, which was significantly higher than in many other European countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Territorial aggression

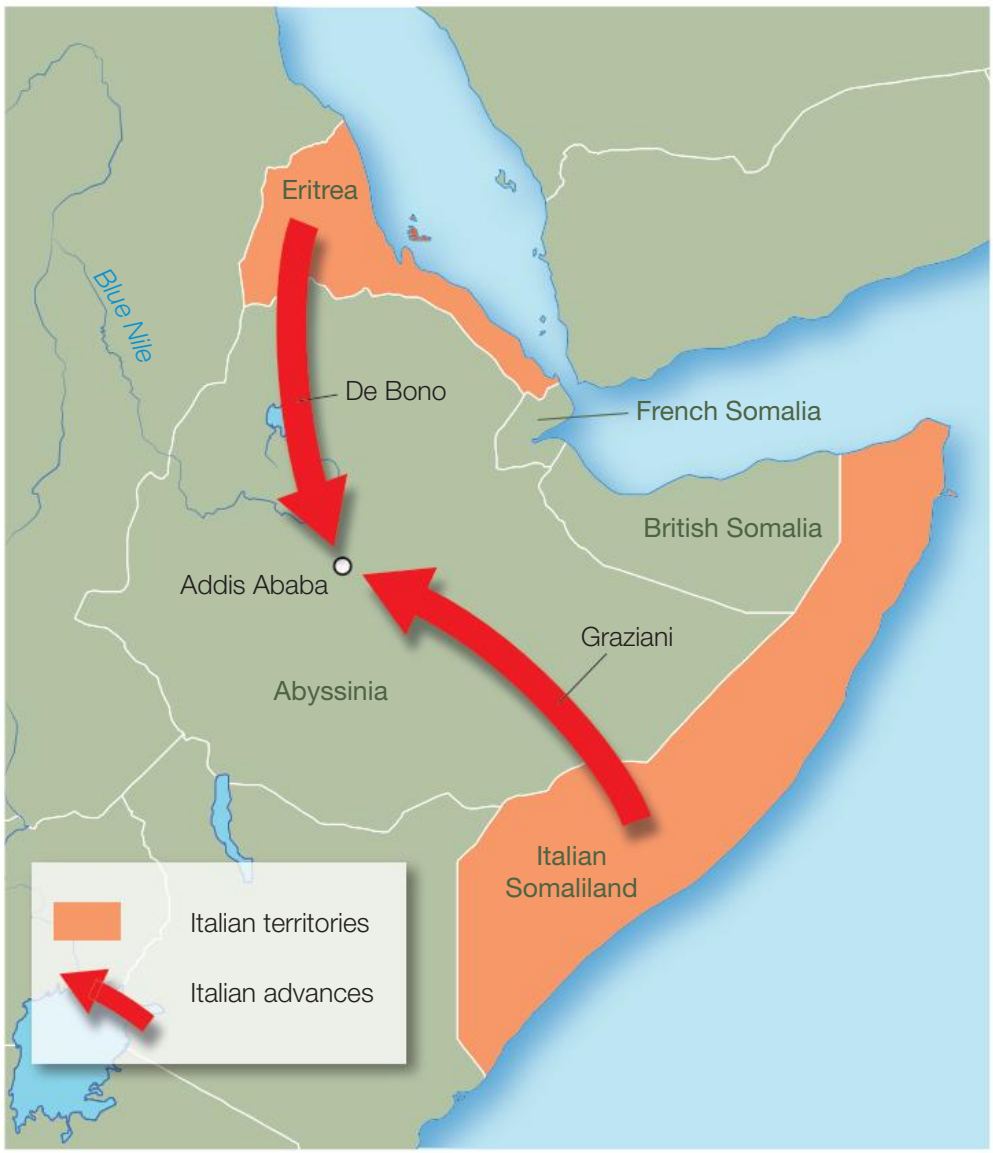
Italy's most significant act of expansion was the 1935 invasion and defeat of Abyssinia (today called Ethiopia). This was the second time that Italy had invaded Ethiopia, the first being in 1895–96 when Ethiopia became the first African country to defeat an invading European force. Contradictorily, Italy had supported Ethiopia's application to join the League of Nations.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.5

Research Italy's invasion of Ethiopia. From a military perspective, how did Italy defeat Ethiopia?

►**Source 5.4** Italian troops in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) celebrate a military victory in this Italian postcard image from 1936.

▼**Source 5.5** Italy invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935 from both Eritrea and Italian Somaliland.



ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Italy had signed a treaty of friendship with Abyssinia only six years before it invaded.

Analysing the invasion of Ethiopia

The Second Italo-Ethiopian war (also called the Second Italo-Abyssinian War) showed the futility of the League of Nations as an international justice and peacekeeping body. After Italy's invasion, the League of Nations declared and condemned Italy as the aggressor and began to initiate sanctions. Initially, the League of Nations attempted to stop the flow of all goods to Italy. Critically, the sanctions excluded pig iron, steel and oil, the three chief supply necessities for running a war. The significant conclusion was that the League of Nations had no weight in the European world and had no ability to discourage the emerging superpowers in Europe from doing as they pleased.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.6

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'What's going on in Italy in the 1920s and 1930s?'** The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what have you read that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the information read so far.

Mussolini's impact on Adolf Hitler

Mussolini became a role model for the emerging leadership of Adolf Hitler in Germany. Hitler was impressed by Mussolini's adherence to fascism, disregard for an elected parliament, powerful use of propaganda, willing use of violence, establishment of a dominant police force and abolition of political opposition.

▲**Source 5.6** Hitler and Mussolini in Venice, Italy in 1934

Use all the information about Mussolini's Italy in the chapter so far to complete a crossword puzzle. Visit the Interactive Textbook to download and print the crossword.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

5.3 Hitler's aggression in Nazi Germany

How did Hitler become dictator of Nazi Germany?

Hitler's rise to power from Chancellor to dictator was incredibly swift due to a series of clever policies and political events. Through each event and policy Hitler gradually positioned himself as the strong dictator that Germany had wished for since the failed Weimar Republic. This was underpinned by the use of force and violence to establish his hold on power. The following series of events was crucial because Hitler needed to gain total power and eliminate internal enemies before he could commence rebuilding Germany in his own way.

▲ **Source 5.7** Portrait of Adolf Hitler, 1933

Political laws changed

Reichstag fire, February 1933

Within four weeks of becoming Chancellor, while Germany was preparing for elections in March, a dramatic event occurred. The Reichstag, which was the German Parliament building, was burnt down overnight on 27 February 1933. Hitler used this event as an opportunity to claim that a communist plot to undermine Germany was being planned. He acted quickly to capitalise on this 'disaster' by increasing his power by officially implementing an Emergency Decree and an ***Enabling Act***.

Enabling Act an emergency decree to allow Hitler total political power for a four-year period

▲ **Source 5.8** The Reichstag fire, 1933

Emergency Decree, 28 February 1933

Hitler convinced the ageing president, Paul von Hindenburg, that a widespread communist conspiracy existed and that emergency laws were needed to protect the nation from further attack. An Emergency Decree was passed the very next day, which suspended the civil rights sections of the Constitution:

- Personal freedoms were limited.
- Freedom of speech and the press was removed.
- Phone conversations, letters in the mail and telegraphic cables were no longer private and could be listened to or read.
- Homes could be searched at any time without notice.

The simple result of this Emergency Decree was that Hitler gained further power and control. Within weeks, over 4000 of the Nazis' political opponents were arrested, including communists, Social Democrats and other politicians. Hitler's move towards total rule was nearly complete.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Enabling Act, March 1933

Germany was now in a state of crisis, given the dramatic circumstances of the Reichstag fire and the political instability that was promoted by Hitler's blaming of the communists. Hitler declared that new laws were needed in this time of emergency to restore order and peace. The emergency decree that he suggested was called the *Enabling Act*, which would 'enable' Hitler to gain absolute power for the next four years. Hindenburg's initial hope of restricting and controlling Hitler was now desperately shattered.

Reich Law Gazette

1933 Published in Berlin, 24th March 1933 Nr.25

Law concerning the solving of the emergency of the people and the Reich, 24th March 1933.

The Reichstag has issued the following decree, which is hereby announced with the agreement of the Reich Council, after having ensured that the necessary legal constitutional amendments have been made:

Article 1

Law of the Reich can be passed by the government, in addition to the procedure laid down in the constitution of the Reich. This also applies to laws covered by Articles 85, para 2, and 87 of the Reich constitution.

Article 2

The laws passed by the Reich government do not have to adhere to the constitution provided that the institutions of the Reichstag and Reichsrat have no objection. The rights of the President of the Reich remain unaffected.

Article 3

The laws passed by the government of the Reich will be drafted by the Chancellor and announced in the Law Gazette. They will apply, provided that no other provision is made, from the day following their publication. Article 68-77 of the constitution do not apply to the laws passed by the government of the Reich.

Article 4

Treaties agreed by the Reich with foreign states, which concern the constitutional affairs of the Reich, do not require the consent of the legislative institutions. The government of the Reich will issue the necessary instructions for the implementation of these treaties.

Article 5

This law applies from the day of its publication. It will expire on the 1st April 1937; it will also be annulled if the present government of the Reich is replaced by another.

▲ **Source 5.9** *Enabling Act* of March 1933

Political parties are made illegal

Another election was held in March 1933, but the Nazis were the only party allowed to campaign in the election and government money was used to pay for Nazi propaganda. Despite this unparalleled advantage, the Nazi Party still did not receive an outright majority, though the Nazis did win an overwhelming 288 seats, which was 45 per cent of the total vote. Hitler's main political action came only a few months later in July. A law was passed that abolished all other political parties by declaring: 'The Nationalist Socialist German Workers' Party constitutes the only political party in Germany'. Hitler also outlawed trade unions and limited the impact of resistance by the Christian church.

Use of force and fear

Creation of SS and Gestapo

> *All those who have Germany's interests at heart will and should respect us and those who have guilty consciences toward the Führer or the nation should fear us.*
>
> Heinrich Himmler, explaining the role of the SS, 1935

The **SS or *Schutzstaffel*** was formed in 1925 and became a highly trained and loyal police force. In the 1930s, the SS grew into a massive organisation led by Heinrich Himmler, who became one of Hitler's most trusted leaders. The main role of the SS was to destroy opposition to Nazism. A sub-division of

***Schutzstaffel* (SS)**, or protection squadron – a feared elite personal guard to Hitler

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

the SS called the 'Death's Head Units' was responsible for the Nazi Party's racial policies, such as organising and carrying out the extermination of Jews in the **Holocaust**.

▲**Source 5.10** Hitler and his chief of police Heinrich Himmler inspecting the SS Guard, 1938

Holocaust systematic murder of millions of Jews in Europe during World War II

The SS were not only meant to be the 'weapons' of the Nazi state, but were also meant to be the living embodiment of its ideas on 'race'. As a result, Heinrich Himmler became obsessed with a kind of 'breeding' program for the members of the SS, so that each member would marry a woman of an equal 'racial standing'. As a result, the following SS Marriage Order was issued:

1 *The SS is a band of German men of strictly Nordic descent chosen according to certain principles.*

2 *In accordance with National Socialist ideology and in the realization that the future of our Volk [people] rests upon the preservation of the race through selection and the healthy inheritance of good blood, I hereby institute the 'Marriage Certificate' for all unmarried members of the SS, effective 1 January 1932.*

3 *The desired aim is to create a hereditarily healthy clan of a strictly Nordic German sort.*

4 *The marriage certificate will be awarded or denied solely on the basis of racial health and heredity.*

5 *Every SS man who intends to get married must procure for this purpose the marriage certificate of the Reichsführer SS.*

SS Marriage Order of 1931

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Himmler was very direct when addressing the leaders of the SS, and in this infamous speech he outlined what their priority should be:

> *One basic principle must be the absolute rule for the SS man: we must be honest, decent, loyal and comradely to members of our own blood and to nobody else. What happens to a Russian, to a Czech does not interest me in the slightest. What the nations can offer in the way of good blood of our type, we will take, if necessary by kidnapping their children and raising them here with us. Whether nations live in prosperity or starve to death interests me only in so far as we need them as slaves for our Kultur; otherwise, it is of no interest to me. Whether 10,000 Russian females fall down from exhaustion while digging an anti-tank ditch interests me only in so far as the anti-tank ditch for Germany is finished. We shall never be rough and heartless when it is not necessary, that is clear. We Germans, who are the only people in the world who have a decent attitude towards animals, will also assume a decent attitude towards these human animals. But it is a crime against our own blood to worry about them and give them ideals, thus causing our sons and grandsons to have a more difficult time with them. When somebody comes to me and says, 'I cannot dig the anti-tank ditch with women and children, it is inhuman, for it would kill them,' then I have to say, 'You are a murderer of your own blood because if the anti-tank ditch is not dug, German soldiers will die, and they are sons of German mothers. They are our own blood.' That is what I want to instil into the SS and what I believe have instilled into them as one of the most sacred laws of the future. Our concern, our duty is our people and our blood.*
>
> Speech by Himmler to SS Commanders, 1943

Gestapo secret state police whose main role was to enforce obedience to the government through arrests and imprisonment

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.1

1 What did Himmler see as the key priorities of the SS?
2 Why does he believe it is useless to 'give … ideals' to what he terms 'human animals', and how does this link to Nazi ideology?
3 How does Himmler try to justify atrocities that were being committed by the SS?

In 1933, Nazi politician Hermann Göring encouraged the SS to use their guns regularly to shoot potential offenders and guaranteed them his protection, even if the victim turned out to be innocent. He explained that all officials must bear in mind that failure to act would be regarded more seriously than an error due to taking action.

> *It is shocking how day after day naked acts of violence, breaches of the law, barbaric opinions appear quite undisguised as official decree … I can no longer get rid of the feeling of disgust and shame. And no one stirs; everyone trembles, keeps out of sight.*
>
> Victor Klemperer, a Jew living in Dresden, 17 March 1933

The **Gestapo** was the much-feared secret state police whose agents had almost unlimited powers. They helped maintain a climate of terror in Weimar Germany in which ordinary citizens feared arrest and imprisonment without a trial.

▼**Source 5.11**
Heinrich Himmler, head of the Gestapo and SS

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

It was even dangerous to criticise Hitler in a children's playground. Many children were involved in the Hitler Youth and eagerly became informants in order to win favour with their Nazi leaders.

Creation of Dachau: The first concentration camp

►**Source 5.12** Dachau concentration camp prisoners, 1933

concentration camp prison camp where enemies of the Nazi government were 'concentrated' (kept in one place); some were hard labour camps while others were death camps

solitary confinement imprisonment without contact with other prisoners

Concentration camps were immediately established in 1933 once Hitler became Chancellor. At first they were simple prisons run by Himmler's SS guards in old factories. The first official concentration camp was built at Dachau, which was outside of Munich in southern Germany, near the border of Austria. In an eight-month period from late 1935, 7266 people were arrested, because it was believed they were communists or socialists, and sent to Dachau. Harsh labour, beatings, limited food and random executions were daily experiences. For example, the punishment for sarcastic comments to the SS guards was 50 lashings and eight days' **solitary confinement.** Anyone who 'for the purpose of agitating, discusses politics, carries on controversial talks' was hanged.

Violent assassination of the SA: The Night of the Long Knives

To succeed Hindenburg as president, Hitler needed the support of the army. The SA, which had loyally helped him gain power since the party's humble beginnings, also wanted to become the foundation of a new German army, with Ernst Röhm as its leader. Hitler perceived this as a great threat to his leadership and described the situation as a second revolution, which would only lead to chaos. This power crisis created an intense split within the party.

Hitler's immediate solution was to promote Röhm to a high level within the Nazi government, but this only gave Röhm more influence rather than quelling his ambition. Hitler's next response was swift, decisive and brutal. Röhm did not have many political friends, so Hitler decided to use Himmler and the SS to remove him and his SA from all power.

In June 1934, Hitler flew to Munich and personally arrested Röhm and several other SA leaders. They were put in jail and there was no trial. Hitler ticked names on a list of SA leaders and those leaders were systematically killed in their prison cells that night. Rather than being threatened by his Chancellor's actions, President Hindenburg sent a telegram to Hitler congratulating him on his 'determined action and gallant personal intervention'. According to Hitler, there were 61 deaths, but historians have provided figures of between 500 and 1000 murders. The remaining SA members were integrated into the army. The SA murders also gave Hitler the opportunity to murder political opponents, claiming that they were linked with the SA; for example, General von Schleicher and General von Bredow (believed to have witnessed the Reichstag fire), and the pickaxe murder of Gustav Ritter von Kahr (for opposing Hitler's putsch in Munich 10 years earlier). It became known as the Night of the Long Knives because of the violence and bloodshed.

◄**Source 5.13** Hitler and Ernst Röhm in 1934, shortly before the Night of the Long Knives

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The Night of the Long Knives was also known as 'Operation Hummingbird' and actually went for two nights, not one.

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

The loss of face at having to murder his right-hand man on account of his alleged rebellion was mostly likely the chief reason for Hitler's reluctance to order Röhm's death. For the moment, at any rate, he hesitated about having Röhm killed. In Berlin, meanwhile, there was no hesitation … [His perceived enemies were] brutally shot down by a Gestapo hit-squad after the Vice-Chancellery had been stormed by SS men … The killing was extended to others who had nothing to do with the leadership of the SA. The head of 'Catholic Action,' Erich Klausener, who had at one time been head of the police department in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, was also brutally shot down by an assassination squad of SS men. Old scores were settled. [A former Nazi leader] Gregor Strasser was taken to Gestapo headquarters and shot in one of the cells … In Munich, Hitler's old adversary Ritter von Kahr was dragged away by SS men and later found hacked to death near Dachau. The music critic Wilhelm Eduard Schmid was murdered by mistake … The blood-lust had developed its own momentum. All in all, the 'action' was beginning to get out of hand.

Ian Kershaw, *Hitler*, 1999

▲**Source 5.14** Historian Ian Kershaw, 2019

1 What does this extract indicate about the nature of the violence during the Night of the Long Knives?
2 Why might some of these people have been killed, even though there were not part of the SA?
3 Why does Kershaw argue the event '[got] out of hand'? You should use clear evidence to support your argument.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Ernst Röhm was not on Hitler's original death list. When Hitler reluctantly agreed, he ordered that Röhm be given a Browning revolver with which to commit suicide. Röhm refused and was shot.

Hitler becomes dictator: The death of Hindenburg

Hitler's biggest political advantage came through good fortune only a few weeks after the Night of the Long Knives, when Hindenburg died of natural causes at the age of 87. Hitler had removed all opposition, setting the stage for this decisive manoeuvre – his government passed a new law that combined the powers of the Chancellor and president into the new position called Reich Chancellor or Führer, the nation's leader or father figure. Hitler was now a dictator with a government, police force and army that answered only to him.

▼**Source 5.15** Adolf Hitler shaking hands with Paul von Hindenburg, President of the German Reich, after being appointed Chancellor, 30 January 1933

Analysing why Hitler became dictator

The way in which Hitler gained total power in Germany between 1933 and 1934 is demonstrated by the following three points:

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.
Cambridge University Press

1 *Hitler was a clever political manipulator* – Hitler worked through legal channels using his passion, oratorical skills and propaganda to gain support as he did during his election campaigns and appointment as Chancellor.

2 *Hitler would not tolerate opposition* – Hitler also employed illegal strategies for consolidating his position. All political opponents were gradually eliminated. The best examples of this were the burning of the Reichstag building and the creation of the Dachau concentration camp.

3 *The end justifies the means* – Hitler backed up his ambition with violence. Being loyal to the Nazi Party did not guarantee protection, as was evident in the Night of the Long Knives and the creation of groups such as the SS and the Gestapo.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.2

Copy and complete this graphic organiser. Add explanations under each of the main events listed.

Breaking the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles

The main Treaty of Versailles conditions and how they were broken by Hitler are shown in Source 5.17. Opposing the harsh conditions imposed by the Treaty enabled Hitler to strengthen Germany's military. This then enabled Germany to invade nearby countries and ultimately be ready to fight a full-scale international war.

Treaty conditions	Hitler's actions
Reparations	Immediately stopped paying reparations in 1933
Army limited to 100 000	In March 1935 announced his intention to create an army with 36 divisions by reintroducing compulsory military training and conscription
Navy restricted to 15 000 men	Built a navy one-third the size of Britain's
No submarines	Built 100 submarines, which meant that Germany's fleet was as large as Britain's
Demilitarised Rhineland	Sent German troops into the Rhineland on the French border, claiming that France was planning to attack Germany
No claims to Austrian land	Declared an *Anschluss*, or 'union' with Austria on 15 March 1938
League of Nations	Germany withdrew from the League

▲ **Source 5.16** Breaking the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Territorial aggression

Hitler saw the expansion of Germany's national borders as a key part of the process of building a strong new Germany. This policy was known as ***Lebensraum***, the German word for 'living space', and was used to justify the need for more land in Eastern Europe for the German people, especially in German-speaking lands such as Austria. This belief was the major motivation for the ***Anschluss*** with Austria, Germany's occupation of the **Sudetenland** (the German-speaking area of Czechoslovakia) and the 1 September 1939 invasion of Poland that marked the commencement of World War II.

▲**Source 5.18** German troops march into Austria during the *Anschluss*. Austria was invaded by the Third Reich on 12 March 1938.

▶**Source 5.17** The German army enters the Rhineland to salutes from civilians. The remilitarisation of the Rhineland by the German army took place on 7 March 1936 when German military forces entered the Rhineland. This was significant because it violated the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Treaties, marking the first time since the end of World War I that German troops had been in this region.

Lebensraum German word meaning 'living space', a policy used to justify expanding borders

Anschluss the name given to Germany's overtaking of Austria in 1938

Sudetenland the German-speaking area of Czechoslovakia

5.4 The rise of militaristic aggression in Japan

Due to a more aggressive foreign policy, Japan emerged as a significant imperial power from the turn of the twentieth century. This was secured with continuous involvement in the Asian continent: victories over China in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894, the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, involvement in World War I and Siberian intervention in 1918. The significance of these victories was twofold. First, Japan's enthusiasm for international influence rose. Second, and more importantly, it made it necessary for Japan to emphasise establishing and maintaining a strong military. This ideological focus was called militarism.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Liberal-thinking Hara Takashi was appointed Japanese Prime Minister in 1918 with his rallying cry of 'Militarism is dead'. But three years later, Hara was assassinated and militarism became Japan's key ideology.

The key clash in Japan was between a civilian government and leaders of the military. The military constantly attempted to overthrow the government, believing that ordinary people were not as capable or suited to controlling Japan. These attempts were never successful due to the long tradition of civilian control within Japan combined with the divisions, called factions, within the Japanese army itself. The powerful feared the powerful.

The 1930s were the most controversial decade in the history of Japan since the 1860s: two prime ministers were assassinated, two other prominent public figures were murdered, and two failed military coups occurred against the government. From a foreign policy perspective, Japan stopped cooperating with the international community in order to strengthen its own reputation in the West. The most significant action was Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933. The result of Japan's aggressive militarism was an alliance with the European fascist powers Germany and Italy, ultimately leading to World War II in the Pacific region. The Pacific war directly threatened Australia and was fought in the now famous battles of Kokoda, Singapore and Burma.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Territorial aggression

Invasion of Manchuria, 1931

Japan's aggressive attitude towards China escalated under the leadership of Prime Minister Tanaka Giichi from 1927 to 1929. He sent Japanese troops into China three times in an attempt to undermine Jiang Jieshi's (also known as Chiang Kai-shek) unification campaign. Also, radical Japanese officers assassinated warlord Zhang Zuolin and blew up parts of railway lines, hoping to spark war with China. These actions from members of the Kwantung army, part of Japan's imperial army, prepared the foundations for a complete Japanese invasion and takeover of Manchuria. Why did Japan want to control Manchuria? First, as an industrial base, second, as an area for Japanese emigration, and third, as a base for potential war with the Soviet Union. Despite this success, there was a failed military coup in Tokyo just one month later. This was called the Imperial Colours Incident.

▼**Source 5.19** A map of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria

Attack on Shanghai, 1932

The popular support enjoyed by the Kwantung army gave it the confidence to act alone without authorisation from the central government. In January 1932, Japanese forces attacked Shanghai in the First Shanghai Incident, fighting for three months before a truce was reached. This incident is a prime example of Japanese militarism – a strong, independent, popular and aggressive army.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

February 26th Incident, 1936

Radical discontent among the army's elite young officers dramatically exploded on 26 February 1936 in an attempted coup to overthrow the civilian government. The revolt was defeated and the military leaders responsible were killed after secret trials. Internal violence had peaked. Despite this, the government softened its disconnect with the military and increased money for defence and naval construction, refused to follow disarmament treaties and increased patriotic propaganda. From this event onwards, under Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro, Japan strategically prepared for full-scale war. The National Mobilisation Law gave the government absolute power to use the nation's assets to best suit the nation's needs in war.

▲**Source 5.20** Japanese Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro

Japan invades China, 1937

Japan began a full-scale invasion of China in July 1937. Minimal resistance was experienced due to the relentless onslaught of the Japanese army. As a result, within five months over one million Chinese were under Japanese control. Almost all major cities were captured, most significantly the major port of Shanghai in November 1937 and the then capital of Nanking (now called Nanjing) by December 1937. As is now known, the Rape of Nanking was one of most atrocious individual acts of the century. Japanese soldiers were given open permission to destroy, steal, rape and murder. Over 250 000 Chinese were brutally murdered.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.7

Conduct an online search for the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall. It is a truly impressive memorial that shares the confronting reality of the experiences of the Chinese victims. Describe the ways the memorial honours those who were killed.

Tillman Durdin of the *New York Times* reported the early stages of the massacre before being forced to leave. He later wrote:

I was 29 and it was my first big story for the New York Times. So I drove down to the waterfront in my car. And to get to the gate I had to just climb over masses of bodies accumulated there. The car just had to drive over these dead bodies. And the scene on the river front, as I waited for the launch … was of a group of smoking, chattering Japanese officers overseeing the massacring of a battalion of Chinese captured troops. They were marching about in groups of about 15, machine-gunning them.

▲**Source 5.21** Detail of a sculpture of Nanjing Massacre survivor Ni Cuiying at the 'Memorial Hall for Compatriot Victims of the Japanese Military's Nanking Massacre' monument, commemorating victims who died during the 1937 Nanjing massacre. This is close to the site known as the 'pit of ten thousand corpses', where thousands of bodies were buried. Each rock in the memorial represents a life lost during the massacre.

A Christian missionary, John Magee, described Japanese soldiers as killing not only 'every prisoner they could find but also a vast number of ordinary citizens of all ages. Many of them were shot down like the hunting of rabbits in the streets,' he said. After what he described as a week of murder and rape, Magee joined other Westerners in trying to set up an international safety zone.

Another who tried to help was an US woman, Minnie Vautrin, who kept a diary that has been likened to that of Anne Frank. Her entry for 16 December reads:

There probably is no crime that has not been committed in this city today. Thirty girls were taken from the language school [where she worked] last night, and today I have heard scores of heart-breaking stories of girls who were taken from their homes last night – one of the girls was but 12 years old.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.8

Later, she wrote:

How many thousands were mowed down by guns or bayoneted we shall probably never know. For in many cases oil was thrown over their bodies and then they were burned. Charred bodies tell the tales of some of these tragedies. The events of the following ten days are growing dim. But there are certain of them that lifetime will not erase from my memory and the memories of those who have been in Nanjing through this period.

BBC, online article, 2015, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/223038.stm

[The Japanese journalist] Honda [Katsuichi's] writings are exceptionally significant because they helped to open up, in the early 1970s, what has become nearly three decades' worth of discussion of the massacre by Japanese scholars, lawyers, journalists, veterans, and private citizens. While most respectable historians and journalists addressing the subject have sought to reveal the admittedly revolting facts, outspoken ultraright wingers have invariably countered their efforts with repeatedly vehement denials. Unfortunately, the ultraright is so outspoken that occasionally their views seem to be the only ones being voiced. The publication of Iris Chang's sensational best-seller, The Rape of Nanjing: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II, *has given the debate new dimensions, especially due to Chang's use of John Rabe's diary corroborating the massacre … Of course, the Nanjing massacre had earlier been investigated by the War Crimes Tribunal. While Japanese had thus heard of the atrocity … many considered the verdicts to have been little more than the products of 'victor's justice' rather than an accurate legal or ethical assessment of the imperial army's perpetration of an extremely inhumane massacre. Even in contemporary Japan, denials of the massacre continue to surface in the context of discussions of the … imperial army's role in World War II.*

John Tucker, 'The Nanjing Massacre: A Review Essay', *China Review International*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Fall 2000), pp. 321–335.

1 What do the eyewitness accounts in the BBC article tell us about the Nanjing Massacre, and why do they argue this was 'one of the great atrocities of modern times'?
2 According to eyewitnesses, who were the victims and why might these people have been targeted?
3 What does the extract from Tucker have to say about the way that the Nanjing massacre is debated in Japan today?
4 Why might there be continued denial and debate about the Nanjing massacre in Japan today, and how was it viewed originally, according to Tucker?

▼**Source 5.22** Japanese soldiers guarding Chinese prisoners taken during the Nanking massacre

By 1941, there were two million Japanese troops in China, but these were gradually reduced as they were needed to fight against the United States and her allies in the Pacific. Overall, Japan's war in China had cost China four million casualties and over 60 million people were left homeless.

Aims for involvement in World War II

Political parties were dissolved in Japan in 1940 to allow for the introduction of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. One political party was created based on totalitarian values. Japan also signed an alliance with Germany and Italy in 1940, beginning war with Britain and the United States in the Pacific in 1941. Japan's

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

primary aim, under the leadership of Prime Minister Hideki Tojo, was to integrate Asia politically and economically in order to strengthen Asia against Western domination. This plan was called the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan would lead this new coalition.

Analysis of Japan's military aggression

The conflict between an independent military and a civilian government was a constant tension in pre-war Japan. Regular coups by the military elite had failed to overthrow the government. Unable to establish a military dictatorship, the army instead forced the government into international conflict through radical activities and attacks.

▶Source 5.23
Japanese Prime Minister Hideki Tojo

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.9

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Why did Japan become powerful?'** A student responds. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

5.5 Comparing fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan

Similarities

While it was an accepted term in the 1930s and 1940s, 'Japanese fascism' is a disputed term among historians. Germany and Italy had little direct influence on Japan. However, Japan did share base beliefs with fascist Germany and Italy.

Economic and social situation

- Postwar had been a time of economic stagnation.
- Unemployment rose during the Great Depression of 1929–32.
- Peasantry became desperate as agricultural prices dropped sharply.
- Dissatisfaction with government policies in 1920s, but Japan was not on the verge of revolution.
- Industry had far surpassed agriculture in value of output.
- Strikes, riots and influence of labour unions increased.
- Social elite were alarmed by threats from the communist left.
- Discontent of lower middle class and dissatisfaction of the young.
- Growth of new radical political parties, especially among university students.

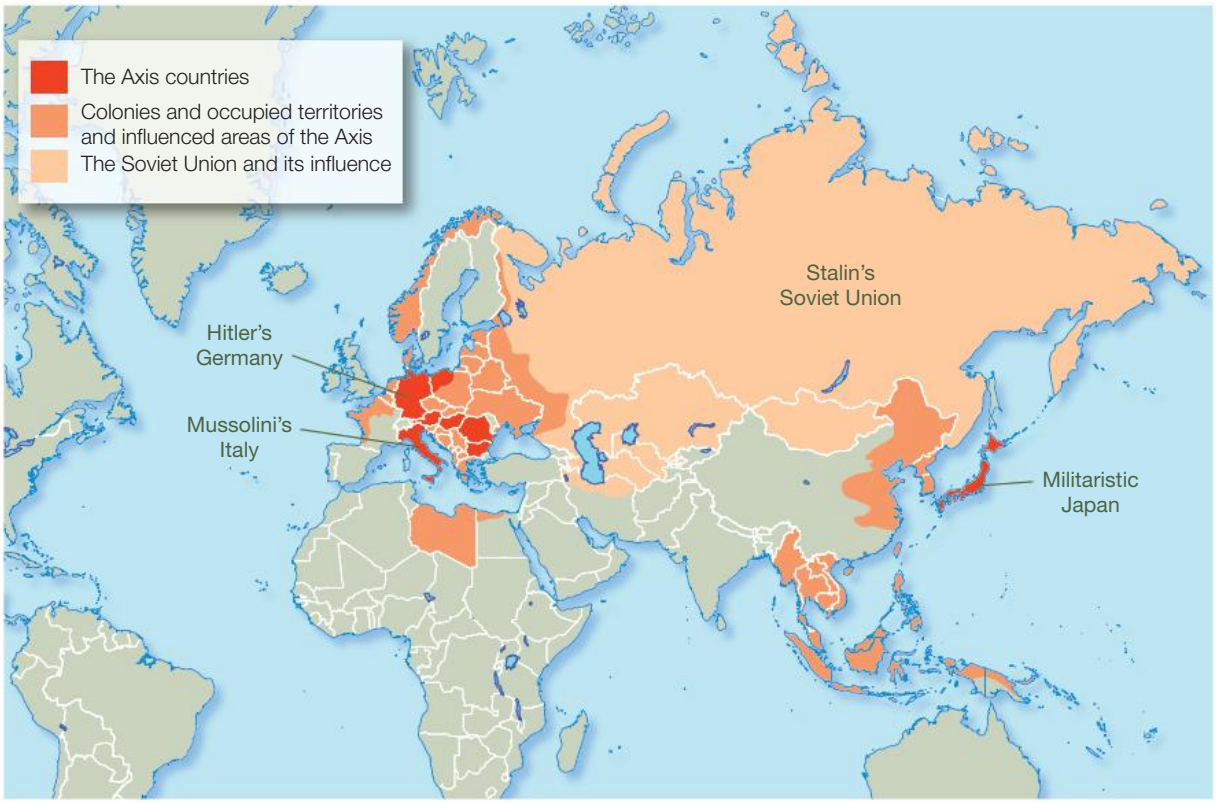
ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

International situation

- All three countries were angered by the Treaty of Versailles.
- Aggressive and ambitious foreign policy.
- Foreign relations deteriorated in all three countries.

Ideology

- Strong sense of 'national community'.
- Rejection of internal divisions.
- Sense of racial superiority and therefore separation from other races.
- Anti-communism.



▲**Source 5.24** Land held by the Axis powers in 1942

Differences

The most significant difference was the role of the leader. Germany and Italy favoured charismatic leaders in Hitler and Mussolini, whereas Japan retained the traditional role of emperor and civilian government and did not change its political systems or structures. Hence, Japan favoured military strength over a single dominant leader.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

5.6 The failure of appeasement

Why didn't Britain and France stop Hitler's Nazi Germany?

We have achieved peace in our time.

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, on his return from meeting with Hitler in 1938

◄**Source 5.25** Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain waves to the crowd at Heston Airport and declaims, 'peace in our time', after returning from signing the Munich Agreement.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video of Chamberlain delivering his 'peace in our time' speech

appeasement the failed policy of negotiation adopted by France and Britain to try to avoid full-scale war

World War II broke out less than a year after Chamberlain spoke these words. Was there anything that the Allied nations could have done to stop Hitler's advance through Europe? Britain and France did not use force to stop Hitler in the 1930s because they had adopted a policy called **appeasement**. With the memory of World War I still vivid, appeasement was employed to avoid another full-scale war by negotiating rather than fighting with Germany.

Example of appeasement 1

In 1933, Hitler became the first leader to stop paying reparations to the Allies. France and Great Britain did not react because their political stance was more moderate. The United States was loaning Germany money to pay France and Great Britain under the Dawes Plan of 1924.

►**Source 5.26** A selection of British newspaper front pages, published on 30 September 1938 and headlining the Munich Agreement, signed by Nazi Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy earlier that day. The agreement permitted the annexation of the Sudetenland regions of Czechoslovakia by Germany.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Example of appeasement 2

The Munich Pact, which Britain and France signed in 1938, remains a key example of appeasement. With this pact, they allowed Hitler to take control of the Sudetenland, believing this would avert a full-scale war. The Allies underestimated Hitler's appetite for power. Historians have criticised this policy as a weak way of dealing with an aggressive enemy. For the Allies, however, appeasement made sense because:

- Britain had more time to rearm and prepare for war
- the United States had adopted a policy of 'isolationism', refusing to become involved in international problems, and focusing on rebuilding after the Great Depression.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Nine months before the outbreak of World War II, a remarkable rescue mission occurred called Kindertransport, German for 'children transport'. Nearly 10 000 children were rescued from Nazi Germany and other threatening European countries and relocated to British foster homes, schools and farms.

Without support from the United States, Britain and France lacked both military power and moral authority. When Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, however, Britain and France were forced to act independently, believing a war would be over swiftly and that Hitler could easily be defeated.

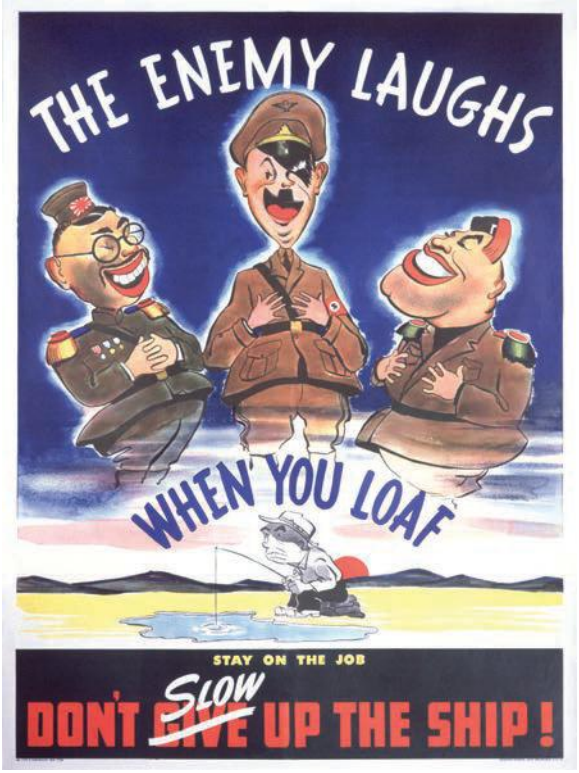
The final British Ambassador in Germany was Sir Neville Henderson, who arrived in Berlin in April 1937. In his memoirs, *Failure of a Mission* (1940), he judged Germany fairly on its merits. He described Hitler like this:

> *There was no impression of greatness, he was a spellbinder for his own people. His capacity to charm was part of his stock-in-trade. For me, he was a sort of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde – so full of tricks, a skilful mixer of fraud with force … Hitler will prove a fascinating study for future historians with a psychological leaning.*
>
> Sir Neville Henderson, *Failure of a Mission* (1940)

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.10

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Why didn't the world stop Hitler?'** A student gives a short response. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' and the student gives another brief response to explain their ideas further. After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

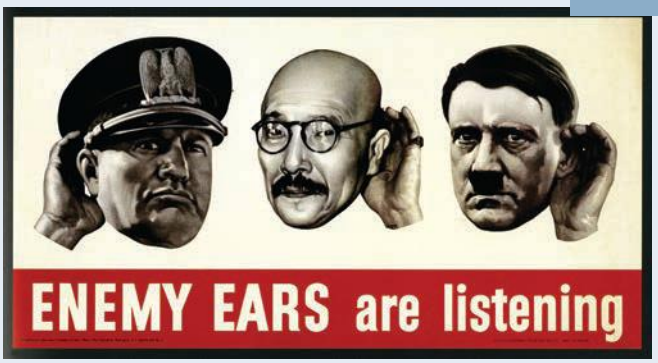


▶**Source 5.27** A US propaganda poster from 1942 asking for all civilians to keep contributing to the war effort in any possible form

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

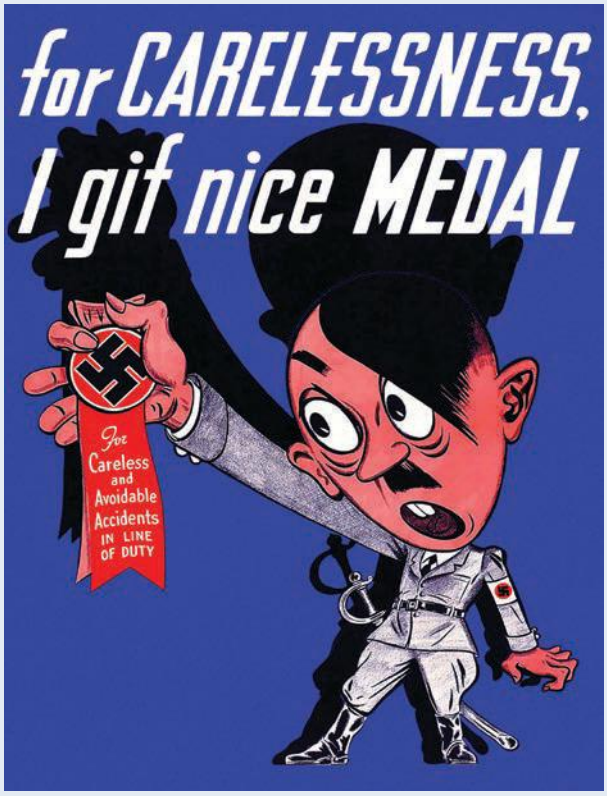
ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.3

◄**Source 5.28** A propaganda poster from the early 1940s



▲**Source 5.29** A propaganda poster from 1942 with Mussolini, Tojo and Hitler

▲**Source 5.30** A propaganda poster from 1941



▲**Source 5.31** A propaganda poster from 1942

Examine Sources 5.28 to 5.31 and answer the following questions.

1 Who may have produced these posters?
2 What is the intended message for the viewer?
3 What is the main fear behind these posters?
4 How effective do you think these posters would have been in conveying their message?

Access the Interactive Textbook to see an image gallery of wartime propaganda posters.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Date	Mussolini's Fascist Italy	Hitler's Nazi Germany	Militaristic Japan
1929	Great Depression begins		
1930	Britain, United States, Japan, France and Italy sign naval disarmament treaty		
1931			Invasion of Manchuria
1932			Invasion of Shanghai
1933	Failure of League of Nations Disarmament Conference		
1933		Hitler is sworn in as Chancellor of Germany	
1934		Hitler becomes dictator of Germany after Hindenburg's death	
1935	Invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia)		
1936	Support for the fascist uprising in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39)		February 26th Incident – failed military coup
1936		Germany reoccupies the Rhineland	
1 November 1936	Italy and Germany formally unite as Axis powers		
25 November 1936		Signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact to protect themselves against the Communist International (Comintern) in Soviet Russia	
1937	Signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact		Invasion of China, called Second Sino-Japanese War, which includes destruction of the capital Nanking
1938		March – Germany takes over Austria following the *Anschluss* agreement September – takes over the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia	
March and April 1939	Britain (March) and France (April) promise to protect Poland if it is attacked. This poses a challenge to Axis belligerence.		
May 1939	Signing of the Pact of Friendship and Alliance (named the Pact of Steel by Mussolini) pledging trust and support in war		Japan decides not to sign this pact because it wants the focus changed from Britain and France to Soviet Russia

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Date	Mussolini's Fascist Italy	Hitler's Nazi Germany	Militaristic Japan
1939		March – Germany takes over the rest of Czechoslovakia August – Germany and Russia sign the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact allowing Hitler to invade Poland without Russian retaliation September – Germany invades Poland	
1940 – outbreak of war	Italy is ill-prepared to fight in September 1939, but declares war on Britain and France in June 1940.	Britain and France issue an ultimatum and declare war on Germany. Within hours, Australia pledges its support for Britain. World War II begins in Europe.	Japan joins the Tripartite Pact and formally joins the Axis powers in September 1940. Begins fighting against Britain and the United States.
Role in war	Italy's military weakness results in a series of defeats in North and East Africa and the Balkans. Italy surrenders in 1943.	Germany is influential throughout Europe, including implementing the Jewish Holocaust. Germany surrenders in May 1945 after Hitler's death.	Japan is dominant throughout South-East Asia, but this is gradually lost through Allied victories. Japan surrenders in August 1945 after the United States drops atomic bombs on its major cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

▲**Source 5.32** Timeline of the road to World War II

FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.11

1 Imagine that you are the leader of Britain, France or the United States. Which of the events outlined in Source 5.32 would have been the most worrying to you? Explain why.
2 Which country was the main aggressor? Explain your answer using the information in the source.
3 Debate this topic in your class: After which event was there a point of no return? When was war inevitable?

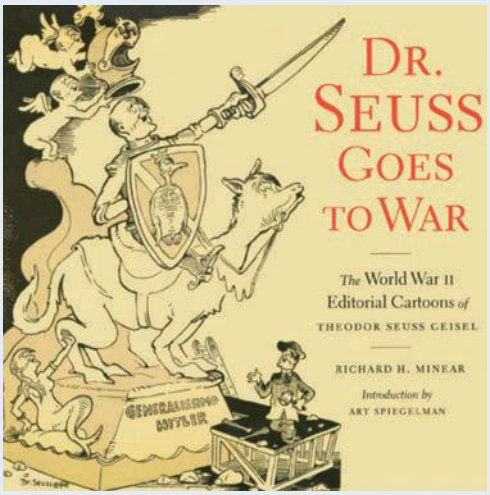
Analysis Activity 5.4 shows some powerful political cartoon images by Dr Seuss alerting the United States public to the dangers of the war threat from Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy and Tojo in Japan. You are not expected to have a detailed knowledge of the events of World War II. Instead, you are expected to use the information in this chapter, focusing on the erupting tensions in Europe and Asia, to complete the activity. Note that the 'Context' of each of these images is therefore the same.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.4

It is remarkable to consider that the popular children's author Dr Seuss, with his gentle and clever rhymes and illustrations, was also a political cartoonist. But he was! He drew cartoons for a US daily newspaper called *PM* in New York, which was only produced for a short time. Seuss agreed to work as the editorial cartoonist for this tabloid because he believed he had no great causes or interest in social issues until Hitler. He worked at *PM* from early 1941 to January 1943. Seuss was a humanitarian who used his humour to fight powerfully against dictators, racism and the anti-Semitism of World War II. He was the master of the art of gentle persuasion. His cartoons from this short period have been published in a collection called *Dr Seuss Goes to War: the World War II editorial cartoons of Theodor Seuss Geisel* compiled by Richard H. Minear (The New Press, New York, 1999). This activity uses some of Seuss' political cartoons.

▲**Source 5.33** Dr Seuss with some of his creations, 1959



▲**Source 5.34** The cover of *Dr Seuss Goes to War*

▲**Source 5.35** Dr Seuss' perspective on the threat of Germany and Japan to the common person

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◀ **Source 5.36** 'A swift kick in the axis by the USA's seven million new taxpayers' is the theme of this cartoon, which was drawn by Dr Seuss especially for the US Treasury Department's War Tax Program. The point is that the taxpayer's dollars would be going towards armaments for war, and soon enough the Axis powers would see the results of the government spending.

Use the CCF model (see Chapter 1, p. 12) to analyse Sources 5.35 and 5.36.

1 What are the similarities between these images?

2 Which one do you think is more effective?

THE STORY SO FAR

- *League of Nations:* The League of Nations had one major aim: to disarm the aggressors from World War I so that another international conflict could not occur. It failed.
- *Italy:* Mussolini created a fascist one-party state where all opposition parties and the parliament were abolished, a strong police force was introduced, a pact of respect was made with the Pope, state propaganda was widespread and anti-Semitism was emphasised. Territorial aggression resulted through the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia).
- *Germany:* Hitler created a Nazi one-party state where all opposition parties and the Reichstag (parliament) were abolished. The Emergency Decree and *Enabling Act* limited the civil freedoms of all citizens. As a result, German citizens were not allowed to stand in opposition in elections or to oppose any of the policies of the Nazi Party The powerful SS and newly created Gestapo had unlimited power to arrest and send people to concentration camps, like Dachau, without trial. President Hindenburg's death from natural causes allowed Hitler to create for himself a new role as Führer. Hitler now had unlimited supreme power over the German nation.
- *Japan:* Powerful military leaders dominated the civilian government throughout the interwar years, leading to a number of failed military coups. Radical members of the military initiated a range of attacks on China and the city of Shanghai, ultimately drawing Japan into World War II against Britain and the United States in the Pacific.
- *Appeasement:* Germany, Italy and Japan defied the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles to strengthen their military capacity. The failure of the Western policy of appeasement ultimately led to the outbreak of World War II.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 Why did the League of Nations fail to achieve its aims of peace and disarmament?

2 How did Mussolini influence change in fascist Italy?

3 How did Hitler influence change in Nazi Germany?

4 How did military leaders influence change in Japan?

5 Why wasn't Hitler's aggression stopped by Britain and France?

Analysing historical sources as evidence

William Sheridan Allen was a US author who wrote two books on Nazi Germany. In this extract from his 1965 book *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town*, Allen argues that the genuine force of the Nazis' Gestapo was made worse by the fear within the people themselves.

> *It seems clear that the public in Northeim had a good idea, by mid-summer 1933, that even to express oneself against the new system was to invite persecution. In fact, not only were Northeimers aware of this situation, but by their very awareness they reinforced the actual terror apparatus. Each time someone in Northeim cautioned his neighbour or friend, he was strengthening the general atmosphere of fear … Thus the Gestapo became extraordinarily efficient by reason of rumors and fears … Thus very early in 1933 there was the case of a Dr. Kuno Ruhmann who went to a party and, after one drink too many, sought to entertain people by imitating Hitler's way of speaking. The next morning his hostess reported him to Nazi headquarters. Word of this spread very quickly and soon Northeimers saw that it was better not to go to parties at all.*
>
> William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town*, 1965

1 According to the extract, why did people feel that they must betray their friends?

2 Why did the author use the story of Dr Ruhmann?

3 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain how Hitler and the Nazi Party used force and fear.

4 Using this extract and your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Allen's point of view.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

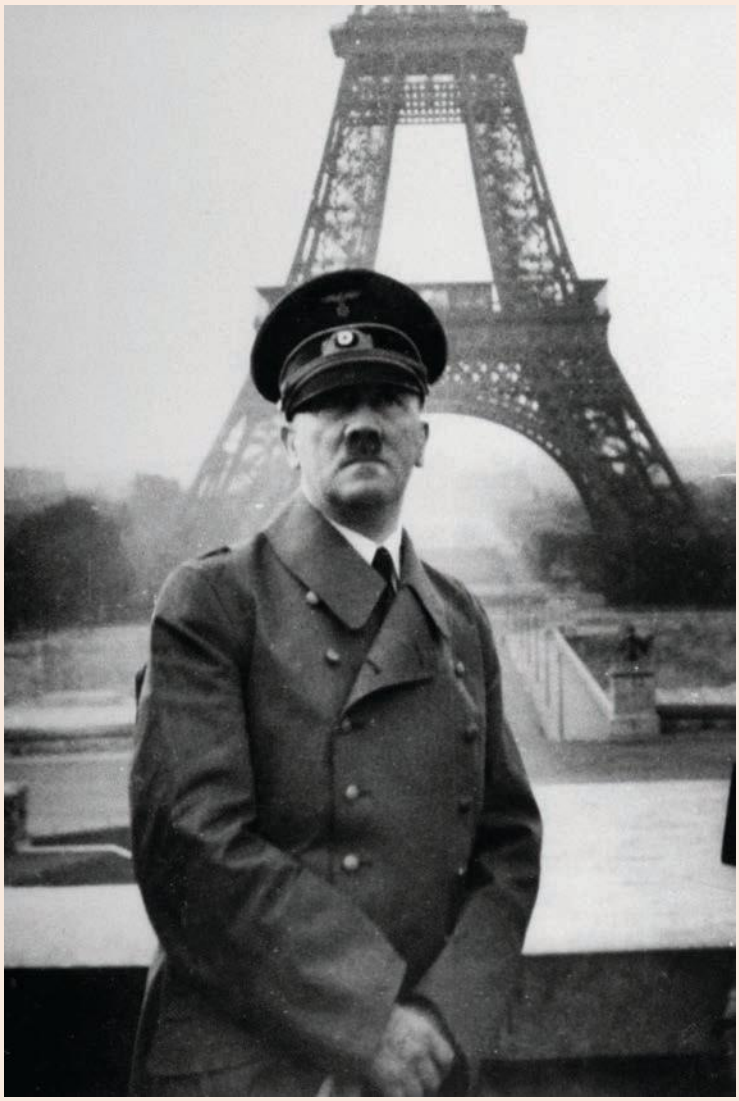
Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement about Adolf Hitler: *Hitler wanted power too much and he did not care how he achieved it.*

To what extent do you agree with this statement? Provide detailed evidence to support your answer.

Think about your response before beginning to write it. A strong essay will agree with some parts of the essay statement and, importantly, disagree with other parts of it. Disagreeing with the statement, or parts of it, shows that your response contains original thought and the formation of clear arguments. Consider the following prompts:

- What does 'power' mean? Define it. Explain it.
- What policies and events assisted Hitler to achieve total power in Germany? Explain why these events increased his power by decreasing the power of others.
- Comment on the phrase 'too much'. Can anyone want power too much? Did it cloud Hitler's judgement? Did it make Hitler single-minded or totally focused on his goal at the expense of others? If so, what were some examples? A strong example is murdering his SA leader, Ernst Röhm.
- Do you agree with the phrase 'didn't care how he achieved it'? Do you think that the end (becoming dictator) justified the means (use of force and fear)? Would the end justify the means for you?
- What did Hitler sacrifice in his determination for total power? Lives? Human rights? International reputation and negotiation? Nothing?



◀ **Source 5.37** Adolf Hitler photographed in front of the Eiffel Tower in Paris after the Nazis invaded in June 1940, during World War II

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Unit 1: Change and conflict
Area of Study 2
Challenge and change

'A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people.'

– MAHATMA GANDHI

Overview

The adoption of strong ideologies also resulted in significant social and cultural change in the contrasting decades of the 1920s and 1930s. The new Nazi government in Germany used the instruments of the state including the military, education and propaganda to impose controls on the way people lived, to exclude particular groups of people such as the Jews, and to silence criticism.

In comparison, in the United States the 1920s witnessed rapid consumerism and material progress that was dramatically stopped by the Great Depression of 1929. In both countries, writers, artists, musicians and filmmakers both promoted and resisted these changes. The changes are explored in detail in two contrasting civilisations: Nazi Germany (Chapter 6) and the United States (Chapter 7).

Key concepts

- anti-Semitism
- cultural change
- democracy
- Great Depression
- Nazism
- propaganda
- social life

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Learning goals

After completing this Area of Study, you should be able to answer these questions:

- What caused the challenges to existing political and/or social structures and conditions?
- How did the actions and ideas of popular movements and individuals contribute to continuity and change?
- To what extent did change occur?
- What were the perspectives and experiences of those who demanded or resisted change?

Outcome 2

On completion of this unit the student should be able to explain the causes of challenges to social, political and/or economic structures of power and evaluate the extent to which continuity and change occurred.

To achieve this outcome the student will draw on key knowledge and key skills outlined in Area of Study 2.

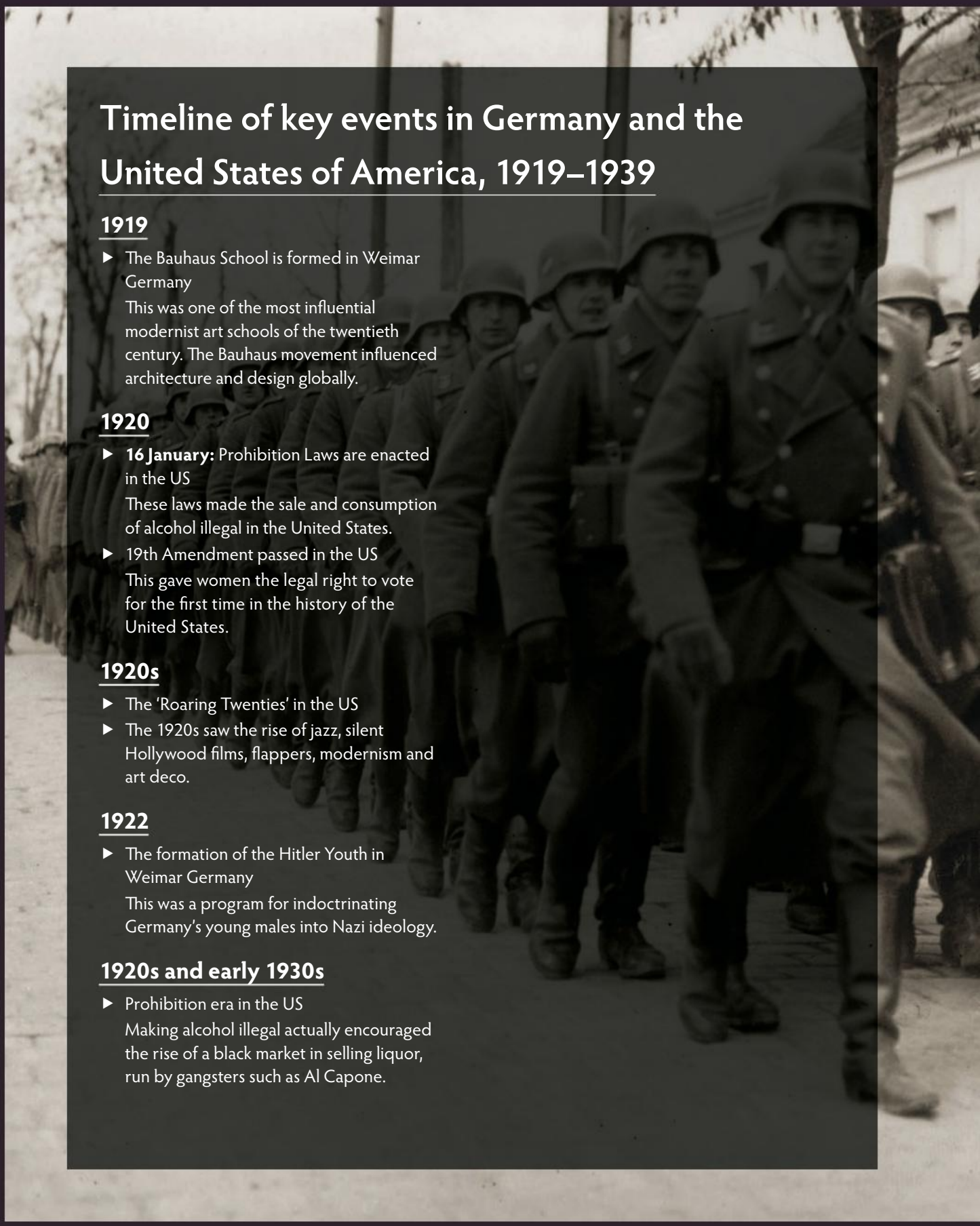
Key knowledge

- This is detailed in Chapters 6–7.

Key skills

- Ask and use a range of historical questions to understand the challenges and changes to structures of power.
- Analyse sources and use as evidence to understand continuities and changes to structures of power.
- Identify the perspectives of people and how perspectives changed over time.
- Identify different historical interpretations of challenges and changes to structures of power.
- Analyse the causes and consequences of challenges to power structures.
- Explain how structures of power changed and/or stayed the same.
- Evaluate the significance of events, ideas, individuals and movements.
- Construct arguments about continuity and change in modern history.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



Timeline of key events in Germany and the United States of America, 1919–1939

1919

- The Bauhaus School is formed in Weimar Germany
  This was one of the most influential modernist art schools of the twentieth century. The Bauhaus movement influenced architecture and design globally.

1920

- **16 January:** Prohibition Laws are enacted in the US
  These laws made the sale and consumption of alcohol illegal in the United States.
- 19th Amendment passed in the US
  This gave women the legal right to vote for the first time in the history of the United States.

1920s

- The 'Roaring Twenties' in the US
- The 1920s saw the rise of jazz, silent Hollywood films, flappers, modernism and art deco.

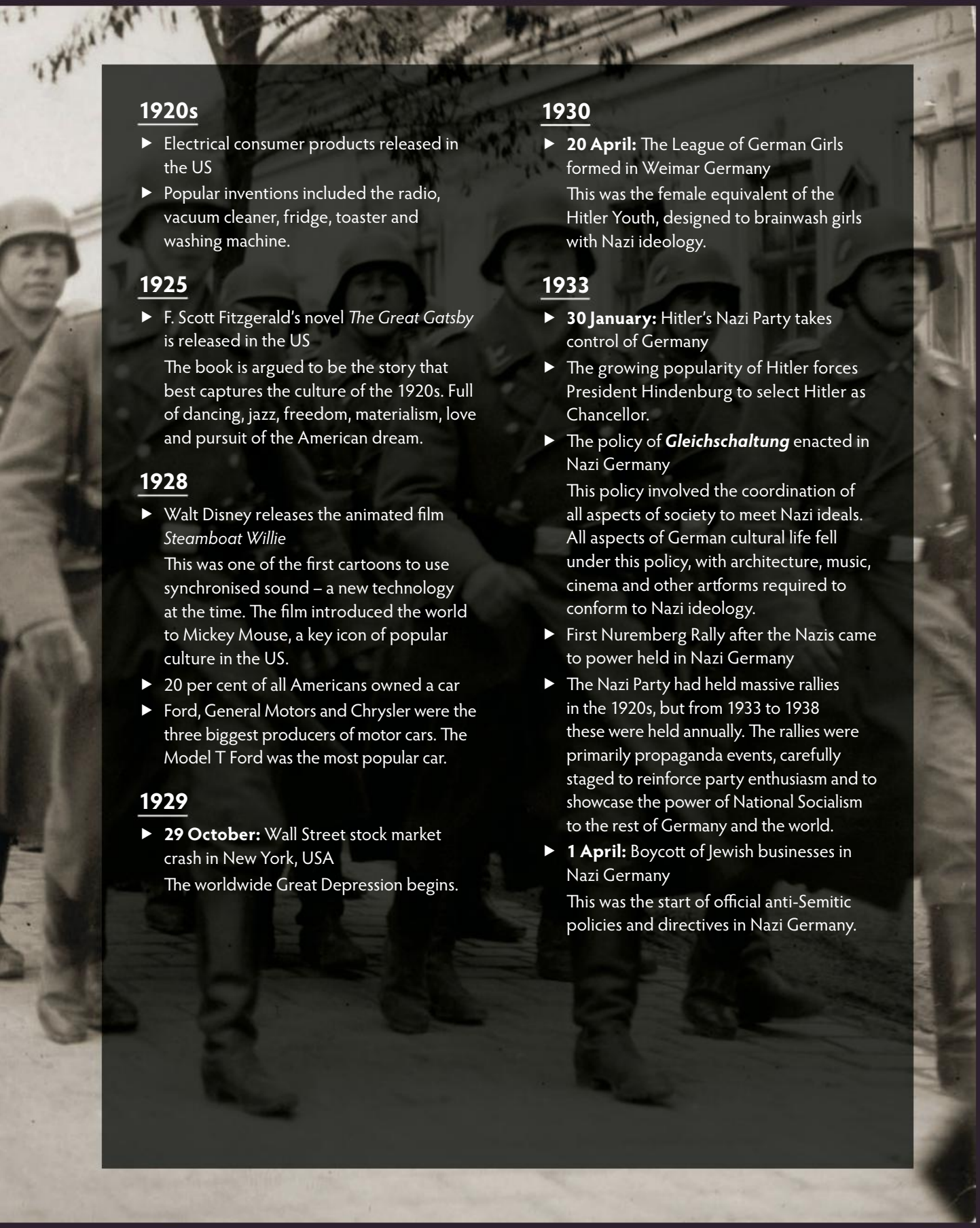
1922

- The formation of the Hitler Youth in Weimar Germany
  This was a program for indoctrinating Germany's young males into Nazi ideology.

1920s and early 1930s

- Prohibition era in the US
  Making alcohol illegal actually encouraged the rise of a black market in selling liquor, run by gangsters such as Al Capone.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



1920s

- Electrical consumer products released in the US
- Popular inventions included the radio, vacuum cleaner, fridge, toaster and washing machine.

1925

- F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel *The Great Gatsby* is released in the US

  The book is argued to be the story that best captures the culture of the 1920s. Full of dancing, jazz, freedom, materialism, love and pursuit of the American dream.

1928

- Walt Disney releases the animated film *Steamboat Willie*

  This was one of the first cartoons to use synchronised sound – a new technology at the time. The film introduced the world to Mickey Mouse, a key icon of popular culture in the US.
- 20 per cent of all Americans owned a car
- Ford, General Motors and Chrysler were the three biggest producers of motor cars. The Model T Ford was the most popular car.

1929

- **29 October:** Wall Street stock market crash in New York, USA

  The worldwide Great Depression begins.

1930

- **20 April:** The League of German Girls formed in Weimar Germany

  This was the female equivalent of the Hitler Youth, designed to brainwash girls with Nazi ideology.

1933

- **30 January:** Hitler's Nazi Party takes control of Germany
- The growing popularity of Hitler forces President Hindenburg to select Hitler as Chancellor.
- The policy of ***Gleichschaltung*** enacted in Nazi Germany

  This policy involved the coordination of all aspects of society to meet Nazi ideals. All aspects of German cultural life fell under this policy, with architecture, music, cinema and other artforms required to conform to Nazi ideology.
- First Nuremberg Rally after the Nazis came to power held in Nazi Germany
- The Nazi Party had held massive rallies in the 1920s, but from 1933 to 1938 these were held annually. The rallies were primarily propaganda events, carefully staged to reinforce party enthusiasm and to showcase the power of National Socialism to the rest of Germany and the world.
- **1 April:** Boycott of Jewish businesses in Nazi Germany

  This was the start of official anti-Semitic policies and directives in Nazi Germany.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1933

- **7 April:** Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service in Nazi Germany
  This anti-Semitic policy saw Jewish people expelled from government jobs.
- **May:** First instance of book burning in Nazi Germany
  Hitler ordered that books that didn't align with the ideology of the Nazi Party be destroyed.
- **14 July:** Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring ('Sterilisation Law') in Nazi Germany
  This was a 'eugenics' measure designed to force people to be sterilised if they were viewed as producing 'inferior' children.
- Bauhaus School closed in Nazi Germany
  Despite being closed, its teachings remained a powerful international influence.
- President Franklin Roosevelt introduces his 'New Deal' policies in the US
  This was designed to help get Americans back into the workforce and both revive the economy and the dignity of America's citizens.
- The end of Prohibition in the US
  Consumption of alcohol became legalised and crime rates dropped significantly.

1934

- **August:** Hitler declared dictator in Nazi Germany
  After a mere 18 months, Hitler had used his political position to gain total control over Germany.

1935

- **15 September:** Nuremberg Race Laws enacted in Nazi Germany
  At the Nuremberg Rally of 1935, Hitler introduced extreme reforms against German Jews, which became known as the Nuremberg Laws. The laws removed all citizenship rights, including the right to vote, and forbade intermarriage between supposedly 'Aryan' Germans and those of Jewish descent.

1935

- Leni Riefenstahl releases the film *Triumph of the Will* in Nazi Germany
  The film depicts the events of the 1934 Nuremberg Rally. It was hailed as a technical achievement but champions Nazi ideals.

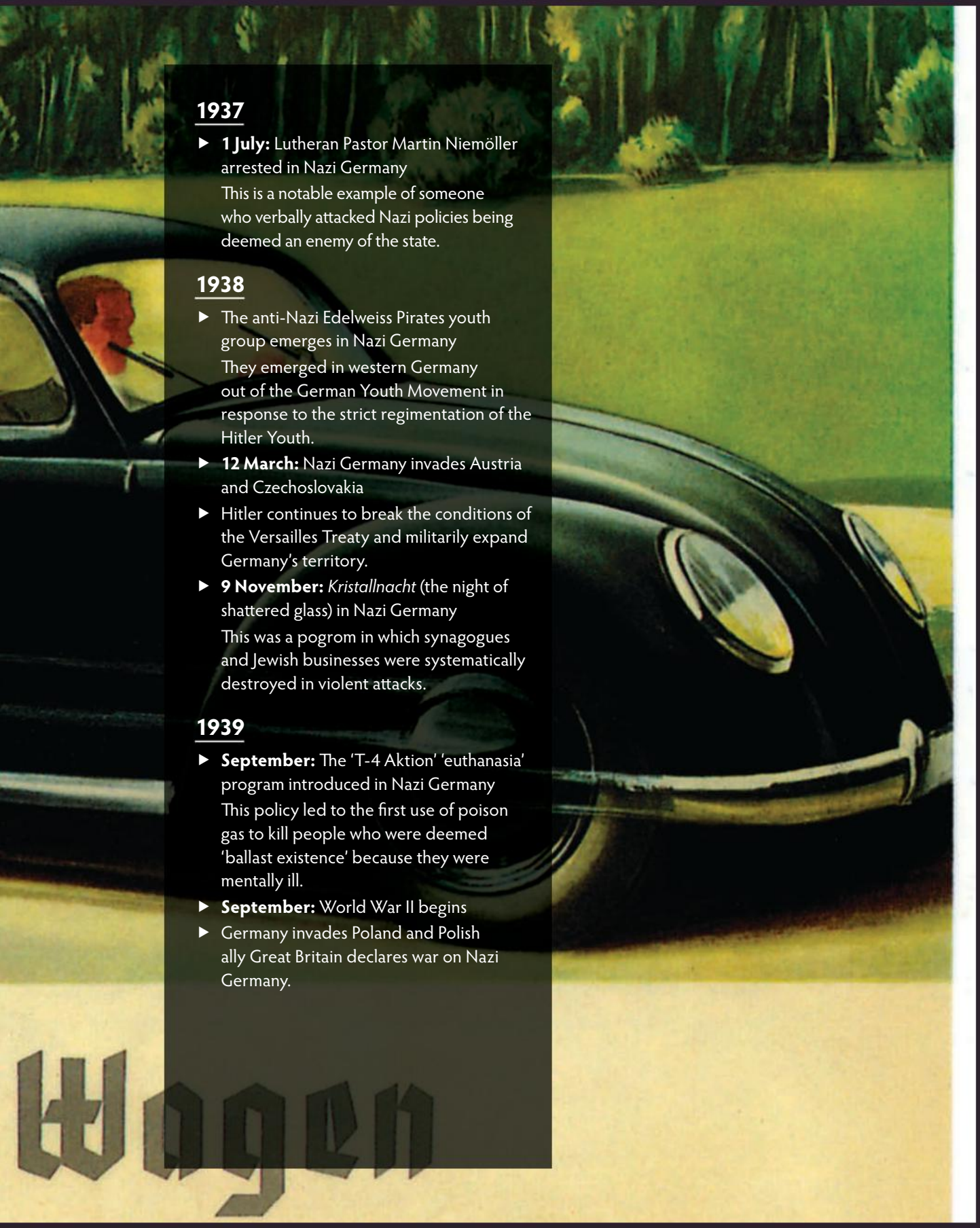
1936

- **19 June:** Heavyweight boxing match between German and American fighters in the US
  The bout between German Max Schmeling and African American Joe Louis ended with Schmeling winning. Hitler declared it a victory for Aryanism.
- Berlin Olympic Games in Nazi Germany
  As athletes from around the world competed in the Games, global attention turned to Nazi Germany.
- Leni Riefenstahl releases the film *Olympia* in Nazi Germany
  The film depicts the events of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games.

1936

- **6 November:** Germany, Italy and Japan sign the Anti-Comintern Pact
  These countries begin developing a war mindset.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



1937

- **1 July:** Lutheran Pastor Martin Niemöller arrested in Nazi Germany
  This is a notable example of someone who verbally attacked Nazi policies being deemed an enemy of the state.

1938

- The anti-Nazi Edelweiss Pirates youth group emerges in Nazi Germany
  They emerged in western Germany out of the German Youth Movement in response to the strict regimentation of the Hitler Youth.
- **12 March:** Nazi Germany invades Austria and Czechoslovakia
- Hitler continues to break the conditions of the Versailles Treaty and militarily expand Germany's territory.
- **9 November:** *Kristallnacht* (the night of shattered glass) in Nazi Germany
  This was a pogrom in which synagogues and Jewish businesses were systematically destroyed in violent attacks.

1939

- **September:** The 'T-4 Aktion' 'euthanasia' program introduced in Nazi Germany
  This policy led to the first use of poison gas to kill people who were deemed 'ballast existence' because they were mentally ill.
- **September:** World War II begins
- Germany invades Poland and Polish ally Great Britain declares war on Nazi Germany.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

6 GERMANY UNDER NAZISM

If there had been a strong democratic sentiment in Germany, Hitler would never have come to power. Germans deserved what they got when they went round crying for a hero.

– A.J.P. TAYLOR, HISTORIAN

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

As Führer, Hitler's goal was to strengthen Germany's position in Europe. After taking power, Hitler attempted to reverse the humiliations suffered as a result of the Treaty of Versailles with a series of 'nation-building' changes through **reforms**. With the aid of a highly functioning propaganda machine, Hitler was able to shift the **psychology** of the nation from depressed to energised, from hopeless to hopeful, from weak to strong. The German people grew to believe that they were working for the greater good of the nation, not for a weekly wage, and that their leisure time was best spent building community spirit. The goal of 'social harmony' informed the Nazis' nationalistic reforms – what was deemed 'best' for the nation came before the needs of any individual.

reforms changes or developments to a previous way of doing things

psychology the mental state or attitude of a person or group

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- What was the impact of political change?
- What was the impact of economic change?
- What was the impact of social change?
- How did the Nazis attempt to control cultural expression?
- What were the criticisms of and challenges to Nazism?

Digital resources for this chapter

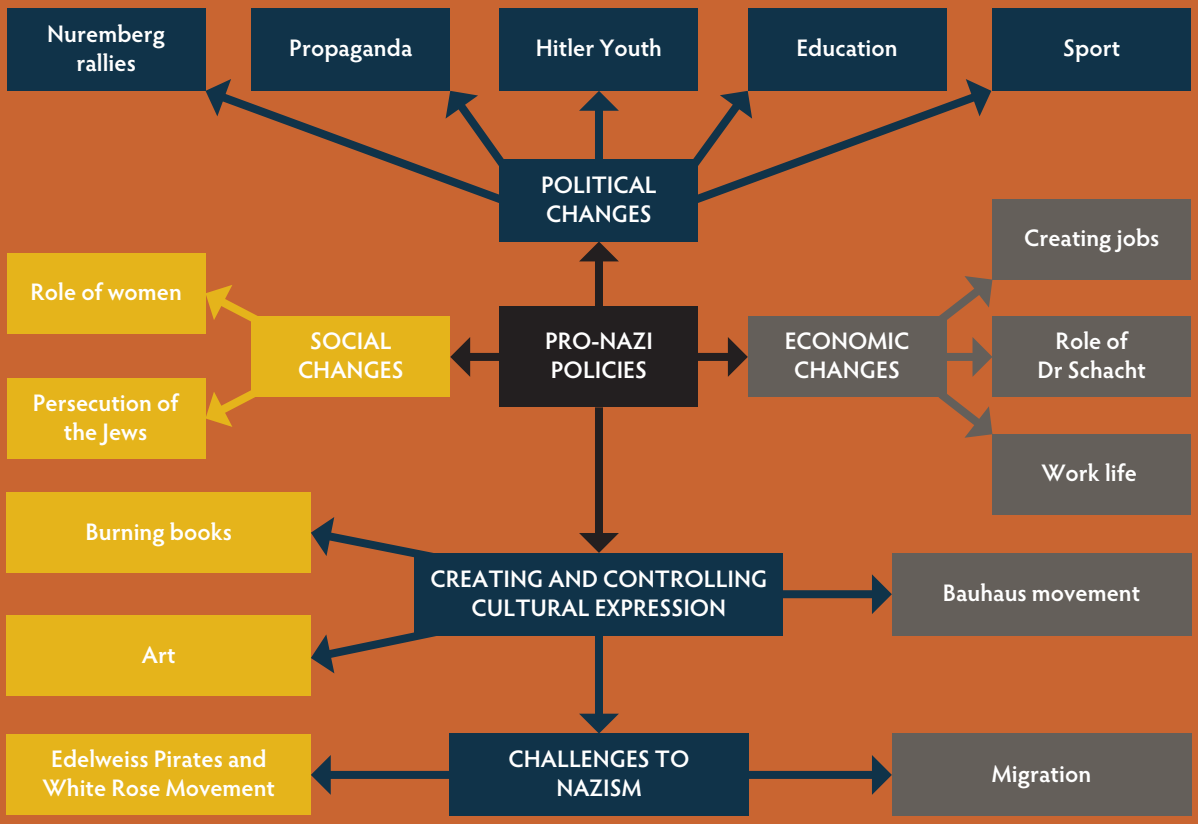
In the *Interactive Textbook*:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◀ **Source 6.0** Nazi Party election poster: 'One can only combat terror from the Left with sharper terror', Germany, 1920s

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

1933
First Nuremberg Rally

1933
MAY
First instance of book burning

1936
Berlin Olympic Games

1933
1 APRIL
Boycott of Jewish businesses

1935
15 SEPTEMBER
Nuremberg Race Laws

1938
9 NOVEMBER
Kristallnacht *saw the anti-Semitic destruction of Jewish businesses and synagogues*

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

6.1 The influence of political change: Establishment of a totalitarian regime

Nuremberg rallies

Hitler generated mass support at his carefully staged annual Nuremberg rallies. He employed his tried-and-tested tactics to full effect here – using banners, flags, precision, crowds, searchlights pointed up to form columns, salutes and military prowess. These rallies became a visual spectacle of the nationalism sweeping the **Third Reich**.

▲**Source 6.1** A huge crowd of soldiers stands to attention at Nuremberg, Germany, listening to Adolf Hitler during the Nazi Party rally of 1934. The Party held a similar rally here every year between 1933 and 1938.

Third Reich the label given by the Nazis to their government, with the First Reich being the Holy Roman Empire, which ran from the Middle Ages to 1806, and the Second Reich being the German Empire from 1871 to 1918

Propaganda snapshot: 1936 Berlin Olympic Games

The world witnessed a propaganda machine that was incredibly developed and dominant under the direction of Joseph Goebbels. Goebbels was in charge of cultural institutions, publishing, art, theatre, music, press, radio and all other media. The 1936 Olympic Games, which were held in the German capital of Berlin, presented a legitimate stage from which to proclaim Nazi propaganda to both Germans and the rest of the world. Goebbels worked hard to showcase all the positive aspects of Nazism in the ultimate public spectacle. No expense was spared building a massive new stadium capable of holding 100 000 people, complete with film cameras, electric lighting, photoelectric timing devices and the largest stop-clock ever built.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The opening ceremony saw a 304-metre Hindenburg zeppelin airship circling the stadium with a massive Olympics flag as Hitler released 20 000 pigeons and cannons were fired all over Berlin.

The Nazi propaganda machine wanted to present Germany as a tolerant, civilised and efficient nation. The following temporary laws were passed as a result:

- The Nuremberg Laws (racial laws against Jews that are covered later in this chapter) were relaxed.
- The SS was ordered to resist public beatings of Jews.
- All anti-Jewish posters and literature were removed.
- Persecution of the church was temporarily suspended.
- Anti-homosexual laws were relaxed.
- Newspapers were forbidden to print anti-Jewish stories or images, but newspaper vending machines were removed just in case.
- Residents of Berlin were not allowed to mention anything anti-Jewish between 30 June and 1 September.
- Oranienburg Concentration Camp in northern Berlin was disguised.

▼**Source 6.2** Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels

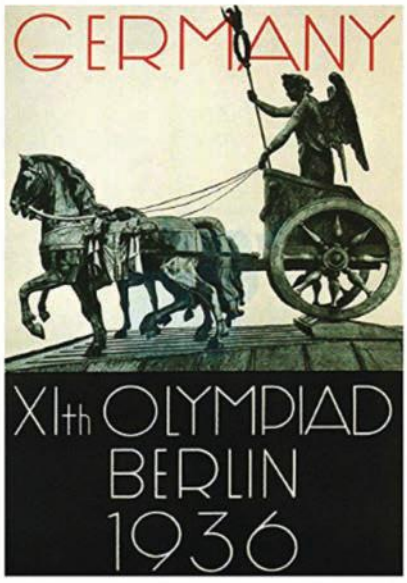
ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.
Cambridge University Press

▲ **Source 6.3** Jesse Owens at the Berlin Olympics in 1936

The Games were an incredible propaganda success for Hitler. Nazi filmmaker, Leni Riefenstahl, captured the games in her documentary feature *Olympia*. Despite Germany topping the medals tally, the greatest athlete of the Games was Jesse Owens, an African American runner who won four gold medals and broke 11 world records. Hitler refused to shake his hand or meet him and the German press sidelined his achievements.

The United States considered boycotting the Berlin Olympics because of the Nazis' violent anti-Jewish policies. As a token gesture, Germany included one Jewish athlete in its team, the Aryan-looking fencing champion Helene Mayer who won a silver medal. In a carefully orchestrated act of propaganda, she saluted Hitler from the medals podium and later shook his hand.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.1



▲ **Source 6.4** A 1936 Berlin Olympic Games poster

1 Write down three words to describe your response to this image.
2 What do you think Hitler wanted visitors to believe about Germany?
3 To what degree do you think he was successful in achieving this?

Hitler Youth

> *My magnificent youngsters! Are there finer ones in the world? … With them I can make a new world.*
>
> Adolf Hitler

> *I want a cruel unflinching youth … slim and slender, swift as the greyhound, tough as leather and as hard as Krupp steel.*
>
> Adolf Hitler

indoctrination the instruction or training of someone to believe and support a particular set of ideas or philosophies, often through highly emotive or persuasive means

Developing a strong political culture filtered into every level of Nazi society. Hitler cleverly grew the popularity of his regime through a strategic focus on the young. Although the Hitler Youth was established in 1922, it gained widespread appeal in 1929 when Baldur von Schirach was appointed its head, and Hitler's popularity increased. While German youth relished the freedom from their parents these groups gave them, they encountered controls of a different kind in their exposure to Nazi policy and **indoctrination**. Although German youth were strongly encouraged to join youth groups, it was not compulsory until 1939.

The Hitler Youth had the following as its central goal: 'All German young people will be educated in the Hitler Youth physically, intellectually and morally in the Spirit of National Socialism to serve

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

the nation and community.' The focus of the group was on **conformity** and adherence to National Socialist ideals so that boys were prepared to be soldiers and girls to be mothers. The Hitler Youth met twice a week, separated by gender. Regular activities included marching, map reading, weapons training, communal singing, literature reading and lectures about Nazi ideology.

conformity compliant behaviour, often motivated by fear of rejection or the social consequences that might arise from non-compliance

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The female branch of the Hitler Youth was called the League of German Girls (*Bund deutscher Mädel*), and trained girls to be physically active through organised sports and camps. Girls were expected to run 60 metres in 14 seconds, throw a ball 12 metres, complete a two-hour march, swim 10 metres and know how to make a bed.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

There were even special groups called the Motorised Hitler Youth, Naval Hitler Youth and Flying Hitler Youth, which prepared boys for careers in the army, navy and air force.

Hitler looked over the stand, and I know he looked into my eyes, and he said: 'You my boys are the standard bearers, you will inherit what we have created.' From that moment there was not any doubt I was bound to Adolf Hitler until long after our defeat. Afterwards I told my friends how Hitler had looked into my eyes, but they all said: 'No! It was my eyes he was looking into.'

A Hitler Youth boy at a Hitler Youth Rally

▲**Source 6.5** A Nazi poster for the National Labour Service: 'We prepare body and soul'

▲**Source 6.6** A Hitler youth poster advertising the 'National Vocational Competition for the German Youth', 1934

▲**Source 6.7** German boys in the Hitler Youth standing to attention at a Nazi rally in 1936

FOCUS QUESTION 6.1

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs and examine the images in Sources 6.5 to 6.7 and the quotes by Adolf Hitler about youth in Germany. The first person asks, **'What's going on in these images and quotes?'** The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the images.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Sport

The new age of today is at work on a new human type. Men and women are to be healthier, stronger; there is a new feeling of life, a new joy in life.

Adolf Hitler, speaking at the opening of the House of Art (Haus der Kunst) in Munich, 1937

▲**Source 6.8** Girls in the 'League of German Girls' participating in athletics events, 1938

Sport for war

Nazism was radically anti-individual, and promoted belonging to a team. Sport was a significant feature of life in Nazi Germany, for young and old, because physical ability was considered to be more important than intellect or moral character. A passion for competition and physical prowess was converted into a passion for war and defending the fatherland. As well as preparing young people for war, Hitler also believed that sport provided a healthy alternative to 'harmful activities such as card playing, drinking alcohol and bad music'. Because of the restrictions placed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, any activity that might be perceived as preparation for war was disguised as a 'sport', such as shooting, sailing, flying gliders, map reading and erecting camouflage.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Elite male teenage sportsmen had their own organisation called the Order Castles. Its members were pushed to the limits playing war games with live ammunition. Many of these young men became part of SS death squads on the Eastern Front during the war.

Heavyweight boxing

A 1936 world heavyweight boxing match provides an interesting example of the position of sport in Nazi ideology. The fight was scheduled for 19 June 1936 between German Max Schmeling and rising superstar African American Joe Louis, who was responsible for the famous line 'He can run, but he can't hide'. But it was a contest of ideologies, not just boxing. Schmeling was promoted as the perfect Aryan specimen. Bets had Louis placed as 10–1 favourite. In front of 45 000 people at Yankee Stadium, Schmeling hammered Louis until the fight was stopped in the twelfth

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

round. For the Nazis, this victory confirmed that Aryan men were superior. There is another side to this story, however. A revenge rematch was scheduled for 22 June 1938, again in America in front of a crowd of 70 000. As soon as the fight began, a pumped Joe Louis threw 40 punches in 2.04 minutes to knock Schmeling out and send him to hospital. Louis became a national hero and Hitler later declared Schmeling a failure. Jews and black people were banned from sports in Germany after 1936.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

School students had to do five sessions of Physical Education per week by 1938 and boxing was compulsory.

6.2 The influence of economic change

History will not judge us according to whether we have removed or imprisoned the largest number of economists, but according to whether we have succeeded in providing work.

Adolf Hitler to Nazi State Governors, 6 July 1933

Many Germans were willing to tolerate Hitler's use of force to gain political domination because he provided two things they had lacked since the war – work and a strong government.

◄ **Source 6.9** An election poster for the Nazi party from 1933, headed 'We are building up! The poster contrasts the Nazi agenda ('Our Building Blocks – Work, Freedom, Bread') with those of their rivals, who, it is claimed, offer only promises, lies, smears, unemployment, social degradation, corruption, terror and a reduction in services.

Reducing unemployment

Hitler's primary economic success lay in virtually eliminating unemployment – dropping it from six million when he gained power in 1933 (one-third of the working population) to just 2.9 million by 1935. By 1939, unemployment had been wiped out, with a mere 301 900 people remaining jobless. Nazi Germany was not only improving the standard of living for its people, but was also becoming the envy of the Western world.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Some people believe that if Hitler had died in 1936, he might have been considered one of the most powerful economic reformers of the twentieth century!

Role of Dr Schacht: *Autobahns* and rearmament

To achieve his goal of reinvigorating the German economy, Hitler appointed Dr Hjalmar Schacht as the Minister of Economics. Schacht laid the foundations for economic improvement by fixing low interest rates to improve investor confidence. He followed that with two ambitious schemes. First, he focused on major public works programs, including the construction of massive motorways, called *autobahns*, still in use today. Their construction created 120 000 jobs while boosting automobile production. Second, he broke the military conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, thus enabling Nazi Germany to begin full-scale weapons manufacturing, building more tanks and submarines, and multiplying the size of the army, air force and navy. By 1936, nearly 20 per cent of the total state finances were allocated to **rearmament**.

rearmament the production of more weapons and military equipment to regain military strength

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 6.10** Hundreds of labourers who worked on the construction of the *autobahns* across Nazi Germany march off to work following a ground-breaking ceremony for the first *Reichsautobahn* (motorway), Frankfurt, 1933.

▲**Source 6.11** German rearmament in the 1930s included the air force and troops, with the former developing into the feared German *Luftwaffe*.

The worldwide economy was picking up again after the Great Depression, so the radical transformation of the German economy was not entirely due to the vision of Hitler or the talent of Schacht.

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

The most popular all-purpose car introduced under Hitler was the Volkswagen, or 'People's Car'. Despite millions of marks being paid in advance, not one car was delivered to a German family. This was because war broke out. In fact, production switched to armoured cars within 24 hours of the Volkswagen factory opening.

◄**Source 6.12** A German advertisement for the Volkswagen, 1936

Improving work life: 'Strength through Joy'

Germany's 169 trade union groups were abolished and replaced by the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (DAF), or German Work Front, which controlled every aspect of working life, from wages to hours. The DAF's purpose was to impose Nazi economic and social policy to create an ordered and harmonious working community, including a program called 'Strength through Joy'. This program provided workers with entertainment, exercise and cheap holidays. The Nazis minimised workers' discontent by doubling the amount of holiday time that was allowed under the Weimar Republic.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

In 1938, half of Germany's workers went on Nazi-organised and -subsidised holidays, which included luxury cruise liners and trips to countries like Italy.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The Nazis introduced new public holidays on the following days: 30 January, the day Hitler was appointed Chancellor; 24 February, the day the Nazi Party was founded; and 20 April, Hitler's birthday.

As the economy improved, Germans found the Nazis more appealing. After years of hyperinflation and depression under the Weimar Republic, potential critics held their tongue for fear they would lose their jobs. Bosses made donations to Nazi Party funds for fear of being put out of business, while workers tried to live a comfortable life by keeping their heads down and remaining silent. In essence, the Nazi economic success bought people's compliance.

The average worker is primarily interested in work and not in democracy ... One must be clear about the fact that in the first instance men are fathers of families and have jobs, and that for them politics takes second place and even then only when they expect to get something out of it.

A socialist activist, 1936

▶**Source 6.13** A German poster from 1938 encouraging its citizens to embrace 'Walking with Strength through Joy'

6.3 The influence of social change: The role of gender, race and ethnicity

Under the influence of Nazism, Germany changed significantly during the interwar years. Socially, patterns of daily life changed incredibly because of Hitler's desire to unify and strengthen the nation. Traditional expressions of social norms were challenged and changed.

Changes to the role of women

We want women in whose life and work the characteristically feminine is preserved – women that we can love!

Nazi Deputy Leader Rudolf Hess in a speech after an a cappella choir performance, 1936

Nazis held a conservative view of what constituted proper gender roles. Nazi ideology held that the world was divided into two spheres: the public, political sphere of the male, and the private, domestic sphere of the female. Just as he regarded races as being separate, Hitler also believed that men and women were totally different. He rejected the liberal attitudes of the previous Weimar Republic towards women that had given them the vote and created major educational and work opportunities. In 1934, Joseph Goebbels wrote:

The mission of woman is to be beautiful and to bring children into the world ... In exchange, the male takes care of gathering the food, and stands guard and wards off the enemy.

▲**Source 6.14** Rudolph Hess, to the right of Hitler, 1937

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▼**Source 6.15**
A Nazi election poster from 1932, appealing directly to women for support – showing that the role of women under the Nazis was always important for Hitler

When Hitler came to power in 1933, he further idealised women's role as mother, elevating it to woman as a mother and servant to the nation. In a speech in 1934, he argued:

> *What the man gives in courage on the battlefield, the woman gives in eternal self-sacrifice, in eternal pain and suffering. Every child that a woman brings into the world is a battle, a battle waged for the existence of her people.*

In Nazi Germany, women's role was to increase the birth rate and raise Aryan children devoted to the Führer and fatherland (that is, Germany). This female ideal was called a *Hausfrau*, or housewife. The Nazi slogan for women was 'Children, church and kitchen'. Women were excluded from full membership of the Nazi Party, politics, armed forces and the legal profession so they could focus on their domestic role. Abortion was illegal, birth-control clinics were closed and contraception was removed, with the support of the Catholic Church.

The National Socialist Welfare Organisation was established with 25 000 advice centres throughout Germany to teach females how to be ideal women. It also produced a pamphlet called 'Ten Commandments for the Choice of a Spouse':

Remember that you are a German.

If you are genetically healthy you should not remain unmarried.

Keep your body pure.

You should keep your mind and spirit pure.

As a German choose only a spouse of the same or Nordic blood.

In choosing a spouse, ask about his ancestors.

Health is also a precondition for physical beauty.

Marry only for love.

Don't look for a playmate but for a companion for marriage.

You should want to have as many children as possible.

▲**Source 6.16**
Honour Cross of the German Mother

The state also introduced rewards for having lots of children. The much-publicised policies were called *Geburtenschlacht*, which meant the 'Battle for Births'. For example, a generous interest-free Marriage Loan was introduced to encourage young couples to marry so that they could begin producing children. Mothers of six children or more were given the same medals as men in combat because, according to leading Nazi Dr Gerhard Wagner, mothers also risked their lives for Germany and its people. The 'Honour Cross of the German Mother' was awarded on Mother's Day each year of the Nazi regime.

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

Single women and childless couples were taxed more heavily and the money was given to married mothers.

In the end, while marriage rates increased, birth rates only went up marginally. Women who had been working under the previous government were removed from paid employment, but the government rethought its ideology, deciding to use women to work in factories, including manufacturing tanks, aircraft and bullets. As on many occasions throughout history, military demands beat ideological beliefs.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The true tragedy of this ideology is reflected in the fate of those women who did not fit the Aryan ideal: Jewish women, Aryan women married to Jews, Roma women (Gypsies) and women with a physical or mental disability. Those women who were considered unfit to have children were compulsorily sterilised, foreign women were turned into slaves or prostitutes, and peasant women were treated simply as breeders. Some women were murdered, deemed 'life unworthy of life'. A concentration camp, Moringen, was established for these women in October 1933. In no way can this brief description convey the pain of the individual stories of these women.

▲**Source 6.17** Women in traditional folk dresses at a Nazi event, 1935

Changes to education

> *Today we suffer from over-education. Only knowledge is prized. The know-it-alls are the enemies of action. What is needed is instinct and will.*
>
> Adolf Hitler, in a speech in 1923

Universities are normally places where free thinking is encouraged. But anyone who opposed National Socialism at a German university was expelled. In schools, students stood and waited patiently before class began. All classes began when the teacher entered, moved to the front of the room and saluted the class saying 'Heil Hitler', which was repeated by the students. Then they sat down ready to begin the lesson.

The daily timetable for a girls' boarding school in Nazi Germany looked something like that shown in Source 6.18.

▼**Source 6.18** A typical daily school timetable

	8 a.m.	8.50 a.m.	9.40 a.m.	10.25 a.m.	11 a.m.	12.10 p.m.	1 p.m. to 6 p.m.	Evening
Monday	German	Singing, Geography or History	Race studies and Ideology	Recess, which included sport	Domestic science or Maths	Health biology	Sport	Sex education, Ideology or Domestic science

FOCUS QUESTION 6.2

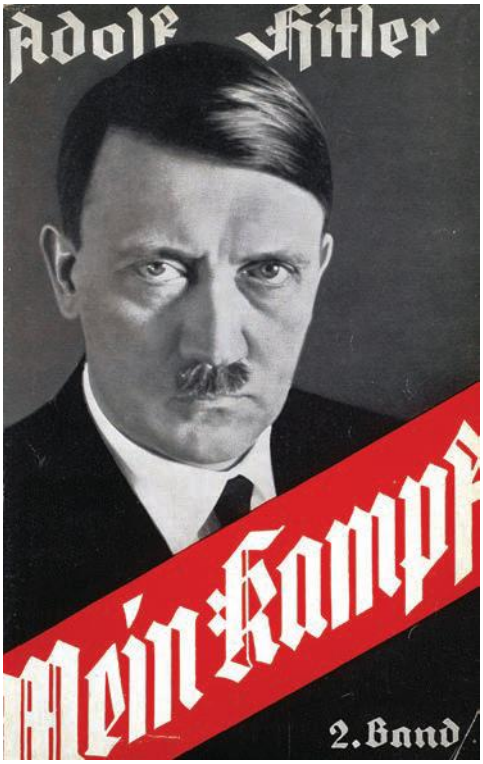
Talk the thought – the four Cs

This thinking routine provides a structure for rich discussion. In small groups, each person shares their response to the first 'C': 'Connections' in relation to the information about the changing role of women and education. Then each member shares a 'Challenge', and so on.

- **Connections** – What connections do you draw between the text and your own life and/or other learning?
- **Challenge** – What ideas, perspectives or assumptions do you want to challenge or argue with?
- **Concepts** – What key concepts do you think are important and worth holding on to from the text?
- **Changes** – What changes in attitudes, thinking or action are suggested by the text?

►**Source 6.19** A teacher and his pupils give the Nazi salute, shortly after the population of the Saarland voted in a plebiscite to rejoin Germany in January 1935. Under the Treaty of Versailles, the region had been occupied by Britain and France since 1920. The class is facing a blackboard with the text: 'Wir Saarländer Sind Deutsch!' (We Saarlanders are German!').

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲**Source 6.20** *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), an autobiographical manifesto by Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, in which he outlines his political ideology and future plans for Germany

Changes to the understanding of race and ethnicity

The idea of struggle is as old as life itself … In this struggle the stronger, the more able win, while the less able, the weak lose.

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*

Hitler did not invent anti-Semitism. Racist ideas and attitudes had been growing in popularity in Germany from the late 1800s. Nazi ideology believed in the superiority of the Aryan race. In this equation, therefore, other races must be perceived as inferior. The Jewish race was perceived to be the most inferior, along with other groups that did not fit the ideal: Roma, homosexuals and mentally and physically disabled people. Religious groups, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, were not tolerated, and communists were frequently persecuted. As Source 6.21 shows, the Nazis had different methods of persecution for different groups.

Minorities	Action taken	Numbers
Hereditary illness	Sterilised and later killed	Over 300 000
Mentally disabled children and babies	Euthanasia program begun in 1939	Over 5000 were given a lethal injection or starved to death
Mentally disabled adults	Gassed between 1939 and 1941 before stopped by public opposition	72 000
Roma	Extermination	25 000 out of original 30 000 in Germany were killed (that is, five out of six)
'Asocials' (homosexuals, alcoholics, homeless, prostitutes, criminals and beggars)	Sent to concentration camps	15 000 homosexuals; 10 000 alcoholics
Jews	Extermination	Estimated six million across Europe; over 90 per cent of Poland's 3.3 million Jews were killed

▲**Source 6.21** Persecuted groups and modes of persecution

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Early on, the new Nazi government imposed a boycott on Jewish shops. Signs were placed outside Jewish-owned shops with SA guards warning people not to shop there. The implication was that supporting Jewish businesses was unpatriotic and detrimental to the prosperity of the nation.

▲**Source 6.22** A sign reading 'Germans! Defend Yourselves! Do not buy from Jews!' is posted on the Jewish Tietz shop during the anti-Semitic boycott of Nazi Germany.

▲**Source 6.23** Germany lost little time following its annexation of Austria to Nazify that land. Here is a typical Vienna street scene with a notice posted on the shop window to the effect that is has been taken over by the works association of the trade organisation of the National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazi Party). At the bottom of the poster are the words 'Jews are not wanted.' This picture was taken despite Nazi censorship, and was smuggled out of the country in 1938.

The Israeli historian Saul Friedländer described the Nazi ideology as one centred around the idea of 'redemptive anti-semitism'.

> *Redemptive anti-semitism was born from the fear of racial degradation and the religious belief in redemption. The main cause of degeneration was the penetration of Jews into the German body politic, into German society, and into the German bloodstream… Redemption would come as liberation from the Jews – as their expulsion, possibly their annihilation.*
>
> Nazi Germany And The Jews: The Years Of Persecution: 1933–1939

The Nazis instituted laws and took actions that gradually became more aggressive in the pursuit of this racial ideology:

- 1 April 1933 – boycott of Jewish businesses
- 7 April 1933 – Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service, in which Jews were expelled from civil service jobs
- 14 July 1933 – Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring ('Sterilisation Law'), a 'eugenics' measure designed to force people to be sterilised if they were viewed as producing 'inferior' children
- 15 September 1935 – Nuremberg Race Laws 'for the protection of the German blood', which forbade intermarriage between supposedly 'Aryan' Germans and those of Jewish descent
- 9–10 November 1938 – Pogrom of *Kristallnacht* (the Night of Broken Glass), in which synagogues and Jewish businesses were systematically destroyed in violent attacks
- September 1939 – 'T-4 Aktion', the so-called 'euthanasia' program, which led to the first use of poison gas to kill people who were deemed 'ballast existence' because they were mentally ill.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

6.4 The Nuremberg Laws, 1935

[A] Jewish youth lies in wait for hours on end satanically glaring at and spying on the unconscious girl whom he plans to seduce, adulterating her blood with the ultimate idea of bastardising the white race which they hate and thus lowering its cultural and political level so that the Jew might dominate.

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*

Many anti-Semitic laws were based on the belief that Jews were sexual predators from whom German citizens needed protection. Every area of daily life and professional activity in which Jews and Aryans might have contact was identified and prohibited to stop the risk of German women being sexually abused by Jewish men. For example, Jews were expelled from public swimming pools, Jews could not have German women under 45 as servants, and laws forbidding marriage or sexual intercourse between Jews and Germans were introduced. The German population generally accepted these laws.

From very early on, Hitler argued that he believed his extreme hatred and anti-Semitism was 'factual' rather than the crazed conspiracy theory that it actually was. In one of his earliest political statements, he described all Jewish people as a 'racial tuberculosis', and he maintained this view all the way through to his death in 1945. As you read this, consider how it connects to the legislation that the Nazis imposed once they came to power:

Anti-Semitism as a political movement must not be, cannot be, determined by emotional criteria, but only through the recognition of facts. The facts are as follows. First, the Jews are definitely a race and not a religious community … Through a thousand years of inbreeding, often practiced within a very narrow circle, the Jew has in general preserved his race and character much more rigorously than many of the peoples among whom he lives. And as a result, there is living amongst us a non-German, foreign race, unwilling and unable to sacrifice its racial characteristics, to deny its own feeling, thinking, and striving, and which none the less possesses all the political rights that we ourselves have … Everything which makes men strive for higher things, whether religion, socialism or democracy, is for him on a means to an end, to the satisfaction of a lust for money and domination. His activities produce a racial tuberculosis among nations … anti-Semitism based on reason must lead to the systematic legal combating and removal of the rights of the Jew … Its final aim, however, must be the uncompromising removal of the Jews altogether.

Adolf Hitler, 16 September 1919

FOCUS QUESTION 6.3

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

◄ **Source 6.24** A poster from 1936: 'The Jews have always been race defilers'. You can examine this image closer by searching for it on the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum website.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

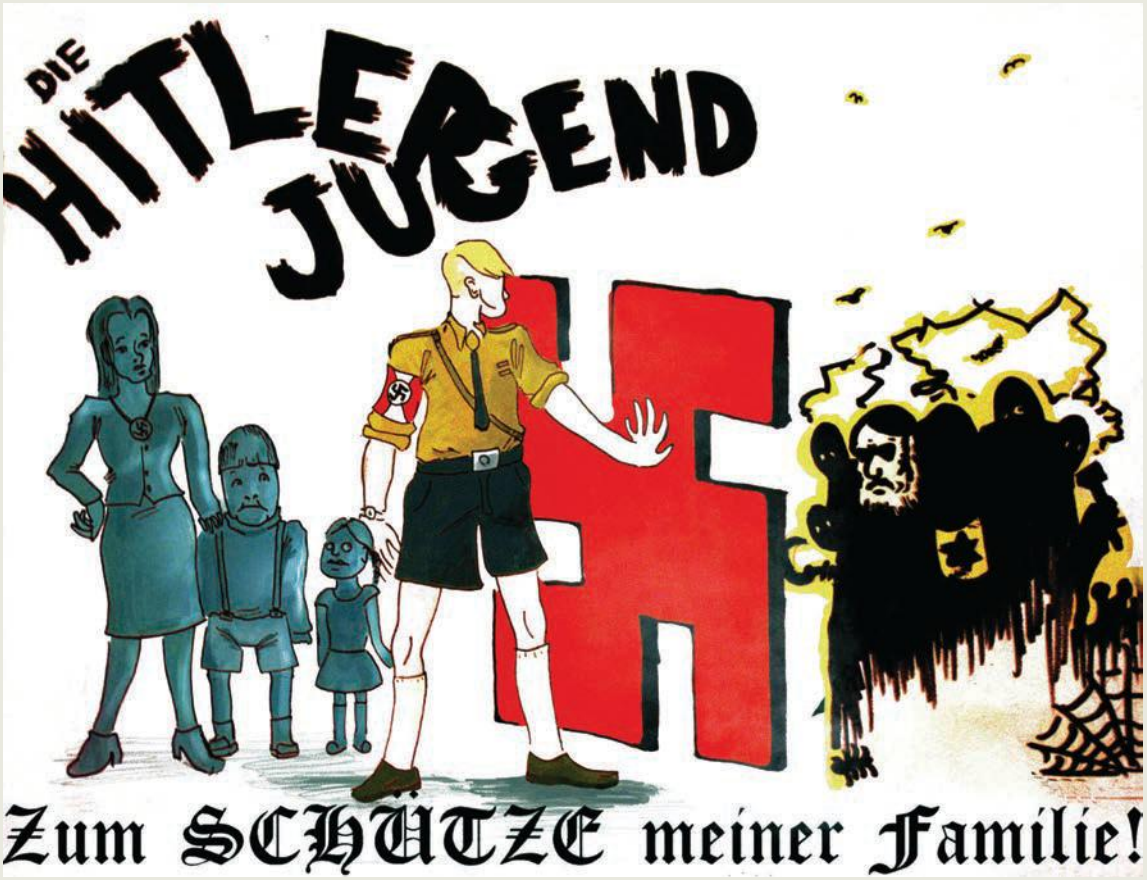
This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'What's going on in this image?'**. The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

At the Nuremberg Rally of 1935, Hitler introduced extreme reforms against German Jews, which became known as the Nuremberg Laws. The official names of these laws were the 'Reich Citizenship Law' and the 'Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour'. These laws removed all citizenship rights, including the right to vote.

FOCUS QUESTION 6.4

See, think, wonder

Analyse this image from 1937.



▲**Source 6.25** A Hitler Youth poster: 'The Hitler Youth: To protect my family!'

- What do you **see** in the image? What is the youth protecting his family from in your opinion?
- What do you **think** about the image? Who is the image directed at, who is the target audience do you think?
- What do you **wonder** about the image? How does the image make you feel? How do you think it would have made the target audience feel?

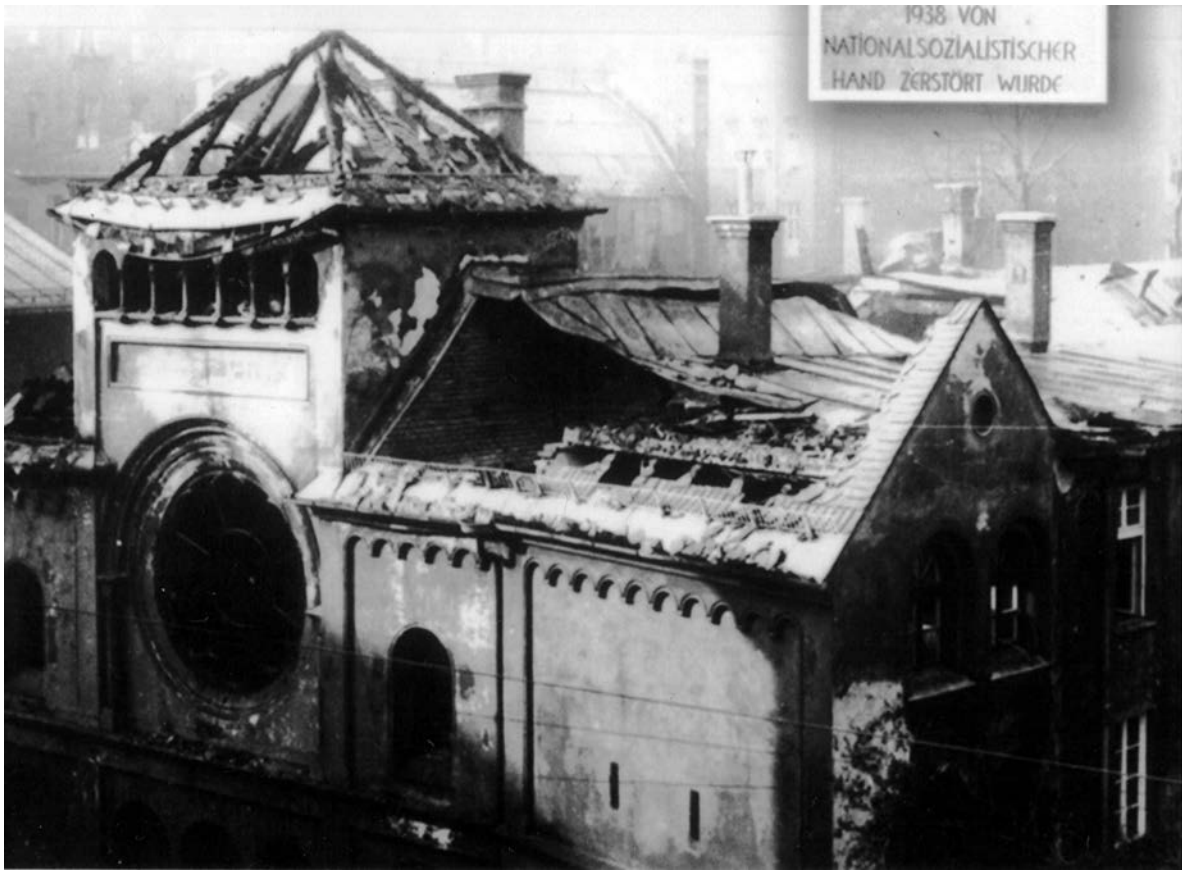
ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

6.5 *Kristallnacht*, or the Night of Broken Glass, 1938

The most violent attack on Jews took place over two nights in November 1938, which became known as *Kristallnacht*, or the Night of Broken Glass. The violence started when a young Polish Jew shot a German official in Paris. Hermann Göring declared that anyone who attacked Jews in Germany would not go unpunished. Head of the Security Police, Reinhard Heydrich, authorised his police to imprison as many Jewish males as they could, and Nazi leaders encouraged violence on a massive scale. In a 48-hour period, 1000 synagogues were burnt, 7000 Jewish businesses were ransacked, 100 Jews were killed or seriously injured and, later, 30 000 Jews were sent to concentration camps.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

A witness to *Kristallnacht*, the US Consul in Leipzig, described synagogues being burnt with incendiary bombs, firemen leaving the synagogues to burn but watering the buildings next door, Jews being spat upon and a boy being hurled from a third-storey window.



▲**Source 6.26** The ruins of Ohel Yaakov synagogue in Munich, set on fire during *Kristallnacht*

Unbelievably, the Nazis fined the Jewish community for the damage caused by *Kristallnacht*. They were forced to pay 1 billion marks as compensation to non-Jews in addition to fixing the damage to their own property. After *Kristallnacht*, Jews were excluded from schools, parks, restaurants and from owning shops.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

6.6 Creating and controlling cultural expression

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.2

Before delving into the ways that the government of Nazi Germany heavily influenced the types of cultural expression that its citizens could access, let us briefly consider what this was like in Germany during the years leading up to the takeover by Hitler.

Sources on Berlin and cultural change

In the early years of the twentieth century, people's lives changed rapidly. There were economic changes that could make people poor, while in Russia there were fundamental changes that took away the rights of private property. Culture changed, as did art, and Berlin became known as the 'Babylon of the World' for its experimentation and radical innovation in art and culture, as well as its open liberalism and freedoms. The following extracts and image try to capture exactly how much had changed – especially for women.

As you examine these, work on answers to the following questions:

1 What are the ways in which these texts or images describe *change*?
2 Do these sources depict change as positive or negative? Identify key aspects in each – quotes or parts of the image – that support your interpretation.
3 Do these sources imply that change is 'complete' or that a kind of freedom has been achieved? If not, what do they feel is still lacking?

In the words of one historian, the Weimar era in Germany was:

'… a dance on the edge of a volcano' … [T]he ambitions of the Weimar Republic, which was founded in 1919 – openness and tolerance, underpinned by radical social democracy – created a new and more liberal atmosphere. The constitution guaranteed every German the right to 'express his opinion freely in word, writing, print, picture or in any other manner,' and German artists, many of whom had been exposed to modernist movements in France, Italy and America, rushed to find forms that could reflect the tumultuous realities that surrounded them … [The playwright] Brecht had got his start on the thriving Berlin [cabaret] scene, and many other artists were drawn to this gaudy, seductive underworld, with its indulgent approach to sexuality, ethnicity and gender. In 1925 the African American dancer Josephine Baker brought her 'Revue Négre' show across from Paris, where it was a rampant success, and four years later the English writer Christopher Isherwood moved to [Berlin]. Isherwood found Berlin a revelation – not just creatively, but via the burgeoning gay scene … Other artists saw the bleaker side of Weimar life. The expressionist painter Otto Dix, haunted by his experiences as a machine-gunner during the First World War, channeled his energies into sardonic and often ghoulish depictions of Berlin. The central panel of Dix's famous triptych Metropolis *(1927–28) [see Source 6.27], portrays a jazz club teeming with jitterbugging, bobbed 'New Women', but its side panels tell a different story. In one, a wounded veteran stands by, his companion dead on the pavement; in the other a crowd of scantily clad young females streams past, insensible to the suffering that surrounds them.*

Andrew Dickson, 2016

To All Working Women! … Come out for International Women's Day! … Your lives and deeds are dominated by exorbitant price increases with which small and medium incomes cannot keep pace … As long as the men were being misused in the trenches as cannon fodder for the rich, you women were drawn by the hundreds of thousands into the factories as machine fodder for scant pay … Since distant millionaires and billionaires

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

▲**Source 6.27** Otto Dix, *Metropolis*, 1928, depicting two very different kinds of parallel lives in German cities like Berlin. Wounded war veterans on the streets, begging, form the end pieces to a central picture that depicts 'Jazz night-life'.

cannot pit you against the men to suppress wages and salaries, [now] you have the doors to the places of work and employment slammed in your faces … Of what concern is it to the factory owner, merchant, stock company … how you prolong your troubled existence? The spirit of mammon, of exploitative capitalism, is their master. That is why you are cast into the streets as prostitutes … The house they talk about, what is it? The exploitative capitalist economy transforms it from a home – a place of rest, peace, and happiness – into a treadmill whose operation mercilessly crushes you, body and soul … [W]ho among you has been made full, free and happy by the right to vote and be elected [a right granted by the Weimar Constitution]?

Article from the journal *The Female Communist*, 1921

[T]he woman of today is oriented exclusively toward the present … She refuses to be regarded as a physically weak being in need of assistance – the role the woman of yesterday continued to adopt artificially – and therefore no longer lives by means supplied to her from elsewhere, whether income from her parents or her husband. For the sake of her economic independence … she seeks to support herself through gainful employment … The new woman has set herself the goal of proving in her work and deeds that the representatives of the female sex are not second-class persons existing only in dependence and obedience but are fully capable of satisfying the demands of their positions in life.

Elsa Herrmann, 'This is the New Woman', 1929

Influence of the Bauhaus Movement

The Bauhaus School was one of the most influential modernist art schools of the twentieth century. It was established in 1919 in Weimar and, despite being closed in Berlin in 1933, its teachings remained a powerful international influence. It was based on the concept that art had a close relationship with society and technology.

> *Designing is not a profession but an attitude. Design has many connotations. It is the organization of materials and processes in the most productive way, in a harmonious balance of all elements necessary for a certain function. It is the integration of technological, social, and economical requirements, biological necessities, and the psychological effects of materials, shape, color, volume and space. Thinking in relationships.*
>
> László Moholy-Nagy, Hungarian artist, painter and photographer at the Bauhaus School

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTION 6.5

Explain what László Moholy-Nagy might have meant when he said that art is 'thinking in relationships'.

Art

To be German is to be logical and true. It is this spirit which has always lived in our people, which has inspired painters, sculptors, architects, thinkers, poets, and above all our musicians.

Adolf Hitler, speaking at the opening of the House of Art (Haus der Kunst) in Munich, 1937

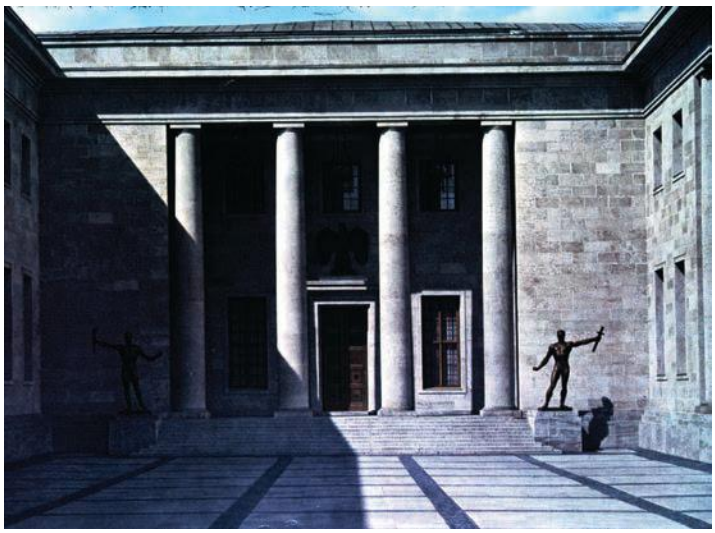
Because of his passion for the arts, Hitler focused heavily on developing the cultural life of the Third Reich. Hitler believed that modern art was made up of 'degenerative' trends such as surrealism, cubism and Dadaism that destroyed the eternal value of beauty and replaced it with ugliness. Hitler encouraged the work of artists in the classical style, such as Arno Breker and Adolf Wissel, who produced art that promoted noble ideals similar in outlook to National Socialism.

▲**Source 6.28** Arno Breker's *Die Partei* (The Party), representing the Nazi spirit

Architecture

Architecture in Nazi Germany was an important symbol of the Third Reich. Plans and buildings were a sign of the control, power and rebirth of Germany. Hitler had a keen interest in architecture, particularly the **baroque** and neo-baroque styles of Germany and Vienna, and although architecture in Nazi Germany did not stick to one particular style, buildings were consistently large with exaggerated accents to express the strength of their owners. Architecture was functional, always serving a purpose for the government, and promoting ideology. It possessed similar elements to classical Roman and Greek structures.

baroque a style of European architecture, music and art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries characterised by its free style and use of classical sculpture



▲**Source 6.29** The New Reich Chancellery, an example of an archetypical Nazi building. The image on the left shows the enlarged, grand exterior of the Courtyard of Honour. The image on the right shows the baroque influence on the interior of the building.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

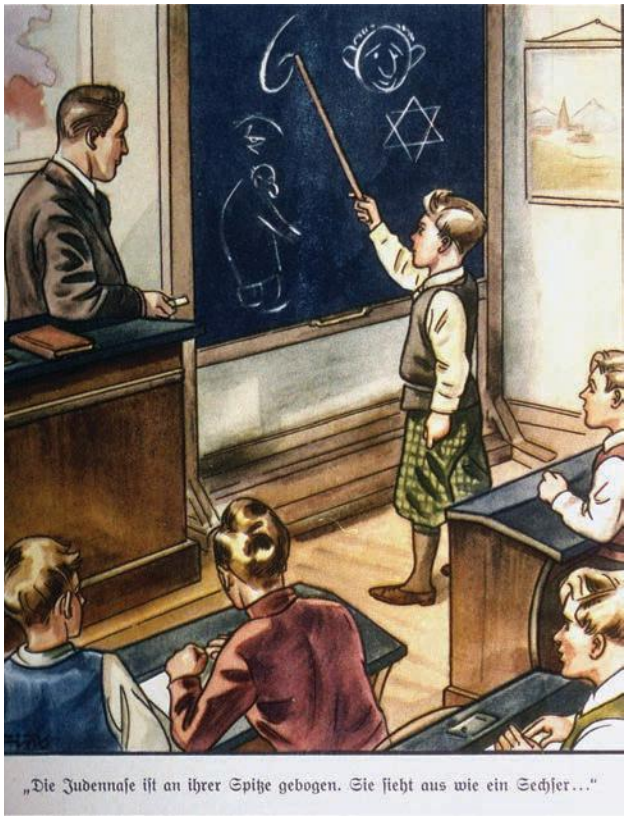
Music

Much like architecture, music was used to promote the Nazi ideal and as another tool for controlling all aspects of civilian life. Artistic freedom was limited at this time and the policy of *Gleichschaltung* was introduced to ensure the only music heard was 'good German music'. Hitler believed good German music was that composed by Aryans and which fitted Nazi ideals. He had a strong passion for composers such as Beethoven, Wagner and Bruckner. To promote this style of music the ***Reichsmusikkammer*** was established, where talented, loyal Nazi members were guaranteed a job, and non-Jewish people who had musical genius were also allowed. Any music that did not fit Hitler's beliefs was banned and labelled as 'degenerate'; this included jazz, swing music and any music composed by the Jewish community.

Reichsmusikkammer the Reich Music Chamber, an institution created to promote 'good German music' and suppress 'degenerate' music

Propaganda in schools

Schools were used as places of learning about racial purity and the superiority of Germanity. Hence, the Nazis began their racial education with primary school children, indoctrinating them about the social division between true Germans and the inferior Jews. The most significant example of this was the picture book *The Poisonous Mushroom*, published in 1938 by Julius Streicher, the founder and publisher of *Der Stürmer*, the Nazi newspaper. *The Poisonous Mushroom* is a collection of 17 stories designed to teach German children that Jews were evil and dangerous, while pure Germans were heroic and good. The title story likens Jews to poisonous mushrooms lurking in the forest.



▲ **Source 6.30** 'Story 2: How to tell a Jew': 'The Jewish nose is bent at the tip. It looks like the number six.'

▲ **Source 6.31** 'Story 17: Without solving the Jewish question, no salvation for mankind': 'He who fights the Jews battles the Devil'.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.3

Read the following extract from *The Poisonous Mushroom* and answer the questions below.

A mother and her young boy are gathering mushrooms in the German forest. The boy finds some poisonous ones. The mother explains that there are good mushrooms and poisonous ones, and, as they go home, says:

'Look, Franz, human beings in this world are like the mushrooms in the forest. There are good mushrooms and there are good people. There are poisonous, bad mushrooms and there are bad people. And we have to be on our guard against bad people just as we have to be on guard against poisonous mushrooms. Do you understand that?'

'Yes, mother,' Franz replies. 'I understand that in dealing with bad people trouble may arise, just as when one eats a poisonous mushroom. One may even die!'

'And do you know, too, who these bad men are, these poisonous mushrooms of mankind?' the mother continued.

Franz slaps his chest in pride: 'Of course I know, mother! They are the Jews! Our teacher has often told us about them.'

The mother praises her boy for his intelligence, and goes on to explain the different kinds of 'poisonous' Jews: the Jewish pedlar, the Jewish cattle-dealer, the Kosher butcher, the Jewish doctor, the baptised Jew, and so on.

'However they disguise themselves, or however friendly they try to be, affirming a thousand times their good intentions to us, one must not believe them. Jews they are and Jews they remain. For our Volk they are poison.'

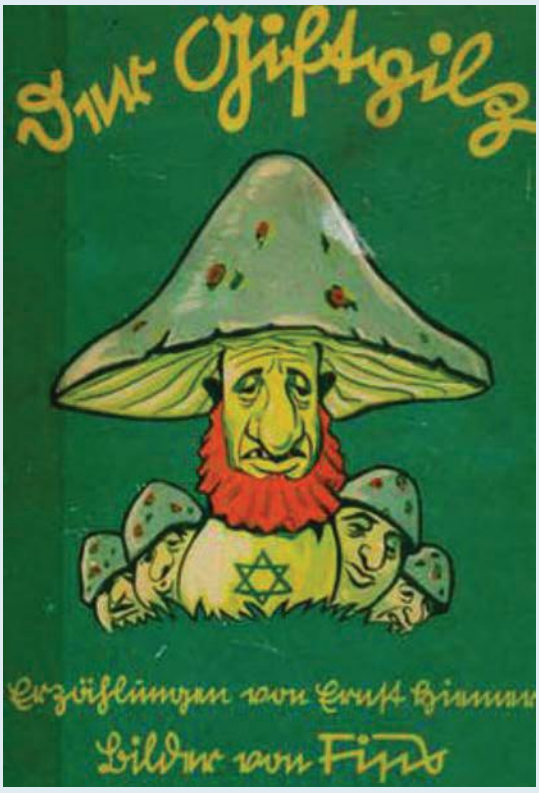
'Like the poisonous mushroom!' says Franz.

'Yes, my child! Just as a single poisonous mushroom can kill a whole family, so a solitary Jew can destroy a whole village, a whole city, even an entire Volk.'

Franz has understood.

'Tell me, mother, do all non-Jews know that the Jew is as dangerous as a poisonous mushroom?' Mother shakes her head.

'Unfortunately not, my child. There are millions of non-Jews who do not yet know the Jews. So we have to enlighten people and warn them against the Jews. Our young people, too, must be warned. Our boys and girls must learn to know the Jew. They must learn that the Jew is the most dangerous poison mushroom in existence. Just as poisonous mushrooms spring up everywhere, so the Jew is found in every country in the world. Just as poisonous mushrooms often lead to the most dreadful calamity, so the Jew is the cause of misery and distress, illness and death.'



▲ **Source 6.32** The cover of *The Poisonous Mushroom*

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

The author then concludes this story by pointing out the 'moral':

German youth must learn to recognise the Jewish poison mushroom. They must learn what a danger the Jew is for the German Volk and for the whole world. They must learn that the Jewish problem involves the destiny of us all.

The following tales tell the truth about the Jewish poison mushroom. They show the many shapes the Jew assumes. They show the depravity and baseness of the Jewish race. They show the Jew for what he really is:

The Devil in human form.

1 How does the author use mushrooms to explain differences between Germans and Jews?
2 List three separate words that portray the Jews in a negative light (for example, 'poisonous').
3 How does the story claim that Jews disguise themselves as part of everyday life?
4 What does the story claim is the danger of one Jew?
5 What do non-Jews need to know to protect themselves?
6 Summarise the story in two sentences of your own words for someone who has not read it.
7 In your opinion, is this story a good example of propaganda? Explain your answer using examples from the story.

Burning books

Where they burn books, they will ultimately burn people.

Heinrich Heine, *Almansor*, 1821

The Nazis also attacked culture and intellectual objects. In May 1933, they ordered the burning of all books that challenged the ideology and view of German history and society they were promoting. Nazi students were employed to raid university libraries, synagogues and even private homes. Books were then burnt in massive bonfires on streets and outside universities. In this context, book burning can be seen as a way to align culture with politics by purging all undesirable thoughts from German language and literature.

Authors whose books were burnt included:

- Albert Einstein
- Sigmund Freud
- Heinrich Heine
- Helen Keller
- Jack London
- Karl Marx
- Marcel Proust
- Walter Rathenau
- H.G. Wells.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The German writer Bertolt Brecht escaped Nazi Germany in February 1933. Two months later, his books were burnt by the Nazis. Brecht was known for his Marxist sympathies and had been critical of both the Weimar Government and the Nazi Party.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTION 6.6

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'What's going on in this image?'**. The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

▶**Source 6.33** The public burning of 'un-German' books by members of the SA and university students on the Opernplatz in Berlin

Cinema

Long before the rise of the Nazis to power, the German film industry was strong and internationally respected. After World War I Germany had developed its own film studio system, which produced films across a range of genres including psychological thrillers such as *The Cabinet of Dr Caligari* (1920, directed by Robert Wiene), *Metropolis* (1927) and science fiction films like *M* (1931, both directed by Fritz Lang). These films were technically, stylistically and thematically influential on filmmakers in other countries such as those in Hollywood in the United States.

As part of the Nazi policy of *Gleichschaltung*, the film industry was converted into a propaganda machine for the Nazi Government by June 1933. The *Reichsfilmkammer* (Reich Chamber of Film) was the body of the Nazi state charged with control of the film industry, which reported directly to Goebbel's Propaganda ministry. Jewish people and foreigners were quickly banned from employment in the German film industry. Some 1500 filmmaking professionals quickly emigrated from Germany, including the directors Fritz Lang and Billy Wilder, who both had long and successful careers in Hollywood.

Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels insisted that movies reflect the official agenda of the Nazi regime. By 1936, foreign films were banned, and though many light entertainment films were made, several anti-Semitic propaganda works such as *The Eternal Jew* (1940) were also produced. Two of the most famous films to come out of Nazi Germany were documentaries made by former actress Leni Riefenstahl, who was known for her technical ability as a director. *Triumph of the Will* (1935), about the 1934 Nuremberg Rally, and *Olympia* (1938), about the 1936 Summer Olympics, pioneered techniques of camera movement and editing that influenced many later films. Today, however, both films are considered to be highly controversial for their propagandising of Nazi ideals.

◀**Source 6.34** Leni Riefenstahl, a famous film director and actress who made several prominent films in Nazi Germany, 1944

▶**Source 6.35** A Nazi propaganda poster for an exhibition entitled 'The Eternal Jew,' 1938. The image depicts a typical Nazi stereotype of Jews, linking the figure simultaneously to economic wealth (gold coins), communism (the Soviet Union under one arm) and a supposed plan to rule the world (the whip).

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

6.7 Challenges to Nazism

While Hitler attempted to create a unified society, and persecuted those who resisted, there were many individuals and groups who actively challenged Nazi ideology. This section outlines their stories and outcomes.

Edelweiss Pirates

Not all teenagers were members of the Hitler Youth. The most prominent alternative 'youth group' was the Edelweiss Pirates who named themselves after the edelweiss flower badges they wore on their collars. These were made up of working-class teenagers between the ages of 14 (when they could leave school) and 17 (when they had to enrol in the army). They were united in their resentment of Nazi authority and control, but their motivation was mainly social rather than political. Unlike the gender split of the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls, the Edelweiss Pirates allowed membership to both boys and girls and had a more liberal attitude towards sex. They camped each weekend and sang songs mocking the Nazis. The Pirates also used graffiti slogans like 'Down with Hitler' as a form of social protest.

The Edelweiss Pirates were a problem for the Nazis throughout World War II, particularly when their activities escalated in Cologne in 1944. Pirates stole weapons and attacked the Gestapo, killing its chief, as well as hiding escaped soldiers and prisoners. The Nazi response was brutal and resulted in the public hanging of 12 of the group's leaders.

▲**Source 6.36** Edelweiss Pirates youth group in Nazi Germany, 1938. They emerged in western Germany out of the German Youth Movement of the late 1930s in response to the strict regimentation of the Hitler Youth.

White Rose Resistance

The White Rose Resistance was a group led by five medical students from Munich University, including brother and sister Hans and Sophie Scholl. The group directly opposed the Nazi regime on moral grounds. Central to their resistance actions was the writing and distribution of anti-Nazi leaflets. The group felt strongly that they were speaking for thousands of people who were too afraid to speak out. In 1943, Sophie, Hans and their friend, Christoph Probst, were arrested, tried and found guilty of treason. All three were beheaded only a few hours after this verdict.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◀ **Source 6.37** Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst

Sophie Scholl occupied a central position in the German **resistance movement**. Sophie's legacy lies in the courage she displayed speaking out against the Nazis. She is widely considered one of the most significant Germans of all time. The 2005 film *Sophie Scholl: The Final Days* was nominated for an Academy Award.

resistance movement individuals and groups who unite in the common cause of opposing a specific government

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.4

Here is an extract from the beginning of the White Rose's 'Second Pamphlet'. Read it and then answer the questions.

It is impossible to engage in intellectual discourse with National Socialism because it is not an intellectually defensible program. It is false to speak of a National Socialist philosophy, for if there were such an entity, one would have to try by means of analysis and discussion either to prove its validity or to combat it. In actuality, however, we face a totally different situation. At its very inception this movement depended on the deception and betrayal of one's fellow man; even at that time it was inwardly corrupt and could support itself only by constant lies.

1 According to this pamphlet, what is the White Rose's main criticism of National Socialism?

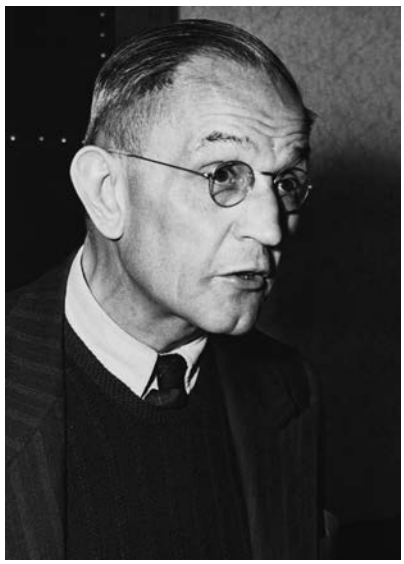
2 How does the extract from the pamphlet illustrate that National Socialism is 'rotten to the core'?

Religion

The church in Germany was criticised for not openly opposing the Nazis. Two pastors did, however, speak out against Hitler. Pastors Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Niemoeller were both persecuted for this resistance. When he arrived at Dachau concentration camp, Pastor Niemoeller famously wrote the following, which expressed the ultimate consequences of political and social apathy:

> *In Germany, they came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist; And then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist; And then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew;*
>
> *And then they came for me.*
>
> *And by that time there was no one left to speak up.*

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲ **Source 6.38** Pastors Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Niemoeller both spoke out publicly against the crimes of the Nazis.

FOCUS QUESTION 6.7

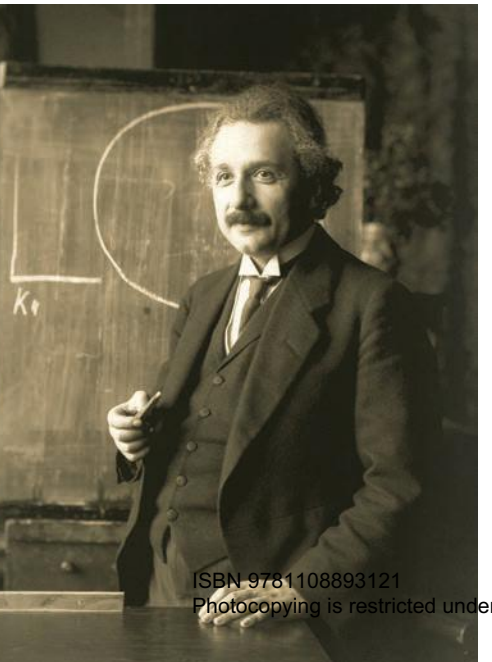
Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages us to explore our own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for our ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'What did Niemoeller mean in this statement?'** A student responds. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The human spirit endures in the face of persecution and evil. Telling jokes can be seen as another form of resistance to a repressive regime. This one, told in the film *Jakob the Liar* (1999), may have provided the consolation of knowing that Hitler would not be remembered well by history: Hitler goes to a fortune teller and asks, 'When will I die?' And the fortune teller replies, 'On a Jewish holiday.' Hitler then asks, 'How do you know that?' And she replies, 'Any day you die will be a Jewish holiday!'

▼ **Source 6.39** Albert Einstein



Migration

Between 1933 and 1938, 150 000 of Germany's 600 000 Jews emigrated, nearly all to the United States, Britain and Palestine. In total, 1.4 million of Europe's nine million Jews fled Europe. From 1938 onwards, Jews were forced to hand in their passports, but they were returned to anyone wanting to emigrate. We can assume that more Jews would have left Europe prior to the outbreak of World War II, therefore escaping extermination, if it had not been so difficult to find countries willing to lift their immigration quotas. In addition, because Jews had been stripped of their businesses and incomes, many could not afford the cost of relocation, or the bribes that were often required in order to leave.

Albert Einstein (1879–1955) was one of the most famous people to leave Germany; he left with his family in 1932 as anti-Semitism was on the rise. The Nazis would later describe his influential theory of relativity as mere 'Jewish speculation'.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Anne Frank, 1929–45

Otto and Edith Frank married and settled in Frankfurt, Germany. Anne was born in 1929 and her older sister Margot in 1926. The combination of Hitler's open attacks on the rights of Jews and the economic persecution of Jewish businesses drove Otto Frank to relocate to the Netherlands and settle in the capital city of Amsterdam. They became one of the most famous families to emigrate from Nazi Germany. Anne was just four years old.

Seven years later in May 1940, during World War II, Hitler invaded the Netherlands. Anne's family and four others hid in a secret annexe behind a bookcase in the Franks' house. It was during these years of hiding from the persecution of the Nazis that Anne wrote her diary and short stories, and collected the quotes that inspired her.

After being betrayed and subsequently arrested in 1944, the eight were transported to the Auschwitz death camp. Otto Frank was the only one to survive the Holocaust. He published Anne's diary in 1947 to fulfil her wish of being a published author, and devoted the rest of his life to promoting human rights.

▲**Source 6.40** Anne Frank

FOCUS QUESTION 6.8

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'What would you have done if you were living in Nazi Germany in the 1930s?'** The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.5

Read each of the statements below and decide whether they are true or false. If the statement is incorrect, explain why.

1. Due to the restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was not allowed to build its armed forces. To get around these restrictions, Hitler had military activities redefined as 'sports'.
2. Owing to his strong belief in a superior Aryan race, Hitler encouraged both boys and girls to be trained as 'a violently active, dominating, brutal youth'.
3. Nazism promoted an end to individualism, with a deep philosophy of responsibility and loyalty to the nation and to being part of a 'team'.
4. A high value was placed on marriage under Hitler's Nazism, but this did not extend to non-Aryan men and women, who were compulsorily sterilised to ensure the increase of Aryan German children.
5. Suspicion hung over Hitler's economic success from the very beginning.
6. The economic success of Germany under Hitler certainly did provide a great number of new jobs; however, there was enormous discontent due to harsh working conditions and low wage levels.
7. Just four months after becoming Chancellor of Germany, Hitler ordered the burning of all books he considered to be undermining Nazi policies.
8. Hitler believed one of his greatest assets in rebuilding a perfect Germany was his power to influence the next generation of youth.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.6

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below: *What changes did the Nazi government implement between 1933 and 1939?*

- *autobahns*
- burning books
- education
- Jews
- Nuremberg rallies
- Olympic Games
- sport
- women
- youth

THE STORY SO FAR

- *Political changes:* Hitler indoctrinated the nation with beliefs about racial purity and national pride. This was achieved through the Nuremberg Rallies, propaganda, the 1936 Olympic Games and the Hitler Youth. Sport and physical activity were promoted to create a society that was mentally and physically strong.
- *Economic changes:* Unemployment was virtually eliminated by 1939 through the creation of a huge number of new jobs focusing on major public works and military production.
- *Social changes:* Hitler promoted a superior race by promoting the role of women and education.
- *Rebuilding Germany:* This meant eliminating those believed to be inferior. Jews, in particular, were openly and directly persecuted through events such as the shop boycott, Nuremberg Laws and *Kristallnacht*.
- *Aligning politics and culture:* In order to tighten his hold on the minds of the German people, Hitler ordered the burning of all books considered to be in conflict with Nazi ideology.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 What was the nature of the political changes in Nazi Germany?
2 What was the nature of the economic changes?
3 What was the nature of the social changes?
4 How did the Nazis attempt to control cultural expression?
5 What were the criticisms and challenges to Nazism?

Analysing historical sources as evidence

1 Examine Sources 6.41 and 6.42. What do you think is the key message of each of these images?
2 What are the similarities in these messages? What are the differences?
3 What do these images tell us in the context of Nazi social changes?
4 Using these images and what you have learned in this chapter, evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the point of view of these images.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◀ **Source 6.41** The ideal youth: 'Youth – Serve the Führer. All 10-year-olds, join the Hitler Youth'

◀ **Source 6.42** 'The ideal German family'

Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement about the Nazi Party: *The Nazi Party's political, economic and social changes produced more negatives than positives for the German nation.*

To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer.

- To answer this you will need to know the political, economic and social changes introduced by Hitler.
- Ideally, make a heading of 'positive changes' and list all of the events and policies that you believe fall under this category. Similarly, do the same under a heading of 'negative changes'.
- Better answers will agree with some parts of the statement and disagree with others. Did Hitler benefit the nation politically and economically but not socially? Were his changes positive for the 'racially pure' but negative for those considered 'inferior'? Form your own argument and support it with evidence from this chapter.

Analysing historical interpretations

Some historians have argued that Nazism is different from any other ideology (including fascism). Read the following extract from Ian Kershaw on the 'uniqueness of Nazism' and answer this key question: *In your view, is Nazism in fact 'unique' or was it identical to other totalitarian ideologies (like fascism or communism)?*

Support your answer with clear evidence.

> *I see no problem in seeing Nazism as a form of [both fascism and totalitarianism], as long as we are looking for common features, not identity. It is not hard to find features that Nazism had in common with fascist movements in other parts of Europe and elements of its rule shared with regimes generally seen as totalitarian … The forms of organisation and the methods and function of mass mobilisation of the NSDAP [National Socialist German Workers' Party], for example, bear much resemblance to those of the Italian Fascist Party and of other fascist movements in Europe. In the case of totalitarianism, superficial similarities, at least, with the Soviet regime under Stalin can be seen in the Nazi regime's … repressive apparatus, its monopolistic ideology, and its 'total claim' on the ruled … [The terms] war and genocide – or perhaps better: world war and murder of the Jews – automatically evoke direct association with Hitler. After all, they lay at the heart of his [world-view]; they were in essence what he stood for … Nazism's uniqueness was Hitler, no more and no less. Nazism was Hitlerism, pure and simple … The development of the Nazi regime had at least two characteristics which were unusual, even in comparison with other dictatorships. One was what Hans Mommsen has dubbed 'cumulative radicalisation' [radicalisation increases over time] … Linked to this is the capacity for destruction – again extraordinary even for dictatorships … A set of counter-factual propositions will underline how I see Hitler's indispensability … No Hitler: no SS-police state … No Hitler: no general European war by the late 1930s. No Hitler: an alternative war strategy and no attack on the Soviet Union. No Hitler: no Holocaust, no state policy aimed at wiping out the Jews of Europe.*

Ian Kershaw, 2004

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

7 THE UNITED STATES UNDER DEMOCRACY

People went to work and went to parties until they got the two pursuits confused and never noticed the difference.

– JACK IAMS, AMERICAN AUTHOR

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

World War I had ended with victory for America and its allies. America had not suffered the same devastation as other countries because it did not join the war until April 1917. As well, the deadly world influenza virus (Spanish flu) of 1918 was soon over. The US ideology of capitalism also directly affected the daily lives of Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. Social and cultural changes were therefore marked by high optimism. Mass entertainment and information via radio and film became widespread. In direct comparison with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, which used instruments of the state to impose controls on the ways that people lived, life in the United States was characterised by personal freedoms and unprecedented economic growth. The exception to this was the government's prohibition on alcohol, which caused significant social problems. The Great Depression, however, changed this material prosperity to a subsequent decade of severe economic hardship. The Roaring Twenties had ended.

This chapter focuses upon the social life and cultural expression in the 1920s and 1930s and their relation to the technological, political and economic changes of the period in America under democracy.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- Who were the political leaders of the 1920s and 1930s?
- Why did the economy boom during the 1920s?
- What were the major changes in social life in the 1920s?
- What caused the Wall Street Crash and what was its impact?
- What was the response to the government prohibition on alcohol?
- Who did not benefit from this period and why?

Digital resources for this chapter

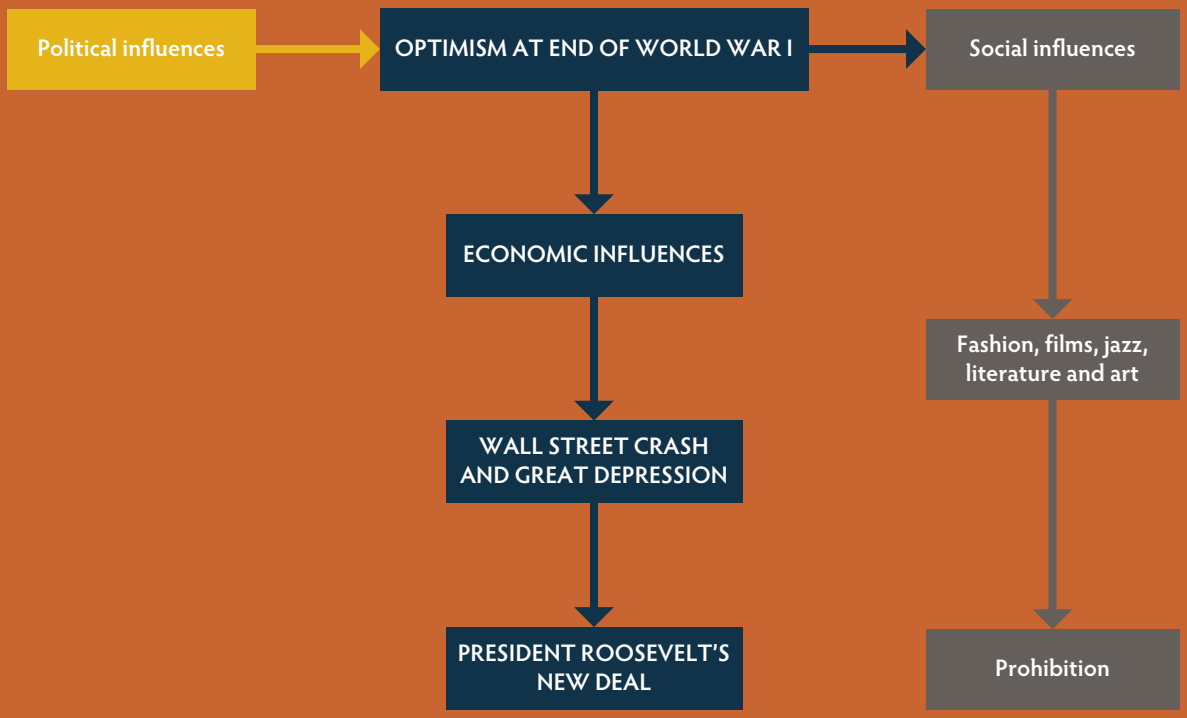
In the *Interactive Textbook*:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◀ **Source 7.0** Vintage illustration of a fashionable 'flapper' posing on the deck of a cruise ship; lithograph, 1920. The 'Roaring Twenties' were known for their social and cultural changes that were expressed through new art forms and fashion trends.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

1920
16 JANUARY
The Prohibition Laws make the sale and consumption of alcohol illegal in the United States

1920s
The 'Roaring Twenties' sees the rise of jazz, silent Hollywood films, flappers, modernism and art deco

1928
The release of the Disney animated film Steamboat Willie, *which stars a new character called Mickey Mouse*

1933
US President Franklin Roosevelt introduces his 'New Deal' policies to help get Americans back into the workforce and to revive the economy

1920s AND EARLY 1930s
Prohibition encourages the rise of a black market in selling liquor, run by gangsters such as Al Capone

1925
F. Scott Fitzgerald's book The Great Gatsby *is published, giving insights into life during the 1920s*

1929
29 OCTOBER
Wall Street Stock market crash in New York instigates the crippling global Great Depression

1933
The end of Prohibition

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

7.1 The influence of political changes

Political leaders in 1920s and 1930s

President Woodrow Wilson 1913–21

Wilson was US President throughout World War I. As he favoured world peace, he tried to keep America neutral but eventually declared war on Germany in 1917 and was a central figure in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Despite Wilson's efforts, the United States Senate would not pass the Treaty or join the new League of Nations, fearing a loss of America's political autonomy. Wilson pursued progressive reforms and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1919. Two significant amendments were passed by his government in 1920: the 18th Amendment, which banned the manufacture, sale and transport of alcohol (which Wilson opposed), and the 19th Amendment, where women gained the right to vote (which Wilson supported). Wilson is regarded as one of the United States' greatest presidents.

▲ **Source 7.1** US President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) with First Lady Edith Wilson (1872–1961) riding in a carriage in New York, 1920

President Warren Harding 1921–23

In the first election where females could vote, Harding was voted in. He was a Republican who opposed Wilson's policies and promoted a 'return to **normalcy**' after the hardships of the war. Positively, his presidency featured conservative, pro-business, **isolationist** and Prohibition policies. Negatively, his government was coloured by criminal activities and corruption, which damaged his reputation even though he was not involved. Harding died suddenly in 1923 from a heart attack.

normalcy the state of being normal, standard or typical

isolationism a national policy where a nation stays out of the disputes and affairs of other nations

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 7.2** US President Warren Harding (1865–1923) with First Lady Florence Harding (1860–1924) during a horse show, 1922

President Calvin Coolidge 1923–29

Coolidge's main focus was to clean up the scandals and corruption that had been common under Harding. He ruled over the growing US economy, passed tax cuts and introduced high tariffs. Hence, Harding provided a model of political respectability and economic stability. This was an interesting contrast to the decade of the Roaring Twenties, which was a time of social and cultural changes, of materialism and excesses, that are described in detail in this chapter.

▼**Source 7.3** President Calvin Coolidge standing on the White House's South Lawn, 1925

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

President Herbert Hoover 1929–33

The Wall Street stock market crash that led to the Great Depression began eight months into Hoover's presidency. While the economic policies of previous governments contributed to creating the crisis, in the minds of the American people Hoover received much of the blame. He became increasingly unpopular as he was seen to be insensitive to the nation's suffering, and was comprehensively defeated at the 1933 election.

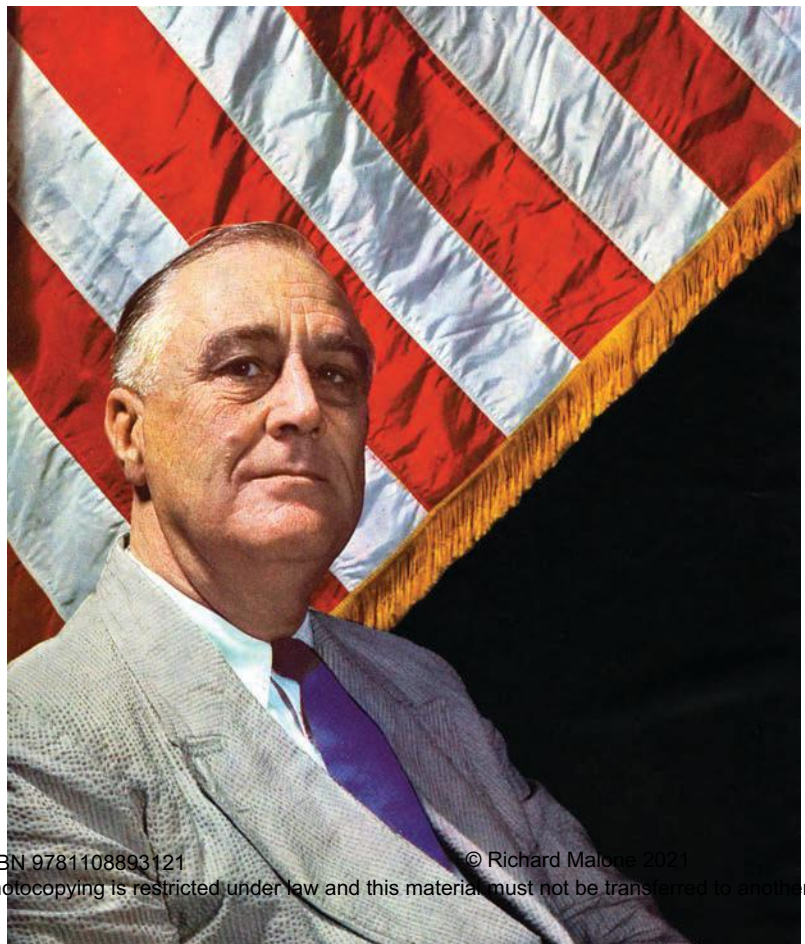
President Franklin Roosevelt 1933–45

As president during the devastating Great Depression, Roosevelt's key role was to restore public confidence in the government. He ended the controversial ban on alcohol, proclaimed a bank holiday, and spoke directly to the public via radio broadcasts called 'fireside chats'. Economically, Roosevelt began a series of ambitious reforms called the New Deal. He led the United States to victory over Nazi Germany in World War II through a series of successful wartime alliances with Britain and the Soviet Union. Roosevelt's popularity as president resulted in him being elected a record four times.

▲ **Source 7.4** President Herbert Hoover, circa 1930

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The 1920s in America had many names: the Roaring Twenties, Jazz Age, Age of Intolerance and Age of Wonderful Nonsense!



◀ **Source 7.5** President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945), circa 1943

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

7.2 The influence of economic changes: 'The business of America is business'

Buy it now

The United States was one of the wealthiest countries in the world after World War I. Most people had jobs and cash to spend. One of the core reasons for the economic prosperity in the 1920s was the innovative introduction of a 'hire-purchase' system, which we would today call 'buy now, pay later' or 'interest payment plans'. By just paying a small deposit, and not having to pay the whole purchase price in one go, people could literally get whatever they wanted. Individuals were increasing their personal debt without much thought, as they paid interest on the item and therefore paid back more for the item overall. But this had an incredibly positive impact on the economy. Products that were bought had to be made, which in turn meant most people were in jobs. Workers would then spend a lot of their salary or income, meaning more items were being purchased that, in turn, meant more people had to be employed to make things. It created a positive cycle of economic growth and wealth. As President Coolidge (1923–29) rightly said, 'The business of America is business.'

Motor car industry

Ford, General Motors and Chrysler were the three biggest producers of motor cars. The Model T Ford was the most popular car. Before the 1920s, horse and buggy had been the main form of transport. By 1928, 20 per cent of all Americans owned a car. Costing $1200 in 1909, mass production and high turnover meant that the average price of a car had been reduced to only $295 by 1928.

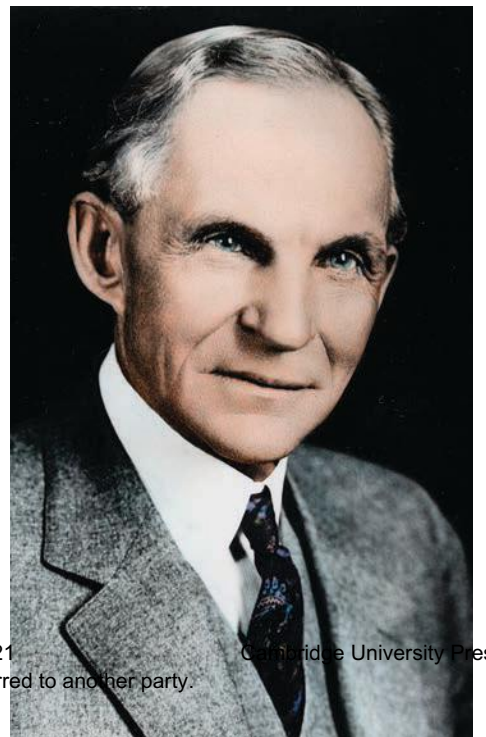
The growth of car production had a massive impact on other industries. Core products such as steel, rubber, plate glass and leather were all needed for car manufacture. Demand for motor vehicles also flowed onto an increased need for petrol stations, mechanical repairs, motels, restaurants, road building and road maintenance. Employment was high.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Model T Fords were in production from 1908 to 1927. But Ford only added doors to its cars in 1912!

▼ **Source 7.6** Model T Fords roll off the assembly line in 1913

▼ **Source 7.7** Henry Ford



ISBN 9781108893121
© [illegible] Malone 2021
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.
Cambridge University Press

Other popular household products

The adoption of new technologies into daily life was a visible feature of a changed lifestyle. As well as cars, household products were booming – 10 million radios had been sold by 1929, and Hoover vacuum cleaners, fridges and telephones sold quickly. All of the work to make, sell and repair these products created economic and therefore social change. Prices for some popular items were:

- $1.49 – popcorn maker
- $1.69 – two-slice toaster
- $8.75 – waffle maker
- $28.95 – motor-driven and suction vacuum cleaner
- $78.95 – electric sewing machine
- $81.50 – electric washing machine
- $295 – electric Frigidaire made by General Motors, whose salesmen came to the home.

▲**Source 7.8** A salesman explains to a customer all the advantages of owning a new fridge, circa 1920.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Radios today just plug in and play. But in the 1920s you needed to buy the actual radio, make an antenna, and buy a speaker and a charger for the big battery. The total cost in 1926 was $120, which is estimated to be an enormous $1500 today.

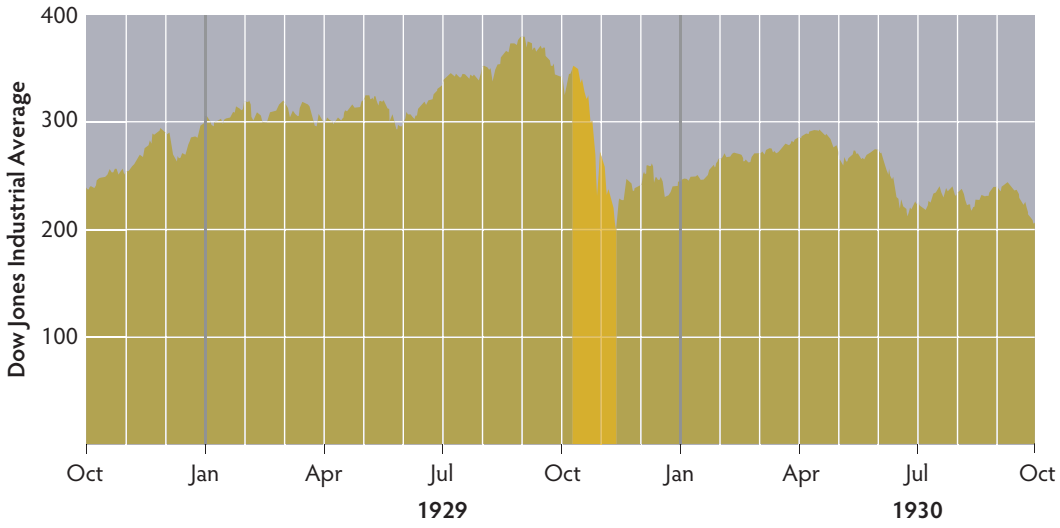
ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

7.3 Wall Street Crash, 29 October 1929

fictitious capital a concept used by 19th century philosopher, author and economist Karl Marx, to describe value in the form of credit, shares, debt, speculation and various forms of paper money

In a world where everyone seemed to have money to spare, investing in shares was common. The stock market was located in Wall Street, New York. The hope of making a quick fortune meant that by 1929 over one million people owned shares in America. Large bank loans, investment trusts and the increase of holding companies had resulted in a vast mass of **fictitious capital**.

Prices peaked in August 1929 but began a slow decline in September and early October, with 24 October known as Black Thursday. A record 12 million shares were traded on this day. Panic selling continued, and on 29 October 1929, after another 16 million shares were sold, the Wall Street stock market collapsed completely.



▶ **Source 7.9** A graph showing the Wall Street Crash (in yellow) on the stock market

The crash precipitated a worldwide collapse of share values in stock markets across the Western world and triggered the Great Depression. Ten years of economic hardship began in all industrialised countries with widespread bankruptcies and unemployment. As the saying went: 'When America sneezed, the rest of the world caught a cold.' Soviet Russia was the exception because it was a planned economy and had been isolated from the world economy.

FOCUS QUESTION 7.1

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'What's going on in these two images about the Depression?'** The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the two images.

◀ **Source 7.10** Dorothea Lange's photo *Migrant Mother* (1936) shows destitute pea-picker Florence Owens Thompson, aged 32, mother of seven children.

▲ **Source 7.11** A soup line at The Bowery Mission, New York City, during the Great Depression, 1930

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

President Roosevelt's 'New Deal' in the 1930s

By 1932, at least one quarter of America's workforce was unemployed. Therefore, incoming President Roosevelt's main task upon taking office in 1933 was to stabilise the economy. Over the next eight years, he initiated a series of projects that together became known as the **New Deal**. Not only did the New Deal revive America's economy, but it also restored its dignity. Significantly, it created stronger links between the US government and its citizens.

New Deal
a series of projects and programs introduced by President Roosevelt from 1933 to stabilise the economy after the Great Depression

◄ **Source 7.12**
Vanity Fair magazine cover from 1935 commenting on the New Deal. It shows Roosevelt as the puppet master of America. He pulls the strings of both an aristocrat and a blue-collar worker in a boxing match, in an illustration of class warfare.

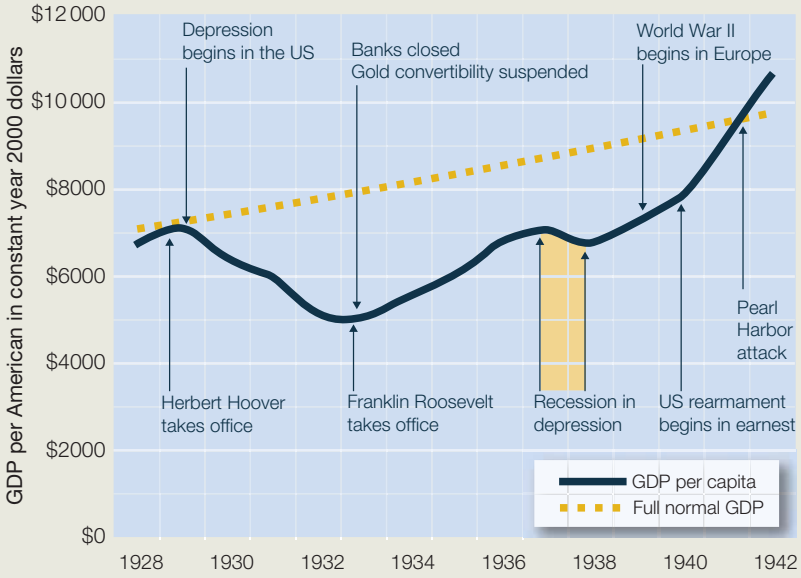
AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

Crazies were people who did crazy things for fun. Like sitting on top of a flagpole for as long as possible, or dance marathons that only stopped when the second last pair had collapsed. And 'wing flying' – being strapped to the wings of a plane for a whole flight!

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 7.2

Answer the following questions using information from the graph in Source 7.13 and this chapter.



▲ **Source 7.13** A graph of America's economic depression followed by growth

1 Who was the president during the depression?
2 Why did the economic outlook improve from 1933 onwards?
3 What impact did World War II have on America's economy?
4 Use an example from the graph to explain why this might have been the case.

7.4 Influence of social changes: Cultural expression in the 1920s and 1930s

Cultural expression was varied and rich. Fashion, literature, music, film and art both influenced and reflected social, economic and political change. It was an era of creative expression, full of loud laughter, excitement and exquisite colours.

Changing role of women

World War I had destroyed old perceived social conventions and the 1920s replaced them with new ones. With the passing of the 19th Amendment in 1920, women had finally won the right to vote. They gained the political equality that they had been fighting to achieve for over 70 years.

The economic boom required more and more jobs to be filled. Many middle-class women held steady jobs. Increased phone use meant that more operators were needed. Department stores needed sales assistants. And office clerk and secretarial roles were plentiful. It was in this context that the 'flapper' culture developed.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Youth slang from the 1920s included: big cheese (important person), bank's closed (no more kissing), cake-eater (a lady's man), smudger (person who dances too close), Jake (great), handcuff (engagement ring), grummy (depressed), sheik (one's boyfriend), sinker (doughnut), torpedo (hired thug or hitman), zozzled (drunk) or a flat tyre (a boring person).

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◄ **Source 7.14**
Amelia Earhart, pictured in 1928, the first woman to fly solo around the world, became a symbol of women's independence after the war. Earhart disappeared without trace over the Pacific Ocean in her attempt to fly around the world in 1937.

'Flapper' fashion

The political and economic changes meant that a generational gap began developing between younger and older women. Young women provoked older people with short skirts that exposed their legs and knees, a new hairstyle of a short bob cut by male barbers, and silk stockings rolled just above the knee. Women who embraced these fashions were called '**flappers**'. Flappers redefined gender relations. They went to all-night parties without a male partner to look after them, smoked cigarettes in public, drove motor cars and held men's hands without wearing gloves. The President of Florida University said the new fashions 'are born of the devil – they are carrying the present generation to destruction'.

flappers
women who wore the new fashions of the 1920s such as short dresses and bobbed hair

Linked with the growth in jazz, which is discussed later in this chapter, was the creation of new dance moves. The Charleston, One Step and Black Bottom became dance crazes that spread among the younger generation. The *Catholic Telegraph* published that 'the music is sensuous, the female is only half dressed and the motions may not be described in a family newspaper'.

◄ **Source 7.15**
An illustration from 1927 of two men and a flapper dancing the Charleston

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

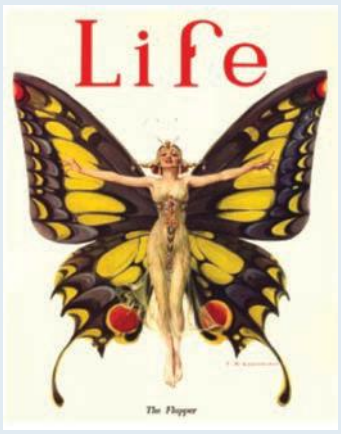
The current version of bubble gum, that allows a chewer to blow bubbles, was created in 1928 by an accountant named Walter Diemer who experimented with different gum recipes in his spare time. Diemer used a pink dye because it was the only colour he had available.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.1

Sources 7.16–7.19 show four different images of flappers from the 1920s.

▲**Source 7.16** A flapper with a flask in her garter, 1926

▲**Source 7.17** A young flapper studio portrait, circa 1925



▲**Source 7.18** 'The Flapper' on the cover of *Life Magazine*, 1922

▲**Source 7.19** *Where there's Smoke there's Fire*, by US artist Russell Patterson, 1925

1 Make a list of the specific things that these images have in common.
2 What is the common impression of women that they depict?
3 Suggest who might have welcomed the flapper movement. Who might have been against it?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Literature

The Roaring Twenties witnessed a rich period in US literature. Popular authors emerged who are still considered to be among the greatest US authors of the twentieth century.

F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940)

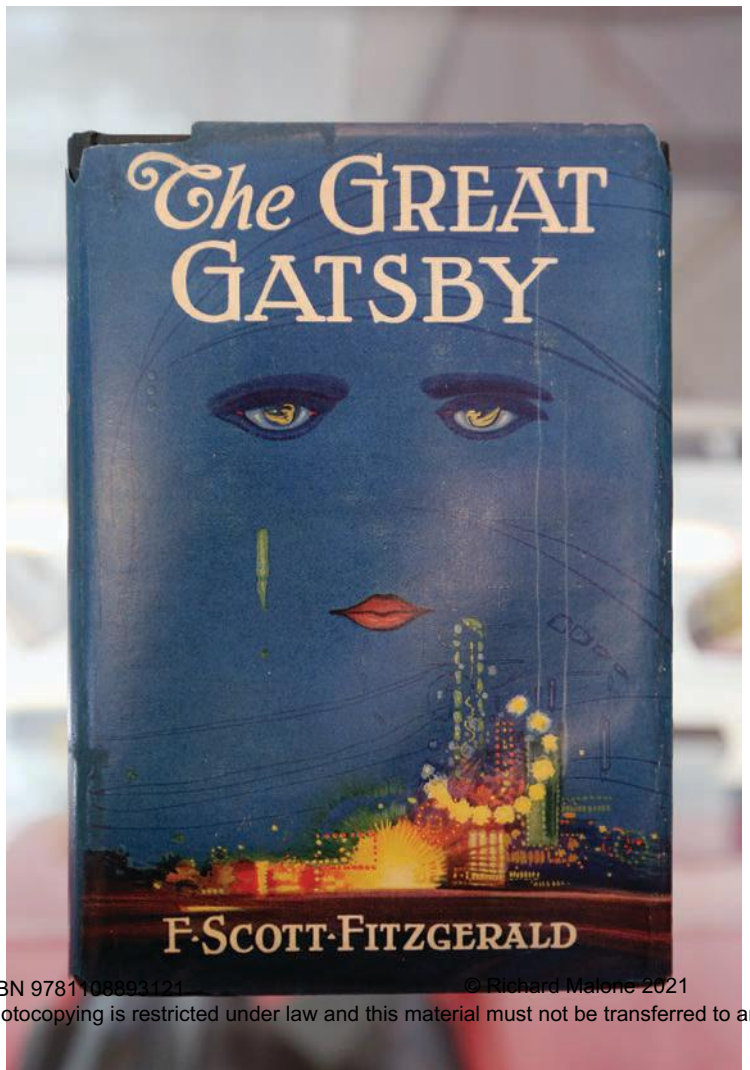
Fitzgerald's most famous novel, *The Great Gatsby* (1925), is argued to be the story that best captures the culture of the 1920s. Full of dancing, jazz, freedom, materialism, love and pursuit of the American dream, Fitzgerald paints both an exciting and critical picture of life. He wrote: 'It was an age of miracles, it was an age of art, it was an age of excess, and it was an age of satire.' Fitzgerald's message is that you cannot live in the past, or recreate the past, but must live in the present.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Fitzgerald lived the same wild social life as the main character Jay Gatsby, full of women and parties, which tarnished his reputation as a serious author. He died of a heart attack at the young age of 44 after battling alcoholism and depression.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Fitzgerald published his first story at the age of 13 in the school newsletter. A distant relative on his father's side wrote the US national anthem, 'The Star Spangled Banner'.



◀ **Source 7.20** A first edition of F Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, 1925

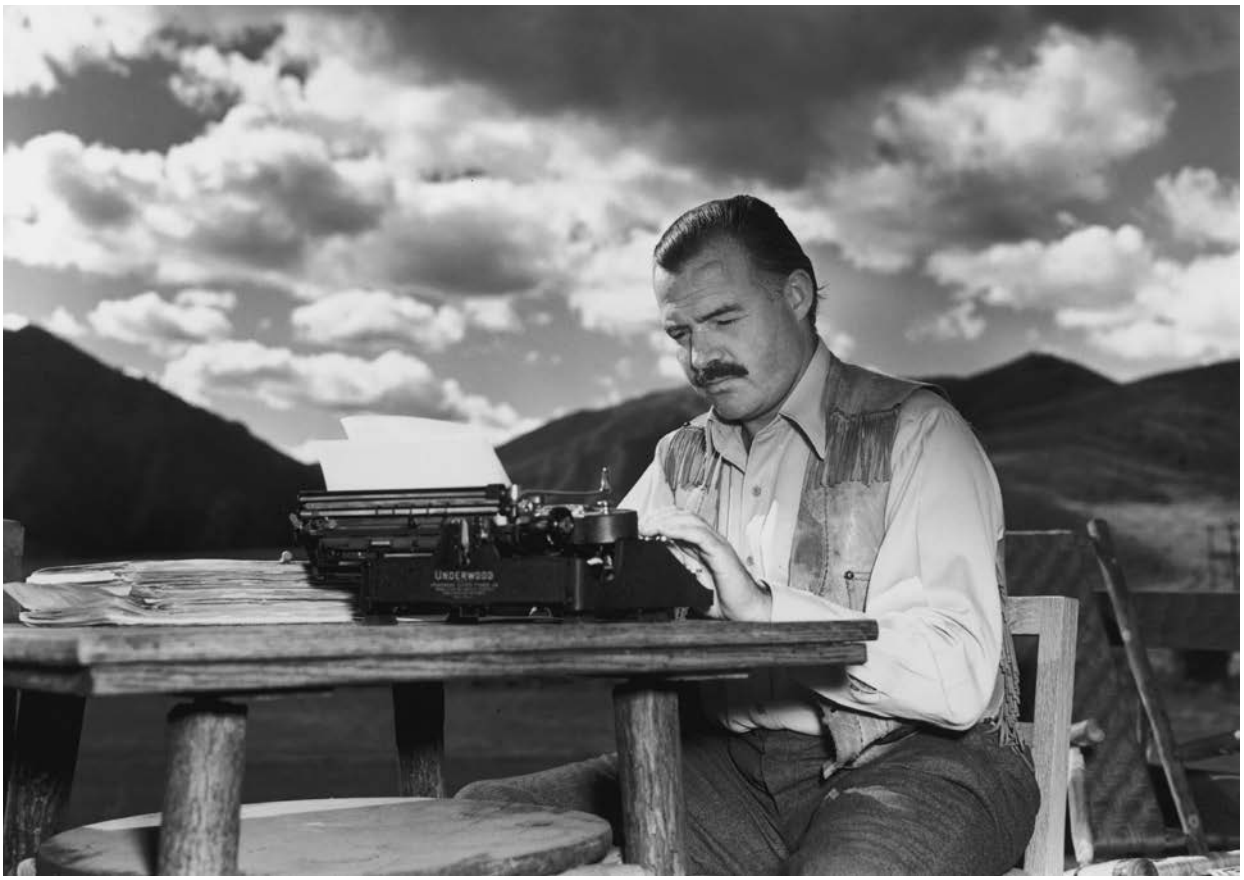
ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961)

Ernest Hemingway was another of America's greatest novelists. He was an absolute celebrity for his famous novels *A Farewell to Arms*, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and *The Old Man and the Sea* and received the Nobel Prize for Literature (1954). He formed a close friendship with F. Scott Fitzgerald who helped him publish his first book in 1925.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Hemingway was popular for being 'larger than life'. He fought in World War I, then was involved in the Spanish Civil War and World War II as a war correspondent. He also spent time chasing adventure: hunting big game in Africa, bull-fighting in Spain and deep-sea fishing in Florida.



▲**Source 7.21** Ernest Hemingway, 1939

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.2

Research some other famous authors of the 1920s and 1930s such as Sinclair Lewis, Willa Cather, William Faulkner and Carl Sandburg. What did they write about? How were they influenced by the events in America at the time?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The Jazz Age

'The Jazz Age' was a term coined by F. Scott Fitzgerald. The Jazz Age was more than the introduction of jazz, a new musical movement that combined African and European music. It also represented a major shift in social norms after World War I. Music was for pleasure not propaganda. It was a rebellion against the restrictions on alcohol. Jazz represented a racial breakthrough as African American performers, such as King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, were in demand at white venues. Interestingly, jazz was influenced in a positive way by Prohibition and the Great Depression. Prohibition, discussed in detail later in this chapter, generated the growth of illegal nightclubs and the Great Depression forced migration throughout America in search of jobs, taking jazz from its birthplace in New Orleans to every state.

▲ **Source 7.22** Louis Armstrong

Louis Armstrong (1901–1971)

Louis Armstrong was a crucial founding influence on the rise of jazz in the 1920s. He was a charismatic trumpeter whose gravelly voice was also instantly recognisable. He was a clever improviser, and perfected the technique of 'scat' singing, which was singing sounds instead of words. His nicknames were Satchmo and Pops.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

As his popularity grew in the 1920s, trumpeters challenged Louis Armstrong to 'cutting contests' to see who could blow 200 high C notes in a row! Armstrong was the first jazz musician to be on the front cover of *Time* magazine (1949). He even had a cigar named after him.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.3

Research some other famous singers and musicians of this era such as Duke Ellington, Jack Pettis, Jane Green, Peggy English, Benny Goodman, Fats Waller, Fletcher Henderson, Cole Porter, Bessie Smith, George Gershwin or Bing Crosby. How did their music impact on this period?

Films

Hollywood emerged in the 1920s. Beverley Hills became the place to live. Why? One hundred million people a week went to the movies, making film stars instantly famous and wealthy. Slapstick comedy starred Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton, Laurel and Hardy, and Fatty Arbuckle. The dominance of these silent films with their subtitles and catchy music was challenged by the first film with audible talking in it. These films were called '**talkies**' and included *The Jazz Singer* starring Al Jolson.

talkies the term used for the first films with audible dialogue

Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977)

Charlie Chaplin is still recognised as one of the comic geniuses of the twentieth century. He wrote, directed and produced his own films, as well as starring in them. Chaplin was famous for his identifiable character of the tramp – the innocent little man with a bowler hat, moustache, cane and awkward walk. In 2014, Chaplin's tramp celebrated his 100-year anniversary!

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 7.3

Research one of Chaplin's 36 films: *The Kid* (1921), *The Gold Rush* (1925), *The Circus* (1928), *City Lights* (1931) or his first talkie, *The Great Dictator* (1940).

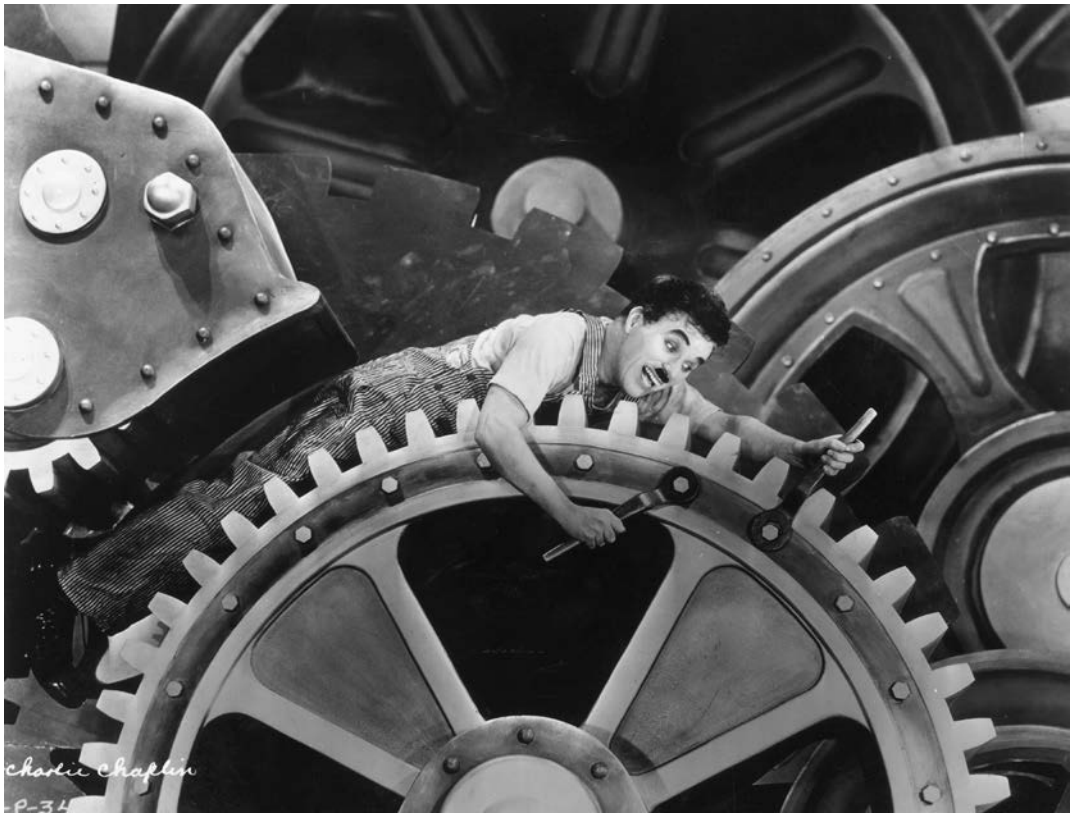
1 Suggest why Charlie Chaplin was so popular in the 1920s.
2 List the likeable characteristics of Charlie Chaplin.
3 Discuss whether these films would be popular if they were released today.
4 Brainstorm any instances where this type of film making has been used today.

▲**Source 7.23** Charlie Chaplin and Jackie Coogan star in *The Kid* (1921), an autobiographical film about Chaplin's own abandoned childhood

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936)

◄ **Source 7.24** Film still of conveyor belt scene in *Modern Times*



◄ **Source 7.25** Film still of Chaplin caught in the cogs of a machine

In 1936, Chaplin made a very funny film about a very serious issue. He called it *Modern Times*. He wanted to comment on the growth of factories and industrial labour in his own country, America. He knew that the US industrialist, Henry Ford, had introduced an organisation and discipline of factory labour that was far more strict than anything in Britain's earlier industrial revolution.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

In particular, Chaplin felt that the high speed of conveyor-belt production, combined with repetitive tasks and work gestures, would harm human beings. He was right; we now call it Repetitive Strain Injury, or RSI.

In the first segment of the film, Chaplin imagines a factory of the future: ultra-modern and totally controlled by clocks, sirens and machines, in which human beings have to work like robots. He then plays the role of a strange individual who just does not understand the system, and who causes chaos by disrupting the split-second timing of the work. Because this is comedy, the result is totally exaggerated, but the scenes of chaos are hysterically funny.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.4

View the first 20 minutes of *Modern Times* on YouTube, then, as a class, discuss the following questions.

1. What is Chaplin trying to say when he first shows footage of a flock of sheep then of a crowd of workers hurrying to the factory?
2. How do we know that this ultra-modern factory is an imaginary one in the future, rather than a real one in 1936?
3. Why, according to Chaplin, is the fast conveyor belt the source of possible problems in the future?
4. What is the role of clocks, bells, surveillance cameras and time clocks in regimenting the workers' lives?
5. What point is Chaplin trying to make in the crazy scene about the Dinner Feeding Machine?
6. Why does Charlie Chaplin start twitching uncontrollably after having worked on the conveyor belt?
7. Although this comic film of factory life is massively exaggerated, what overall point is Chaplin trying to make about the future?
8. Consider Chaplin's use of facial expressions and gestures. Given that he does not use the spoken word, why is his mime so effective? Why do you think people enjoyed his comic films so much?

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

Chaplin's perfectionist streak meant that he often filmed countless takes, rebuilt entire sets or replaced leading actors and started again with someone new.

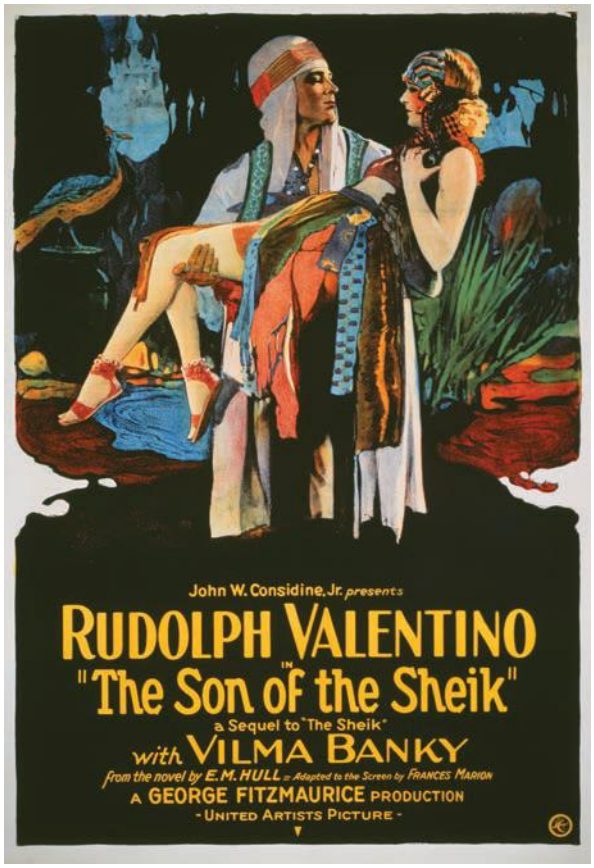
Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926)

Valentino was one of the leading male stars in the 1920s and the leading women were Clara Bow and Mary Pickford. While he made silent films like Chaplin, the genre was totally opposite. Instead of comedy, the Italian-born Valentino starred in romantic dramas. His roles as the great lover of the 1920s were best demonstrated in films such as *The Sheik* (1921) and *The Eagle* (1925).

Walt Disney (1901–1966)

The 1920s was also the decade when the legendary Walt Disney released his first cartoon, a short black and white film called *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), which was shown to producers rather than the general public. Disney's great success came with the introduction of a lovable character called Mickey Mouse in a short film called *Steamboat Willie* (1928), one of the first cartoons to use synchronised sound effects. There were soon Mickey Mouse clubs for children and lots of merchandise. Disney was actually the voice for Mickey for 20 years, and his first words were 'Hot Dog'.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

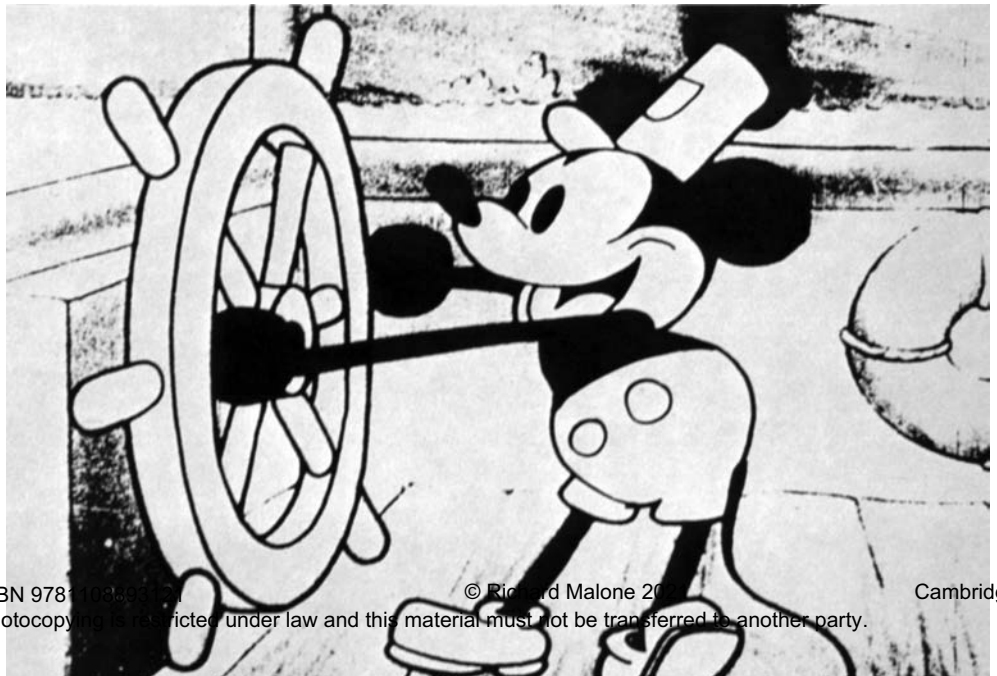


▲**Source 7.26** A poster for the 1926 drama *The Son of the Sheik* starring Rudolph Valentino

▲**Source 7.27** Animator Walt Disney, pictured in the 1920s

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

- Mickey Mouse was originally called Mortimer Mouse.
- Walt Disney has won more Academy Awards than anyone – ever. He has won 22 awards from 59 nominations.
- He created the Disneyland theme park, which opened in 1955.
- Contrary to popular belief, he was cremated two days after his death – not cryogenically frozen!



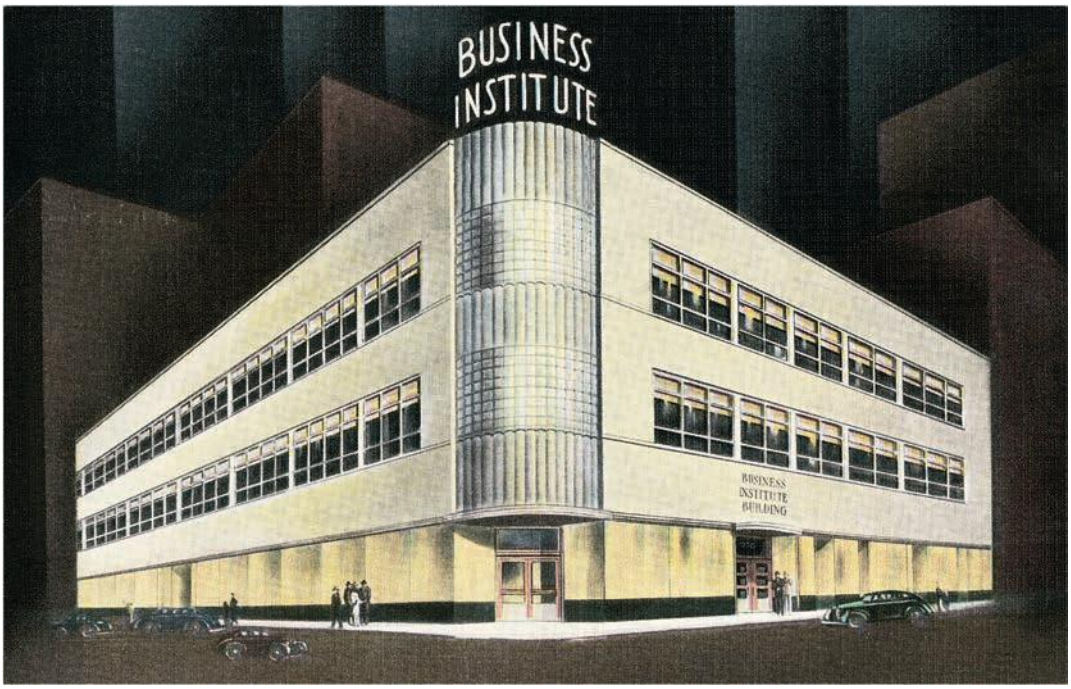
◄**Source 7.28** Mickey Mouse in his original film appearance in *Steamboat Willie*

ISBN 978-1-108-89312-1 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Artistic styles

Art deco

The ornate style of art deco impacted on architecture, art, clothing, hairstyles, decor and furnishings in the 1920s and 1930s. Art deco was a major style in Europe and became popular in America from the mid-1920s. It is characterised by the use of materials such as stainless steel, aluminium, inlaid wood and animal skins.



▲**Source 7.29** An illustration of an art deco building designed in the 1930s

Modernism

Similarly to art deco, modernism impacted on many visual aspects of society. Advertisements and posters started using modern principles. For example, Pablo Picasso pushed the boundaries with his cubist painting *Guernica* (1937). *The New Yorker* magazine started publishing work influenced by modernism, and Irish author James Joyce wrote *Finnegans Wake* (1939).

▶**Source 7.30** Charles Demuth's *The Figure 5 in Gold*, painted in 1928, is an example of American modernism in art.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.5

Explore some major artists who adopted art deco or modernist themes. Choose an image by one of the artists and prepare a presentation about your chosen piece. Remember to include information about the artist and explain what makes the piece 'art deco' or 'modernist'. Some artists you could explore include illustrator Maxfield Parrish and the signature use of negative space in *Life* magazine covers by C. Coles Phillips.

7.5 Controlling cultural expression: Prohibition of alcohol, 1920–33

Perhaps one of most far-reaching attempts by a government to control social and cultural expression was **Prohibition**. There had been a strong movement in the 1800s against the negative effects of alcohol. Many women, primarily the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League, were the drivers behind this noble recommendation. Alcohol was described as the 'national curse' and it was believed that banning alcohol would fix many social problems and help the economy. Family abuse would be limited. Crime would be lowered. Corruption reduced. Taxes lowered. Health and hygiene improved. National character would be enhanced. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution was passed in 1919, and from 16 January 1920 the new law made the manufacture, transport or sale of 'intoxicating liquor' illegal.

Prohibition period from 1920 to 1933 when alcohol was banned by the US government

▲**Source 7.31** A New York restaurant with a sign in its window during Prohibition, circa 1929

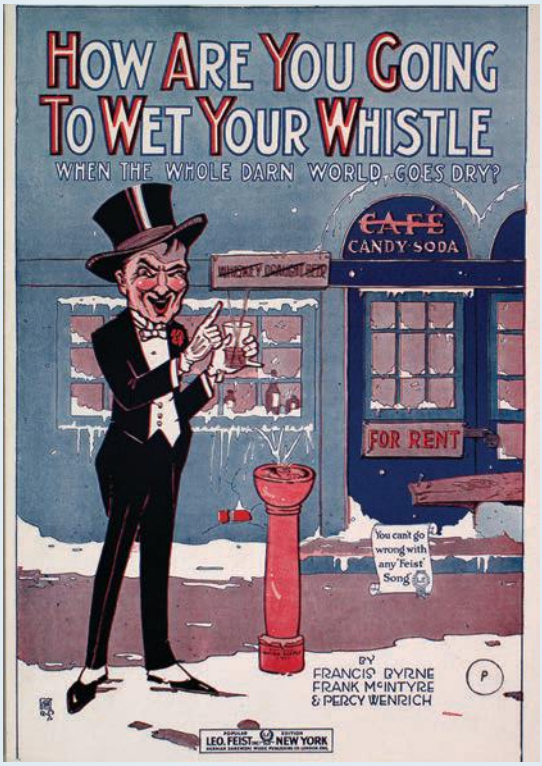
ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.6

The first line of the song reads:

Ev'rybody seems to talk of prohibition, and what they'll drink when ev'ry thing is dry.

1 When and why was this image produced?
2 What is the key message of this image?
3 How do you think people at the time would have responded to this message?



▶**Source 7.32** Sheet music cover image of the song 'How Are You Going to Wet Your Whistle (When the Whole Darn World Goes Dry?)', with original authorship notes reading 'By Francis Byrne, Frank McIntyre and Percy Wenrich', 1919

FOCUS QUESTION 7.4

Talk the thought – human graphs

This activity is designed to gauge your initial opinion about the role of the government in banning alcohol. To answer this question, imagine that there is a line across your classroom with 'Totally agree' on one wall and 'Totally disagree' on the other. Respond to the deliberately provocative statement: '**The American Government was foolish to ban alcohol.**' Stand anywhere along the imaginary line depending on the extent to which you agree with this statement. Share your point of view with others in the class, using examples to support your argument.

The impact of Prohibition

moonshine illegally made and distributed distilled spirits such as whisky

It was the difficult and endless responsibility of the police to enforce the ban on alcohol. Making alcohol at home was very common. Beer drinking became less common because it became too hard to make, compared with making hard liquor such as whisky. Liquor was made everywhere (including people's baths) and out of everything (even whatever fruit and vegetable people could find). These illegally made and distributed distilled spirits and other concoctions were called **moonshine**. The quality of alcohol created in home labs was therefore of a much poorer quality than what had previously been produced professionally.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Cleverly, shops would sell grape concentrate with a large warning label of the steps to avoid so that the grapes did not ferment and turn into wine. Or they would package all the ingredients needed to make alcohol into the same box.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Alcohol was banned on land but not on water. Alcohol was legal on any ship that was 5 kilometres or more offshore! Wine was also still allowed for holy communion for religious reasons.

FOCUS QUESTION 7.5

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

▲ **Source 7.33** New York City Deputy Police Commissioner John A. Leach, right, watching agents pour liquor into sewer following a raid during the height of prohibition, 1921

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, '**What's going on in this image?**'. The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

Gangsters and crime

An unintended but direct result of Prohibition was the rise in organised crime. Before 1920, mafia groups had been involved in theft, prostitution and gambling. But producing and selling alcohol became a profitable new business boom in the 1920s. It was called **bootlegging**. Organised crime flourished. There was even a silent film made in 1928 called *Me, Gangster*. The most infamous event was the St Valentine's Day Massacre in 1929 when several of Al Capone's gangsters shot members of a rival gang on the streets of Chicago.

bootlegging the illegal production and sale of liquor

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 7.34** *(Left)* Armed gangsters in a scene from a 1930 Hollywood film set in Chicago dealing with bootlegging during Prohibition. The gangster on the right uses a 'tommy' machine-gun, popular among gangsters at the time. *(Right)* A news photo of a bullet-riddled automobile in Chicago, 1934

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Ethyl alcohol was used by industry, so the government poisoned it to prevent it from being used to create drinking alcohol. Bootleggers hired chemists to 'renature' it to make it safe to drink. But over 10 000 people died from drinking the poisoned industrial alcohol. Was the government to blame? The bootleggers? Or the drinkers themselves?

▶**Source 7.35** A 1929 *Chicago Daily News* front page reporting the St Valentine's Day Massacre in Chicago

THREE CENTS **THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS** BLUE STREAK

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1929.—FORTY-EIGHT PAGES. FINAL EDITION

MASSACRE 7 OF MORAN GANG

HAFFA CHANGES HIS MIND: WILL FIGHT PRISON

TWO OF VICTIMS AND SCENE OF LATEST GANGSTER OUTBREAK

KILLING SCENE TOO GRUESOME FOR ONLOOKERS

VICTIMS ARE LINED AGAINST WALL; ONE VOLLEY KILLS ALL

Assassins Pose as Policemen; Flee in "Sound Car" After Fusillade; Capone Revenge for Murder of Lombardo, Officers Believe.

STAYS GIVEN 2 OF 3 KILLERS DUE TO DIE TONIGHT

1929 FLAPPERS JUST EAT UP VALENTINES

DECIDE TO CUT COOK ADRIFT IN TAX TANGLE

War to Finish Russell's Plan

TODAY'S RACE RESULTS

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◄ **Source 7.36** *(Left)* Organised crime leader 'Scarface' Al Capone built his gangster empire on profits from illegal alcohol. He was believed to have earned $60 million each year from alcohol alone. He became famous nationally after appearing on the front cover of *Time* magazine. *(Right)* Capone's tommy gun and pistol

Speakeasies

There were numerous and popular businesses that sold illegal alcohol during Prohibition. Called **speakeasies**, because people could enjoy themselves and speak freely without the threat of being caught drinking alcohol, they were often located in hidden rooms or basements. Many became sources of varied entertainment such as jazz music. Interestingly, they became a symbol of social connection; African Americans were permitted and women were prominent, both as owners and patrons of speakeasies. Business boomed during the 1920s, despite the poor-quality liquor served and many raids and arrests. It has been estimated that 200 000 to 500 000 speakeasies were established during this period.

speakeasies illegal but popular clubs that served alcohol during Prohibition

◄ **Source 7.37** Interior of a speakeasy during Prohibition on the East Side of New York, 1932

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The cost of Prohibition

Enforcing Prohibition was expensive, both financially and socially:

- During the 1920s, the annual budget of the Bureau of Prohibition increased from $4.4 million to $13.4 million.
- A survey across 30 states in 1920–21 revealed that crime had increased 24 per cent.
- As the wine industry was effectively ruined, grape growers pulled out their vines, which skyrocketed the price of grapes per tonne from $20 to $200.
- While exact figures were not recorded, it is commonly believed that alcohol use fell during 1914–22 but then rose dramatically. Arrests for public drunkenness were higher from 1925 than prior to Prohibition being introduced.
- Consumption of alcohol by women and children increased dramatically.
- According to US Department of Commerce figures, deaths from alcoholism increased four times from 1920 to 1928.
- Organised crime and related criminal activity increased.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.7

The 1929 debates on Prohibition in the US Senate became so popular that people flocked to hear them. The two main attractions were opponents Senators Reed and Borah. Analyse their different views below.

Senator Reed of Missouri argued for Prohibition to end	Senator Borah of Idaho argued for Prohibition and keeping alcohol illegal
'Law has been the instrument of tyrants and the weapon of brutes since time began. An improper law, an unjust law, a cruel law may be as much a crime as is the act of an individual who assassinates in the dark … Let no man say because I have thus spoken that I am declaring we should defy this law. It is our business to proceed in the right way to remedy whatever wrongs exist, and the right way is to repeal bad laws and to change bad constitutions.'	'Time and experience alone will demonstrate that fact, but it was not a crime; the people of the United States were in sincerity struggling with that which was deemed to be one of the greatest evils of modern civilization … I am only committed against the change, the repeal of either of the amendment or the law, so long as nothing better and more effective has been or can be presented. If there be a better way to control the evil of drink, a more effective way, more thorough, and with better results to those whom we would serve, let us have it.'

1 What is the main argument of each politician?

2 What reasons does each give to support his argument?

3 Which argument do you believe to be more powerful? Explain why.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 7.38** Before and after images of two federal agents in disguise to crack down on illegal liquor being sold in a speakeasy during Prohibition, 1925

Prohibition ends in 1933

By 1932, 75 per cent of the US population and an estimated 46 states favoured ending Prohibition. The initial aims of Prohibition had not been achieved. Instead, alcohol had become more dangerous to drink, organised crime had blossomed, courts and prisons were crowded, and corruption of police and public officials was common. Hence, Democratic presidential candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt, promised to remove the law if elected. He was elected in 1933, and Prohibition laws were repealed through the 21st Amendment to the Constitution to end a divisive but intriguing social experiment.

◀ **Source 7.39** A French magazine illustration, showing the end of Prohibition in the United States, with people celebrating by drinking in a bar

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Analysis of Prohibition

1 Prohibition created a disrespect for the law.
2 Prohibition encouraged organised crime.
3 Prohibition corrupted law enforcement and politics.
4 Prohibition overburdened police, courts and prisons.
5 Prohibition harmed people financially and morally.
6 Prohibition caused physical harm.
7 Prohibition changed drinking habits from going out to drinking at home, and getting drunk became more common.
8 Prohibition increased smoking.
9 Prohibition prevented the treatment of drinking problems.

FOCUS QUESTION 7.6

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: '**Was Prohibition worth it?**' A student briefly answers the question. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

7.6 Social and economic exclusion

Despite the Roaring Twenties and economic recovery in the 1930s, there were two groups who did not prosper at all because they were 'out of sight and therefore out of mind'.

African Americans

The southern states forced African Americans to undertake hard labour for poor wages, in dismal living conditions. Discriminatory laws separated whites from blacks. Their break from hard work was the entertainments of jazz, singing, dancing and sport. The existence of the Ku Klux Klan reinforced their inferior role in society. The civil rights movement, which fought against these conditions, is the focus of Chapter 13 of this book.

◄ **Source 7.40** Cotton sharecroppers, Greene County, Georgia, June 1937

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Maloney 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Sharecroppers

Sharecroppers rented out land from landlords but were evicted if they failed to pay the rent. This became more common in the 1920s as there was such a massive boost in food production, which lowered prices of goods. Many farmers in the Mid-West lost their homes and many men simply moved around in a desperate search for any type of work.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.8

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below: *What was life like in America during the 1920s?*

- Charlie Chaplin
- electrical appliances
- F. Scott Fitzgerald
- flappers
- hire-purchase
- jazz
- Model T Ford
- Wall Street Crash

THE STORY SO FAR

- A successful end to World War I meant that the United States began the interwar years full of optimism.
- Hire-purchase schemes meant that ordinary Americans could now access a wide range of new technologies, from fridges to cars. Consistent purchasing created an economic boom.
- The Roaring Twenties ended suddenly with the Wall Street stock market crash that began the worldwide Great Depression. After years of unemployment and significant hardship, President Roosevelt's New Deal programs gradually restored economic stability.
- Social and cultural life was reimagined with the women's 'flapper' fashions, toe-tapping jazz music, iconic authors and impressive films.
- The government's attempt to alter social norms through the prohibition of alcohol failed due to the increase in gangsters and organised crime. After 13 years, Prohibition laws were removed in 1933.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 Why and how did the economy boom during the 1920s?

2 What were the major changes in social life in the 1920s and 1930s?

3 What caused the Wall Street Crash and what was its impact?

4 How did President Roosevelt help restore economic stability?

5 What was the response to the government prohibition on alcohol?

Analysing historical sources as evidence

John D. Rockefeller Jr explained his sadness at the failure of Prohibition in a letter written in 1932:

> *When Prohibition was introduced, I hoped that it would be widely supported by public opinion and the day would soon come when the evil effects of alcohol would be recognized. I have slowly and reluctantly come to believe that this has not been the result. Instead, drinking has generally increased; the speakeasy has replaced the saloon; a vast army of lawbreakers has appeared; many of our best citizens have openly ignored Prohibition; respect for the law has been greatly lessened; and crime has increased to a level never seen before.*

1 What were Rockefeller's hopes when Prohibition was introduced?

2 List four things that he says actually occurred.

Extended-response question

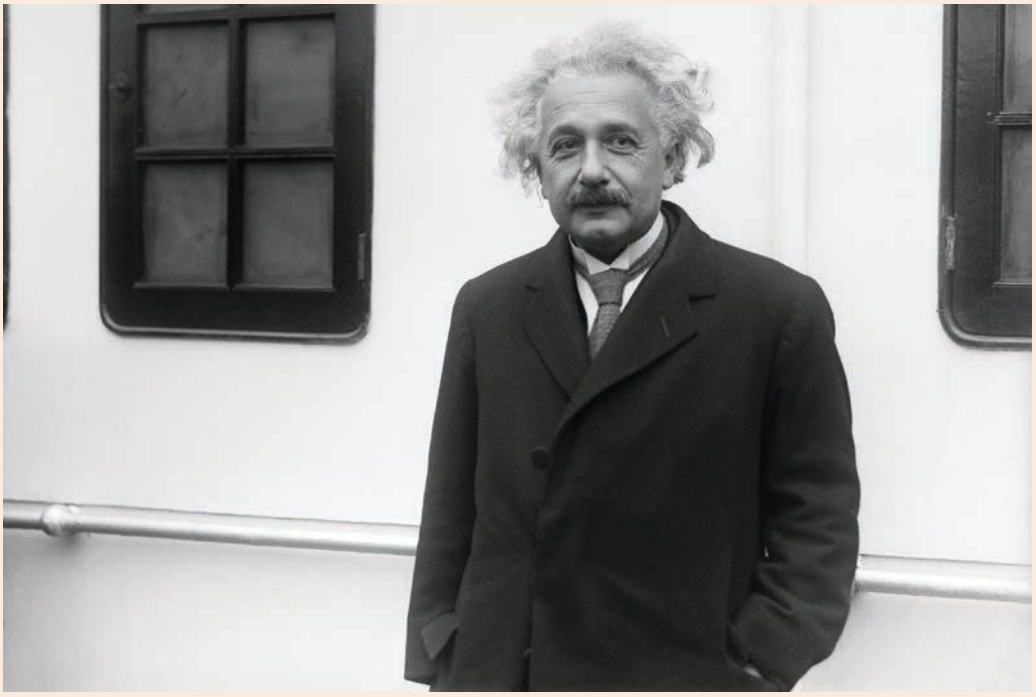
Write a considered response to the following quote:

> *Nothing is more destructive of respect for the government than passing laws which cannot be enforced.*
>
> Albert Einstein

To what extent is this Einstein quote true of Prohibition in America from 1920 to 1933?

- This is a controversial statement to make you think about the role of government decisions. Is it true that we respect governments that make good decisions? Is it true that decisions that cannot be enforced, or cannot be imposed successfully, make us lose respect for a government?
- This question needs to be answered regarding the US government's decision on Prohibition in the 1920s. Use examples from this context based on the information in this chapter.
- When and how did the government make the decision on Prohibition? Why did the government think this was an important decision to make? How would it benefit US society? For example, discuss the hopes of the temperance groups that wanted Prohibition introduced.
- What were the responses or reactions to the decision? For example, discuss the rise of gangsters, crime, violence and speakeasies.
- Why did Prohibition end? For example, use the statistics about the cost of the Prohibition laws plus the United States Senate debates in Analysis Activity 7.7. Then add when and how Prohibition laws were ended.
- Summarise your argument by stating whether you agree or disagree with Albert Einstein's comment about government decisions.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲**Source 7.41** Albert Einstein was a German-born theoretical physicist who developed the theory of relativity and who fled Nazi Germany in 1933 to live in the United States

Constructing historical arguments

Using the extract below, and your own research, write a considered response to this statement: *'Democratic powers have only defeated authoritarian regimes through luck.'*

You should consider the problems faced by either form of regime, and the issues that might have arisen from the ways in which authoritarian regimes acted.

In recent years, there has been a great deal of debate as to whether we are entering another period of 'authoritarianism' in the world. The following extract comes from the famous journal *Foreign Affairs*, and discusses whether there is any certainty that liberal democracy can succeed in our contemporary world. It also tries to understand *why* liberal democracies succeeded in defeating earlier 'authoritarian regimes'.

> *[T]he totalitarian capitalist [as opposed to Communist] regimes did not lose World War II because their liberal democratic opponents held a moral high ground that inspired greater exertion from their people … During the 1930s and early 1940s fascism and Nazism were exciting new ideologies that generated massive popular enthusiasm, whereas democracy stood on the ideological defensive, appearing old and dispirited. If anything, the fascist regimes proved more inspiring in wartime than their democratic adversaries, and the battlefield performance of their militaries is widely judged to have been superior. Liberal democracy's supposedly inherent economic advantage is also far less clear than is often assumed. All of the belligerents in the twentieth century's great struggles proved highly effective in producing for war … Only during the Cold War did the Soviet command economy exhibit deepening structural weaknesses – weaknesses that were directly responsible for the Soviet Union's downfall … So why did the democracies win the great struggles of the twentieth century? The reasons are different for each type of adversary. They defeated their non-democratic capitalist adversaries, Germany and Japan, in war because [these] were medium-sized countries with limited resource bases and they came up against the far superior – but hardly preordained – economic and military coalition of the democratic powers and Russia of the Soviet Union. The defeat of Communism, however, had much more to do with structural factors … the inherent inefficiency of the communist economies prevented them from fully exploiting their vast resources and catching up to the West.*
>
> Azar Gat, 2007

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Unit 2: The changing world order

Area of Study 1

Causes, course and consequences of the Cold War

'At no previous period has mankind been faced by a half century which so paradoxically united violence and progress.'

– VERA BRITTAIN, BRITISH PACIFIST AND WRITER

Overview

Despite the formation of the United Nations in 1945 to promote international peace and cooperation after World War II, the second half of the twentieth century was dominated by competing ideologies and their numerous moments of conflict. The United States promoted capitalism and the Soviet Union (Russia, or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, known as the USSR) promoted communism. The direct result of these competing ideologies was the intense conflict called the Cold War. Rather than being one direct battle, the Cold War was fought over many decades in many contexts – even the Olympic Games! Conflicts in Germany and Cuba, races to develop nuclear weapons and space technology, and wars in Korea and Vietnam became prime examples of tense ideological battles. Soviet Premier Khrushchev undertook the two most daring acts of the Cold War – the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and placing missiles in Cuba in 1962.

geopolitics A term used to describe the calculations of competing nations about how to use their finite resources on the global scale to influence international matters. Factors such as demographics, economics, geographical location and military alliances influence a nation's actions. The ultimate goals are those of self-interest, which may involve helping other nations along the way.

Steps were taken during the 1980s to weaken the stronghold of communism throughout Europe, meaning that President Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* (more open government) was popular. The direct results by 1991 were nuclear disarmament, the reunification of Germany and the breakdown of the Soviet Union. The Cold War had seemingly thawed and melted away – at least for 20 years or so.

Indeed, hindsight provides historians with the opportunity to better evaluate the impacts of events. There is a valid argument at present that elements of the Cold War rivalries have returned and that therefore the conflict has merely evolved after a lull, where Russia's economic devastation of the 1990s required a retreat from the brink. Western countries like the United States and Britain have more recently described Russia as a rogue state for a series of cyberattacks and assassinations on foreign soil. China and the United States have been embroiled in a trade war and steps have been taken to modernise the superpowers' nuclear arsenals in the late 2010s. While the concept of capitalism versus communism is no longer the focal point, **geopolitics** in a new, globalised and interconnected world remains an intensely contested matter.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

As soon as US troops pulled out of their role as a barrier between Turkey and the Kurds in Northern Syria in late 2019, Russian troops moved in. Like much of the world, the influence of one superpower was replaced by another.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Key concepts

- capitalism
- Cold War
- communism
- democracy
- geopolitics
- ideology
- nationalism

Learning goals

After completing this Area of Study, you should be able to answer these questions:

- What were the causes of the Cold War?
- How did Cold War ideology contribute to increased tensions and conflict?
- What were the consequences of the Cold War on nations and peoples?
- What caused the end of the Cold War?
- How did the social, political, economic and cultural conditions influence and change the post-Cold War world?

Outcome 2

On completion of this unit the student should be able to explain the causes of the Cold War and analyse its consequences on nations and people.

To achieve this outcome the student will draw on key knowledge and key skills outlined in Area of Study 1.

Key knowledge

- This is detailed in Chapters 8–12.

Key skills

- Ask and use a range of historical questions to understand the causes and consequences of the Cold War.
- Analyse sources and use as evidence to understand the causes and consequences of the Cold War.
- Identify the perspectives of people and how perspectives changed over time.
- Identify different historical interpretations of the causes and consequences of the Cold War.
- Analyse the causes and consequences of the Cold War.
- Explain how social, economic, political and cultural features changed and/or stayed the same in the Cold War.
- Explain the significance of events, ideas, individuals and movements.
- Construct arguments about the causes and consequences of the Cold War using sources as evidence.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Timeline of key events, 1945–1991

1945

- **30 April and 8 May:** Death of Hitler and Germany's surrender

  Hitler shot and killed himself on 30 April, 1945 with Russian forces only streets away. This allowed his military command to arrange Germany's unconditional surrender on 8 May

1945

- **February and July:** Yalta and Potsdam Conferences

  Two very important conferences where the victorious powers planned the carve up of Europe and the Pacific before the actual ends of those theatres of war
- **17 July–2 August:** After the Potsdam Conference, the Allies split Germany into four occupation zones, controlled by the United States, France, Great Britain and the USSR. Berlin was located in Soviet territory and also divided into East and West

  East and West Berlin and Germany are created under competing ideologies
- **6 and 9 August:** Atomic bombs used on Japan. World War II in Pacific ends.

  Hiroshima (6 August) and Nagasaki (9 August) are attacked with nuclear weapons. Japan announced its surrender on 15 August
- **24 October:** United Nations formed

  An organisation created as an international peacekeeping body due to the crimes against humanity in World War II

1948–49

- **1 April 1948–12 May 1949:** Berlin Blockade

  The first of many political contests between America's capitalism against the Soviet Union's communism in the Cold War

1949

- **29 August:** USSR detonates its first atomic bomb.
- Having started work on nuclear fission in 1939, then being disrupted by Germany's 1941 invasion of Russia, Soviet physicists created their first atomic chain reaction in 1946. They developed this into a bomb by late 1949

1950–53

- **25 June 1950:** Korean War begins

  A battle over the political allegiance of Korea with America controlling United Nations forces. War ends in a stalemate in 1953, creating North and South Korea

1955–75

- **1 November 1955–30 April 1975:** Vietnam War

  A prolonged war that divides the US population and results in massive protests

1957

- **4 October:** Sputnik satellite successfully launched by Soviet Russia

  The Soviet Union is moving ahead of the United States in the nuclear arms and Space Race. Both superpowers rapidly develop technology

1961

- **13 August:** Berlin Wall built

  The divisive and powerful symbol of the Cold War is created

1962

- **14 October–28 October:** Cuban Missile Crisis

  A nuclear crisis that serves as a reminder of the potential deadly consequences of the Cold War

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1963

- **22 November:** President John F. Kennedy assassination
  Horrific public assassination of a popular Cold War president in controversial circumstances

1969

- **20 July:** Moon landing by US astronauts
  After an expensive Space Race for the previous decade, US astronauts are the first to land on the moon

1979

- **December:** Russia invades Afghanistan
  This aggression has direct impacts as the United States boycotts the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics. The Soviet Union boycotts the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics in return

1979–89

- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) supports anti-Soviet forces in Afghanistan
- For 10 years after the invasion of Afghanistan, the United States, through Pakistan, funnels an estimated $20 billion to resistance groups to wage war against the Soviets. One resistance leader at the time is Osama Bin Laden

1985

- **14 March:** Mikhail Gorbachev becomes head of the Soviet Union
  Gorbachev is the major influence in ending the Cold War through his policies of *glasnost* and *détente*

1989

- **9 November:** Fall of Berlin Wall
  Not only is the wall removed through a popular revolution, but Germany is reunified as one country

1991

- **December:** Collapse of Soviet Russia
  The 74-year Communist experiment is over with the breakup of the Soviet Union into independent states

2000

- **May:** Vladimir Putin first rises to power in Russia
  Having quit his role in the Russian secret service (KGB) to enter politics in 1996, Vladimir Putin rises to power for the first time, heralding Russia's gradual return to the superpower status it has regained today

2001

- **September 11:** World Trade Centre in New York destroyed in terrorist attack
  The 'twin towers' are destroyed as two passenger planes are hijacked and rammed into the building. Four planes in total were hijacked, with one hitting the Pentagon and the other failing to reach the White House. This event heralds a new era of conflict, particularly in the Middle East

2007–2008

- The Global Financial Crisis
  An international banking crisis that caused a Great Recession and severely impacted many countries, although Australia was mainly unaffected

2010–2012

- The Arab Spring
  A number of anti-government protests and uprisings took place across many Arab countries such as Libya, Egypt, Yemen, Syria and Bahrain. Many leaders were deposed, creating power vacuums which have shaped the politics of the area today.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

8 THE COLD WAR

The Cold War isn't thawing; it is burning with a deadly heat. Communism isn't sleeping; it is, as always, plotting, scheming, working, fighting.

– RICHARD NIXON, US PRESIDENT (1968–74)

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

One war was simply replaced with another in 1945. The end of World War II signalled the beginning of the Cold War between the world's two strongest countries – the United States and the Soviet Union.

A 'hot' war is one where military forces directly fight each other, such as World Wars I and II. Therefore, a 'cold' war is one where military forces do *not* directly fight each other. How did the United States and the Soviet Union 'fight' each other? They did this primarily through politics and competition, such as competing over who could develop the technology to reach the moon first, or by dividing Germany into East and West Germany and building the Berlin Wall. They even significantly bolstered their sporting programs. The most common way of fighting in the Cold War was to support nations that either wanted to attack one of the superpowers or were in civil war. One example is when the Soviet Union provided weapons to Cuba, which used them to threaten the United States in an event called the Cuban Missile Crisis. The most devastating involvements were in the cases of civil wars, of which the best example is the Vietnam War, where the Soviet Union and the CCP (China) supported North Vietnam and the United States supported South Vietnam.

Understanding the Cold War means understanding that all politics are driven by the assumption and maintenance of power. Examining the Cold War provides an insight into what the United States and Soviet governments were willing to expend in order to achieve victory. Both believed not just that their ideology was superior, but also that the other ideology was the completely wrong way to run a country and a threat to their ways of life.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- How did the United States and the Soviet Union become superpowers by the end of World War II?
- Why did tension continue after World War II ended?
- What were the goals of the new United Nations and have they been achieved in the long term?
- What defined the competing ideologies of capitalism and communism?
- What was the Iron Curtain?
- How did the nuclear arms race influence the lives of people and the behaviour of nations?

Digital resources for this chapter

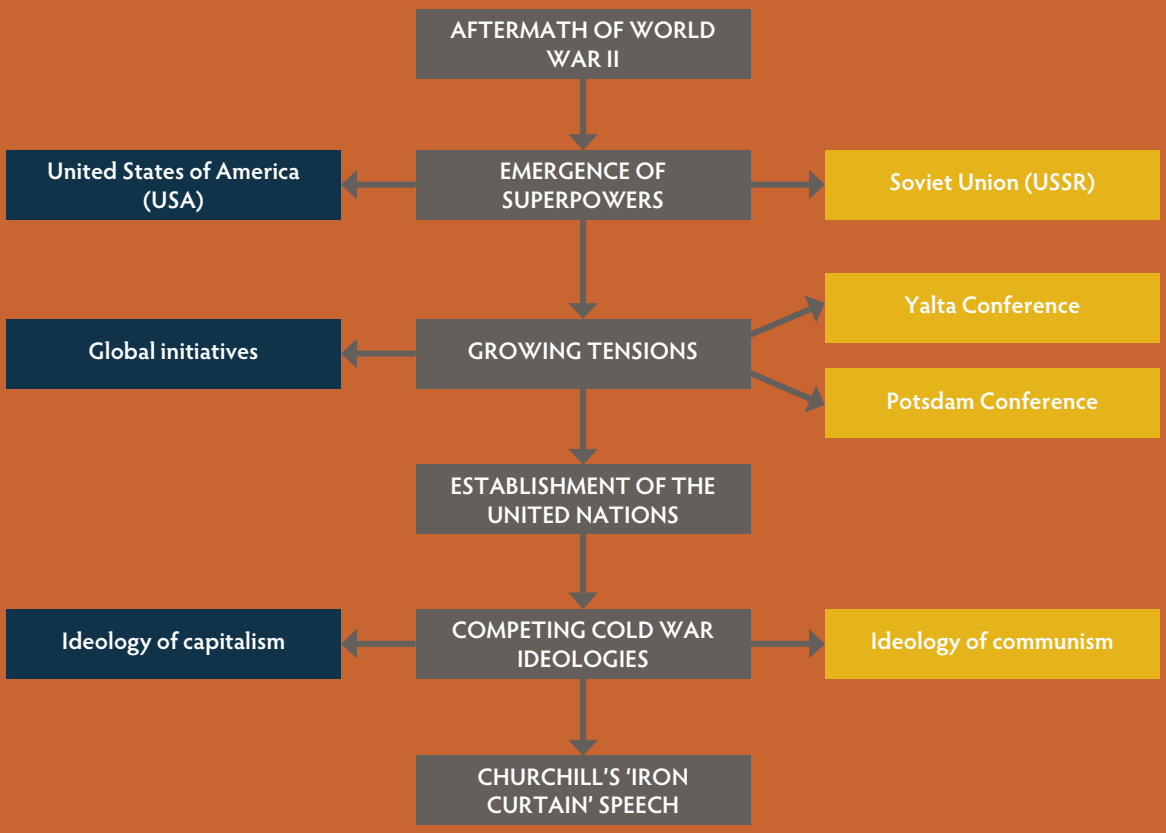
In the *Interactive Textbook*:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◂ **Source 8.0** Motorised ballistic missile launchers bearing Scud tactical nuclear missiles at a military parade in Red Square, Moscow, 1980

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

1945
30 APRIL AND 8 MAY
Death of Hitler and Germany's surrender

1945
6 AND 9 AUGUST
Atomic bombs used on Japan. WWII in Pacific ends

1946
5 MARCH
Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech

1969
20 JULY
Moon landing by US astronauts

1945
FEBRUARY AND JULY
Yalta and Potsdam Conferences

1945
24 OCTOBER
United Nations formed

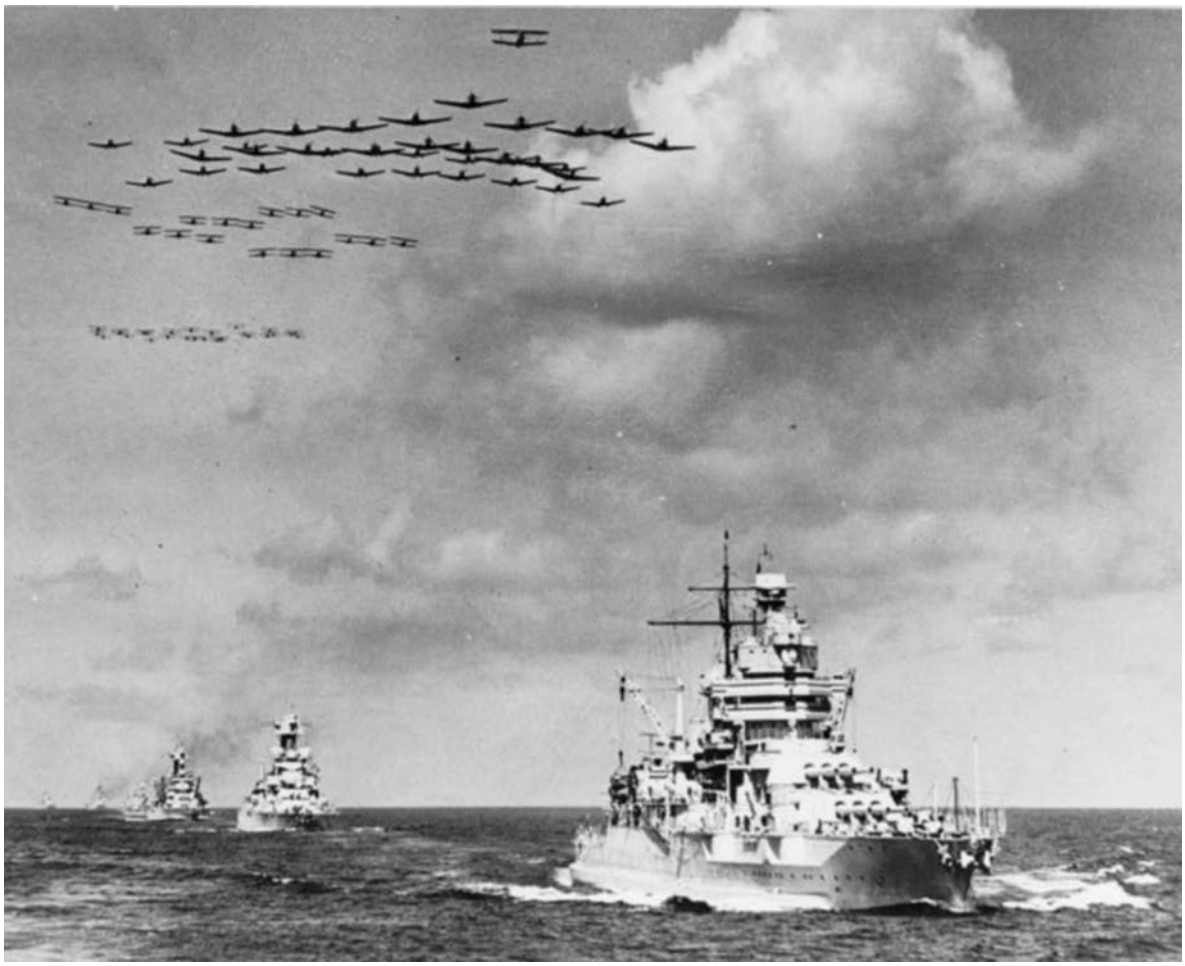
1957
4 OCTOBER
Sputnik satellite successfully launched by the Soviet Union

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

8.1 The aftermath of World War II: United States and Soviet Union emerge as superpowers

United States: Strength from wealth

The United States became an incredibly wealthy country during the war for three main reasons. First, apart from the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States was not invaded. It did not have to spend billions of dollars repaying debts or repairing buildings and factories as Germany, Japan, Britain, France and the Soviet Union were forced to do. Second, the United States was able to supply the Allied countries with weapons, making their industries extremely wealthy. Third, its massive military power was proven through the technology of the atomic bomb, and its large navy and air force.



▲**Source 8.1** US naval forces, 1945

Statistics

- Production in US factories increased by 50 per cent during the war.
- By 1945, 50 per cent of the world's manufactured goods and 33 per cent of the world's exports came from the United States, and the United States held 67 per cent of the world's gold reserves.
- The United States had the strongest air force and navy in the world, with 1200 major warships and 2000 heavy bombers.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Soviet Union: Military strength

The sheer size of the Soviet Union's population meant that its strength was in numbers. Its army had accomplished the impossible – it stopped the German army from taking Moscow, and then single-handedly defeated the Germans in Eastern Europe. The Soviets had also been the first to capture Hitler's headquarters in Berlin.

▲**Source 8.2** A Russian soldier waves a Soviet flag over the Reichstag in Berlin, May 1945. The effects of the Allied capture of the German capital can be seen clearly.

By occupying Berlin, they had also occupied (or 'liberated') the vast tracts of land and nations situated between Germany and Russia. While the Soviet Union's population was not as large as that of the United States (97 million compared with 140 million in 1945), it was certainly larger than Germany's (65 million). Over the subsequent decades, the authoritarian nature of government in the Soviet Union meant that more people were mobilised for nationalistic causes than in the United States, allowing them to compete with the West for a long time. Furthermore, their occupation of Eastern Europe provided wealth, resources and labour through this period.

Statistics

- The Soviet Union suffered an incredible 27 million military and civilian deaths in World War II – more than Australia's entire population today.

▲**Source 8.3** Soviet red army troops during a victory parade in front of the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, 1945

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

8.2 Tensions continue

After the collapse of the German Reich … there will only be two superpowers in the world: the United States and Soviet Russia.

The Hitler–Bormann Documents, April 1945

Hitler's prediction of superpower rivalry was incredibly accurate. The United States and the Soviet Union had suppressed their hostility through their common hatred of Hitler. Both had fought to defeat the Nazi regime – the United States from the west and the Soviet Union from the east. But once Hitler was defeated, the two countries came into conflict over a number of problems.

Problem 1: Global initiatives

US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had a joint vision for a new postwar world. They developed three global initiatives:

- the United Nations – to deal with threats to international peace
- the International Monetary Fund – to minimise the chance of economic depression and currency fluctuations
- the World Bank – to aid in the reconstruction of destroyed countries using capital from the International Monetary Fund.

These initiatives were devised to create a more secure global community after a devastating war, not to promote **capitalism**. There was a broadly held belief that the terrible conditions faced in Germany after World War I had provided the perfect environment for Hitler's rise to power. The initiatives aimed to build prosperous and democratic nations that were part of the global community. Soviet President Joseph Stalin, however, interpreted these moves as being politically motivated by the capitalist Western Allies in order to wipe out communism. Stalin developed a genuine and permanent distrust of the West due to these initiatives.

capitalism a political and economic system in which production and distribution are privately owned or operated for profit

If goods don't cross borders, soldiers will.

Frederic Bastiat (1801–50)

Problem 2: Arguing over Poland at Yalta

The three most powerful leaders in the world – Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin – met in February 1945 in the Soviet waterfront resort town of Yalta. Their discussions focused on the punishment for a defeated Germany and the future governance of Poland. They agreed to Germany's unconditional surrender, a joint occupation of Germany and war crime trials for the leading Nazis. The issue of Poland was far more complicated. As the largest country in Eastern Europe, Poland's future was likely to form a model for the rest of Europe.

- *Churchill's argument* – As he did not trust Stalin nor want communism to spread, Poland was not to be controlled by the Soviets.
- *Roosevelt's argument* – Although he wanted democracy in Poland, he also wanted the United States and the Soviet Union to remain on good terms when the war ended.
- *Stalin's argument* – Security was his main priority, given that historically Poland had always been the corridor for attack on Russia. He was determined that any new government in Poland must be friendly towards the Soviet Union and was very reluctant to give up the vast amounts of Polish territory controlled by his Red Army.

▼**Source 8.4** The big three: Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin at the Yalta summit in February 1945

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Within just five months of the Yalta Conference, Stalin was the only leader of the 'Big Three' left. Roosevelt had died and Churchill was voted out of office.

self-determination the right of a country to determine its own social, economic and political agendas

The issue of Poland's **self-determination** was not resolved. Churchill and Roosevelt feared that Stalin intended to expand communism throughout Europe. Stalin refused to recognise and reinstate the democratic government of Poland from before the war and had already installed a communist government.

Problem 3: Arguing over Germany at Potsdam

Hitler's suicide allowed other Nazi leaders to sign an unconditional surrender on 8 May 1945. Afterwards, Stalin met with Churchill and the new President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, in the city of Potsdam outside Berlin.

Truman adopted a much more aggressive style than Roosevelt, saying: 'We have to get tough with the Russians. They don't know how to behave.' By this stage, the United States had successfully tested its new atomic bomb, which allowed Truman to argue confidently as he knew the extent of his nation's military power. On 24 July 1945, Truman in fact told Stalin of their possession of 'a new weapon of unusual destructive force', to which Stalin apparently showed no particular concern or interest in, even wishing them well in using it against the Japanese. A mere 13 days later, Hiroshima was destroyed, and 16 days later, so was Nagasaki.

War Crimes Tribunal an independent body set up to investigate and prosecute perpetrators of atrocities during wartime

The Potsdam Conference divided Germany into four zones, one for each of the main Allied nations – the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France. An Allied Control Council was established to oversee this process. Proceeds from the break-up of the German navy were divided equally, while both sides were gathering as many surviving engineers and scientists from the Nazi weapons programs as possible. A **War Crimes Tribunal** was established to ensure 'swift and sure justice' for leaders of Nazi Germany.

But Stalin's demand for $10 billion from Germany to repair damage to the Soviet Union was refused, and Stalin himself refused the United States' and Britain's request for a greater say in Eastern Europe. The issue of governance in Poland was still disputed.

▼**Source 8.6** With the development of fighter jets, intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), a prototype stealth bomber and the largest gun ever built, the race was on between East and West to capture or entice German scientists and engineers after the war. These technologies would soon appear on both sides in warfare and the Space Race.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.1

With so many films and video games about war, it is sometimes possible to forget that it is in fact a terrible thing. Very few veterans of war disagree with this notion. Even worse though, World War II saw the unprecedented crossing of boundaries into wholesale attacks on or direct murder of civilians (think, for example, what Japan did in China in the 1930s and the Holocaust in Europe perpetrated by the Nazis). The dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan was labelled a war crime by many people and remains a point of dispute inside the United States even today. There was also the bombing of German civilians in Dresden. Additionally, the Soviet Union's treatment of ethnic and religious minorities, including Jews, before and during World War II was appalling. The Red Army's campaign of terror and mass sexual assault in Berlin matched that of the German Wehrmacht during its invasion of Russia in 1941–42. All sides bombed or shelled each other's cities relentlessly during the conflicts, crossing a new threshold of immorality in the waging of war.

1 What are the moral and practical considerations in deciding who should and should not face war crimes trials at the conclusion of a conflict? Use an extended paragraph to respond.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 8.1

1 Summarise the three problems over which the United States and Soviet Union came into conflict.
2 Explain why Hitler's prediction of a superpower rivalry was so accurate.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.2

◀ **Source 8.7** In what would become an iconic photograph, American and Soviet soldiers meet on a destroyed bridge in Germany in April 1945.

1 Describe the similarities and differences of Soviet and American soldiers' attitudes in the photograph.
2 How does the date of this photograph help explain the reaction from both sides?
3 Comment on whether this source is neutral, favourable or unfavourable to either nation depicted.
4 Using the information from this chapter, explain why the relationship between these two countries became so tense in the years after this photograph was taken.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.3

▲ **Source 8.8** A political cartoon of the Cold War era, commenting on Soviet satellite states

1 Research in order to name an approximate year that this cartoon is likely to have been produced in, based on the character and country named.

2 Why is the word 'on' emphasised? Explain in context of another competition between the superpowers.

3 Comment on whether this source is neutral, favourable or unfavourable to either nation depicted.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

8.3 The United Nations, 1945 to present

As Roosevelt and Churchill had envisioned and proposed, the United Nations was the new international organisation to replace the failed League of Nations. Interestingly, the League of Nations was created immediately after World War I and the United Nations immediately after World War II. On both occasions, the Western world was desperate to conclude conflict, but exactly how to achieve that remained an ongoing challenge.

Representatives from the Soviet Union, Britain, United States and China created draft proposals. Fifty nations then met to discuss and debate these proposals in San Francisco, resulting in the signing of the United Nations Charter in June 1945. The new peacekeeping body officially began on 24 October 1945.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Each year 24 October is celebrated as United Nations Day.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.4

PREAMBLE

We the peoples of the United Nations determined

- *to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and*
- *to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and*
- *to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and*
- *to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom*

and for these ends

- *to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and*
- *to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and*
- *to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and*
- *to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples*

The United Nations, www.un.org/en/documents/charter/preamble.shtml

1 Use the APPARTS model (see Chapter 1, p. 12) and answer each of the seven questions about the United Nations Charter.

2 The goal of the League of Nations in 1919 was 'to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security'. How similar or different were the United Nations' goals in 1945?

▲ **Source 8.9** The United Nations headquarters building in New York City

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Use and abuse of the United Nations by the superpowers

There are five permanent UN Security Council members, and each can **veto** (vote to block) any UN resolution, even if they are the only country to vote against the entire UN. These nations are the United States, Russia, China, France and the UK. Since 1946, of the more than 260 vetoes tabled, the main vetoing nations have been the United States and Russia, as they each sought to prevent UN resolutions against their global geopolitical activities, or the questionable behaviour of their allies. Some have argued that the veto system is the main reason for numerous war crimes and crimes against humanity going unpunished. All of these veto nations are also nuclear armed with intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). Despite many nations seeing this Security Council system as being of a bygone era, deeply flawed and unable to provide a peaceful world today, change is unlikely. Indeed, any change to the veto powers of the five permanent members is likely to be vetoed by at least one of the permanent members!

veto a power that allows a permanent Security Council nation to cancel any resolution tabled in the UN

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The United States used its veto power for the first time in 1970, relating to a resolution about the terrible war in Rhodesia (now known as Zimbabwe). By that stage, the USSR had already used it 80 times!

The veto power has been used fairly consistently over the course of the UN's existence. It has been deployed in concentrated patterns by one nation or another, though. The USSR used it repeatedly early between 1945 and 1970. The United States was particularly active from 1970 to 2006. Russia and China have used it most since 2007. Russia has been active in vetoing to protect itself in relation to its own aggression in Ukraine, Georgia and Syria, and to protect its geopolitical interests and allies in the Middle East (for example, during the Yemeni Civil War). Between 2017 and 2018, Russia vetoed six UN resolutions condemning the Syrian government's use of chemical weapons against its own civilians in its ongoing civil war. China also joined Russia to veto one of these. The last time that Britain and France vetoed a UN resolution was back in 1989.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The 15 March 2014 UN resolution condemning Russia's annexation of the Crimea region from Ukraine was vetoed – by Russia!

History shows us that Republican US presidents preside over significantly more UN interventions via veto than Democrats. Since 1970, Democrat presidents have been in power for 20 years and vetoed nine times. Republican presidents have been in power for 30 years and vetoed 72 times. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the United States has entered significantly more wars while under a Republican president than when under a Democrat president in this period. Contrary to what many might assume, however, by 2020 the United States under Republican President Trump had only used its veto power a small amount of times. In years to come President Trump's legacy may show more focus on domestic and trade-related issues than on direct US involvement in international armed conflict. His 2019 withdrawal of US forces from the Kurdish region of Syria points to this.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.5

Using the information in this chapter and any further research you deem necessary, answer the following question: *To what extent has the veto power impacted the effectiveness and longevity of the United Nations?*

Answer with reference to the collapse of the League of Nations and the ongoing geopolitical position of the five permanent Security Council members.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

8.4 Competing Cold War ideologies: capitalism vs communism

For the enemy is the communist system itself – implacable, insatiable, unceasing in its drive for world domination.

… For this is not a struggle for supremacy of arms alone – it is also a struggle for supremacy between two conflicting ideologies: Freedom under God versus ruthless, godless tyranny.

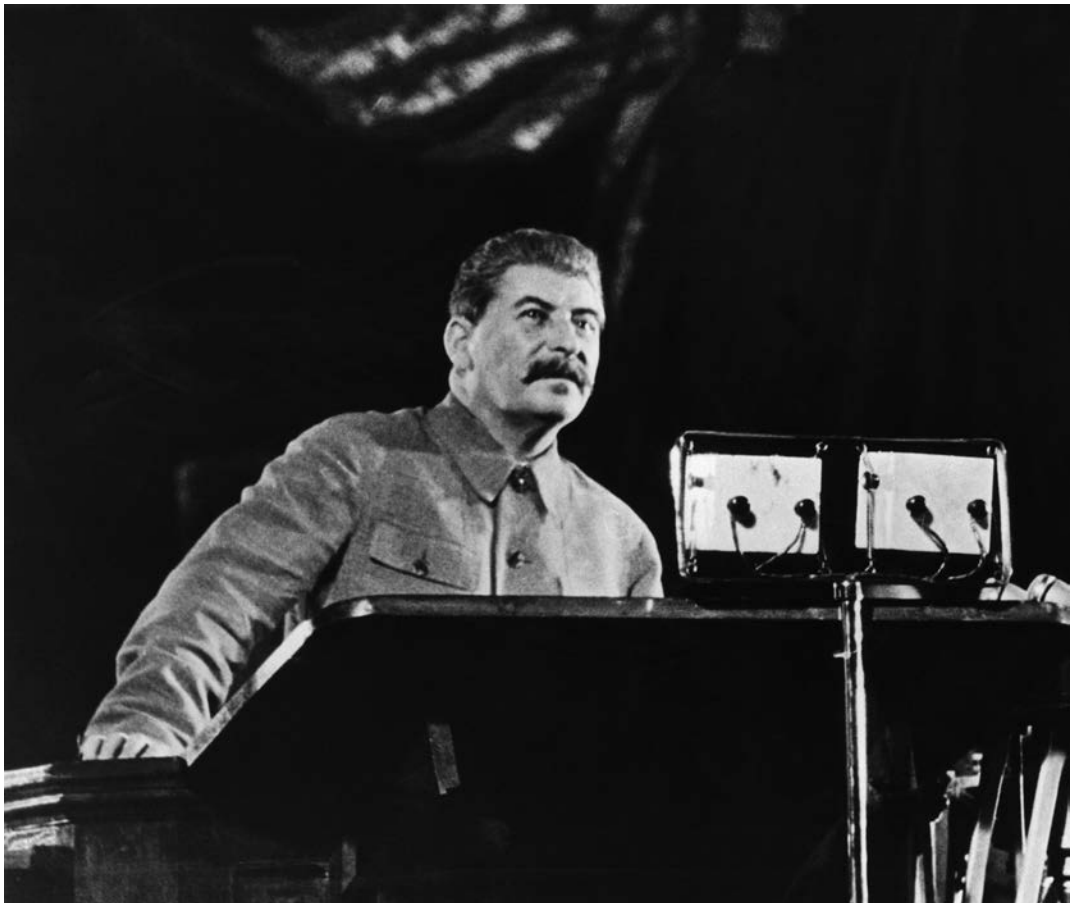
President John F. Kennedy, 1960

It is difficult for me to imagine what 'personal liberty' is enjoyed by an unemployed hungry person. True freedom can only be where there is no exploitation and oppression of one person by another; where there is no unemployment, and where a person is not living in fear of losing his job, his home and his bread. Only in such a society personal and any other freedom can exist for real and not on paper.

Joseph Stalin, 1936

Mankind is divided into rich and poor, into property owners and exploited; and to abstract oneself from this fundamental division; and from the antagonism between poor and rich means abstracting oneself from fundamental facts.

Joseph Stalin, 1937



▲ **Source 8.10** Joseph Stalin, 1937

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

In the above quotes, Stalin spoke from a position of relative superiority as communist states were largely shielded from the disaster of the Great Depression that crippled Western economies in the 1930s. However, after the recovery of the late 1930s and the stimulus of wartime spending, the United States and subsequently other Western nations quickly benefitted from market capitalism again.

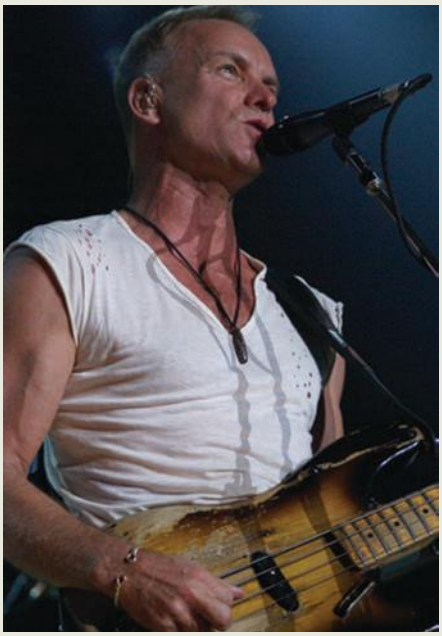
The Russian ideology of communism was antithetical to the United States' ideology of capitalism. Capitalism proclaimed economic liberty, praised private enterprise and gave the individual absolute freedom. By its philosophy, a capitalist government should do much less in the economy, instead relying on private enterprise to respond to demand for goods and services by supplying them. The incentive to do so is profit. Capitalist governments would normally spend much less on public services such as hospitals and certainly less on welfare, but citizens are taxed less as part of this approach. It is a 'user pays' system.

RESEARCH QUESTION 8.1

Musical viewpoints on the era

American singer songwriter Billy Joel wrote a song called 'We Didn't Start the Fire' (1989) that lists over 100 references to the Cold War from 1949 to 1989. It reached number one in the music charts in the United States, number two in Australia and Canada, and number four in Germany. Listen to it, read the lyrics and list all the references to the Cold War.

Sting, a British singer songwriter, released his song 'Russians' in 1985. While it was a successful song, it did not reach number one in any country (though it reached number two in France and number four in Germany. It did not sell anywhere near the level that Billy Joel's single sold in the United States. Listen also to this song, read the lyrics and research the names that he mentions.



▲ **Source 8.11 (Right)** Billy Joel **(Left)** Sting

Comparing your lists with a partner, complete the following questions.

1. Is one song more patriotic than the other? What makes you say that?
2. Why might Billy Joel's lyrics have been well received in the United States at the time?
3. Sting's song appeared to best resonate with audiences in France and Germany. Explain why this might have been the case.
4. Mutual assured destruction (perhaps ironically known as MAD) was a term to describe the no-win outcome of a nuclear war. How does Sting's song seek to address this concept?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The opposing ideologies of capitalism and communism formed the foundation of the superpower rivalry that erupted between these two powerful nations after World War II (the basic differences between the two ideologies are summarised in Source 8.12). Each country's leadership was totally committed to its ideology, and believed that every country would be more prosperous if they converted to their system. In fact, the United States joined with several other countries such as Britain and France to invade Russia in 1919 in an attempt to destroy communism at its very birth. They failed. Communism, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin and then Stalin, was able to grow. The birth of communism, through the Russian Revolution, is discussed in Chapter 4 of this text.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Numerous people in both nations dissented against the singular ideological view of their leaders, and were persecuted for their beliefs. In the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was a Congress-led public trial process that used enormous government powers through the CIA to investigate and punish citizens suspected of having communist sympathies. Similarly, the USSR used the Russian secret service (KGB), televised show trials and purges of the military and public service to control its own population.

▼**Source 8.12** Capitalism and communism

	Capitalism	Communism
Money	People should be able to make as much money as they can and keep it for themselves.	Wealth should be equally distributed.
Business	Factories and property should be owned by individuals and companies.	Factories and property should be owned by the government on behalf of all the people.
Daily life	The government should interfere as little as possible in the daily lives of ordinary people.	The government should be as involved as possible in the daily lives of ordinary people.
Elections	People are allowed to vote for whoever they want at elections.	People are only allowed to vote for communists at elections.
Media	The media are free and independent and should be allowed to criticise the government.	The media are controlled and should not be allowed to criticise the government.
Religion	The government is separate from the church and should not interfere in religion.	Religion is nonsense and should therefore be banned by the government.
Perception of each other	Communists are controlling.	Capitalists are greedy.
Quotes	President Truman, 12 March 1947: ['Our] way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political oppression.'	Stalin, 9 February 1946: 'The Soviet social system has successfully stood the test in the fire of war and it has proved its complete vitality. The Soviet social system has proved to be more capable and more stable than a non-Soviet social system. The Soviet social system is a better form of society than any non-Soviet social system.'

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

	Capitalism	Communism
Propaganda		

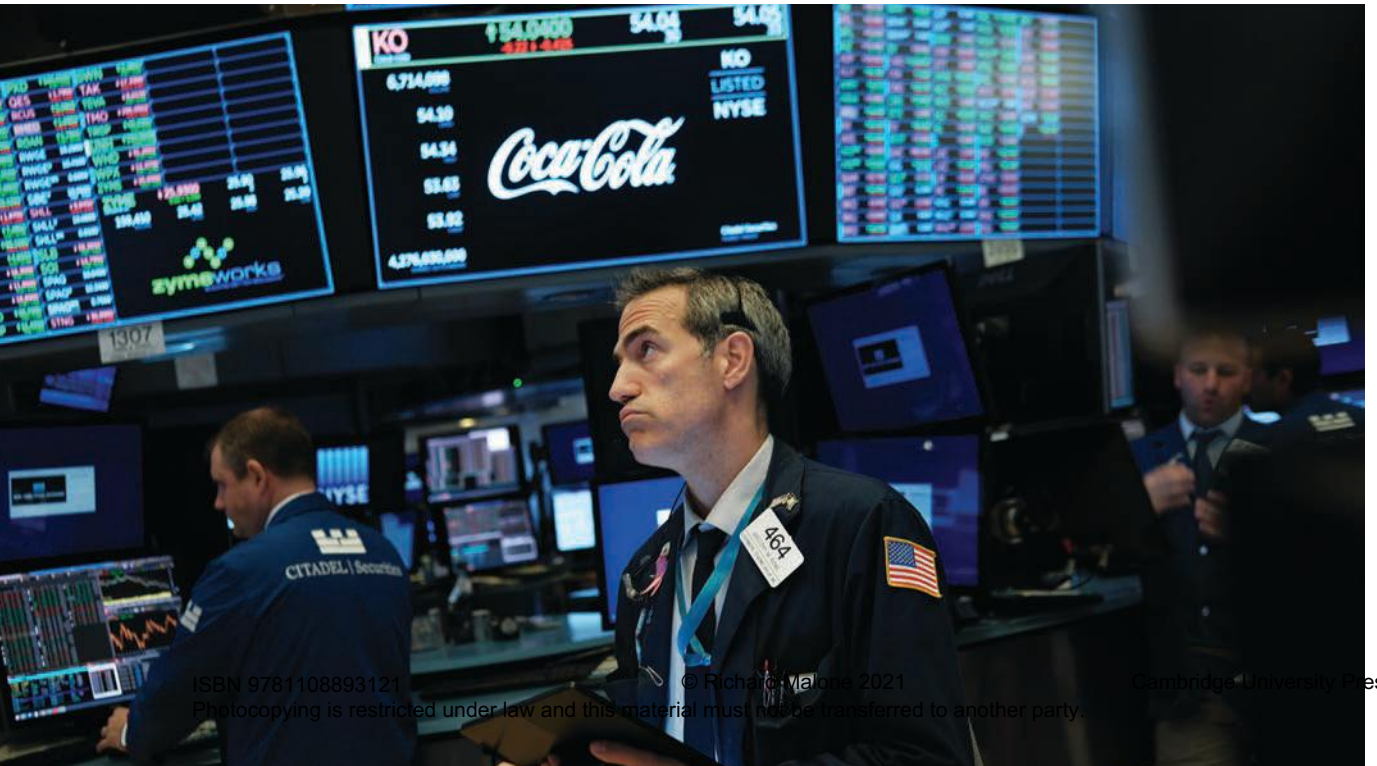
Historians' hot debates over the Cold War ideologies

Soviet historians, who supported communist ideals, believed that the Russian Revolution in 1917 was the greatest event in world history because it effectively eliminated the oppression of workers. For example, British historian Christopher Hill argued in 1947 that Lenin's Russian Revolution 'abolished a regime of despair and created a new world of hope'.

In comparison, many historians from capitalist countries have been very critical of communism. For example, Polish-born American historian Richard Pipes argued in 2001 that 'the excesses of the Bolsheviks, their readiness to sacrifice countless lives for their own purposes, were a monstrous violation of both ethics and common sense'.

What is undebatable, though, is the phenomenal impact that communism had on the shape of the twentieth century. Communism spread from Russia to many other countries, including China under Chairman Mao Zedong through the Chinese Revolution of 1949.

▼**Source 8.13** Capitalism and consumerism go hand in hand.



ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The founder of communist ideology, Karl Marx (1818–83) believed that the first communist revolution would occur in Britain. He was so appalled by the conditions of the industrial revolution there that he thought a spontaneous and violent workers' revolution would occur, destroying the government, the monarchy and the nobility. History shows us that there was plenty of unrest, but no revolution ultimately occurred.

FOCUS QUESTION 8.2

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Which ideology is better in theory, capitalism or communism?'** A student responds briefly. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student's brief response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.6

Understanding the Cold War is vital to understanding the world today. Read the following explanations by historians who speak on the Cold War with the benefit of hindsight. Then write your own definition.

Explanation 1

After 1945 the USSR and the USA were rivals, locked in a struggle which became known as the Cold War. The basis of the Cold War was fear … the two powers carried out a dangerous war of words which sometimes turned into armed conflict on a limited scale.

V. Dixon and S. Greer, *Understanding the Modern World*, 1998

Explanation 2

The Cold War was not just a clash of military empires, but of economies, of cultures, of rival ways of life.

J. Isaacs and T. Downing, *Cold War*, 1998

Explanation 3

At no stage, however, was there direct and open warfare between the two rivals, although often conflict was played out between third parties and allies, hence the name Cold War, as opposed to a 'hot war' involving direct confrontation.

G. Engwerda and J. Oakes, *International Studies*, 2002

Explanation 4

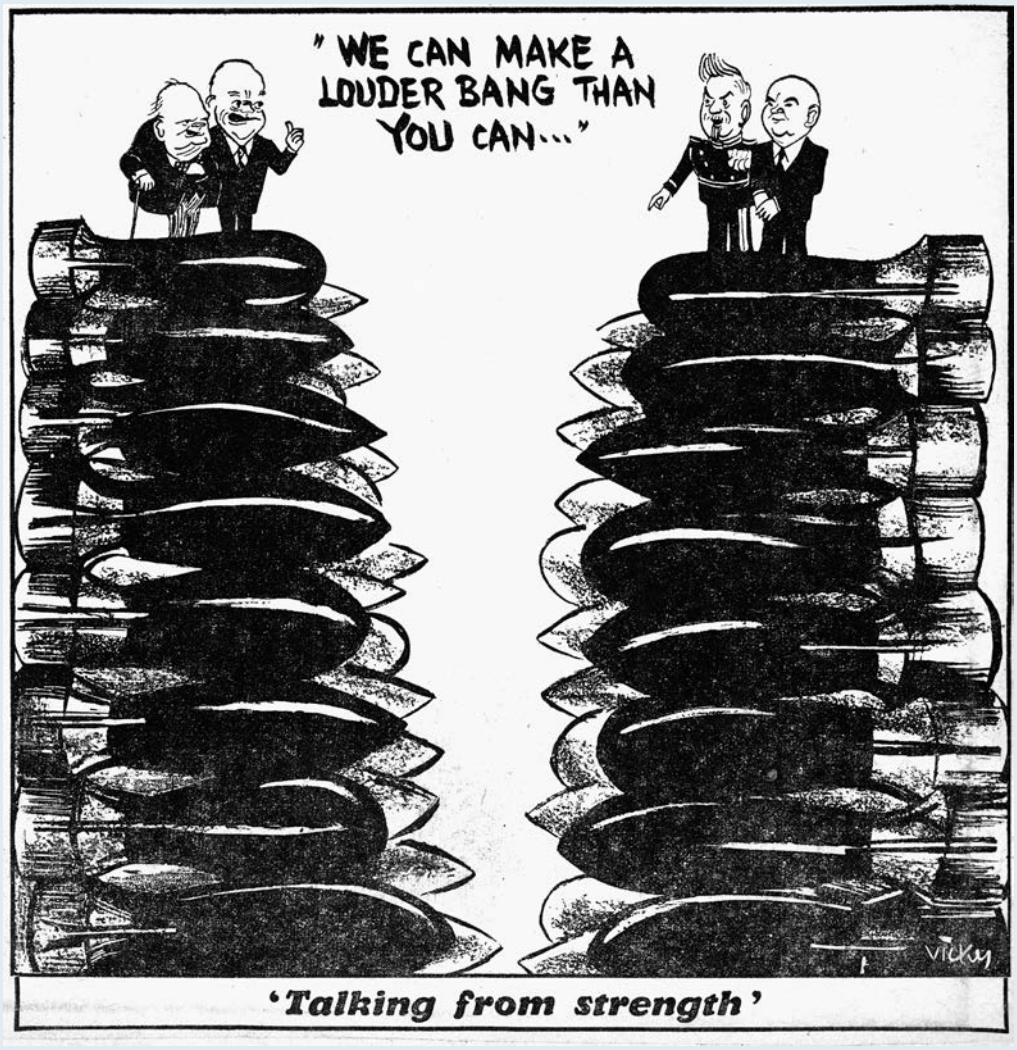
The story of the Cold War begins in the ruins of Berlin and the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, and ends not with a bang but with a whimper. No shots were fired, no bombs were dropped … In the end the Cold War stumbled to the finish line of 1991 due to the determination of ordinary individuals who became the 'vehicles of power', whether at the ballot box, in street protests, in strikes or on the political podium.

Justin Briggs, *Contested Spaces*, 2010

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued



▲**Source 8.14** This cartoon from 1954 aimed to demonstrate the absurdity of the nuclear arms race. Can you identify any of the figures depicted?

▲**Source 8.15** The famous sign at the former East–West Berlin border that divided Berlin during the Cold War

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

8.5 The Iron Curtain

Within a year after World War II, five countries that had been occupied by Russia on the road to Berlin had communist governments that had effectively been installed by Stalin and the Soviet Union. These countries were Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, all in Eastern Europe – which prompted British Prime Minister Winston Churchill to say in a speech on 5 March 1946 that Europe had been divided by an 'iron curtain'.

▲ **Source 8.16** Europe divided by the Iron Curtain

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

◄ **Source 8.17** In this wartime cartoon from Nazi Germany, an Englishman (perhaps Churchill) enjoys his garden unaware of the approaching Soviet train. What was the artist predicting about the relationship between the two wartime allies?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

totalitarian referring to a government that has absolute authority over the public and private lives of its people

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to view an excerpt of Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.7

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe: Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest and Sofia. All these famous cities lie in the Soviet sphere, and all are subject to a high and increasing control from Moscow. The Russia-dominated Polish government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans are now taking place. The Communist Parties, which were very small in all of these Eastern states, are seeking everywhere to obtain ***totalitarian*** *control.*

Winston Churchill, 5 March 1946

1 According to Churchill, what is the major problem in Europe?
2 How does Churchill describe the problem in Poland?
3 How does Churchill describe the problem of the communist parties?

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.8

◄ **Source 8.18** 'A peep under the Iron Curtain' by Leslie Illingworth, *Daily Mail*, 6 March 1946

1 Describe life behind the Iron Curtain.
2 Suggest why Churchill wants to 'peep' under the curtain.
3 Explain whether this cartoon favours capitalism or communism.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 8.19** An artist's impression of astronaut Neil Armstrong walking on the moon, during NASA's Apollo 11 lunar landing mission, July 1969. The Space Race represented a sudden and enormous expenditure by the competing superpowers. It would take decades for any other nation to even come close to their advances in technology.

▲**Source 8.20** A poster commemorating the 16 June 1963 flight of cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman in space

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.9

Watch the sources of footage detailed in the link to the right to complete this task.

1 When JFK is describing the United States as 'behind'. What is he referring to?

2 As a leader of a capitalist democracy, JFK will ultimately be accountable to the electorate (every four years in United States). How does this impact some of his statements in the video in your view?

3 Using your answer to Question 2, evaluate the extent of difference in the tone and emphasis of the language in the video celebrating Russia's successful completion of the world's first manned space flight.

Each superpower had its own way of interpreting their role in the Space Race, and its own way of conveying its messages. Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to watch footage relating to this issue.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

There was a myth for years that the United States spent millions of dollars inventing a pen that could write in space, complete with a powered micro-pump, while the Russians just used pencils. In fact, both programs started with pencils, but due to concerns about drifting particles damaging equipment, they both moved to pens (purchased from the same US company for approximately $20 each in today's money).

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.10

The Cold War was made up of several significant conflicts, each symbolising the deep tension that gripped the world for over 40 years. The aim of this activity is to create a summary of the entire Cold War. Chapters in this textbook provide an ideal starting place to begin researching these conflicts.

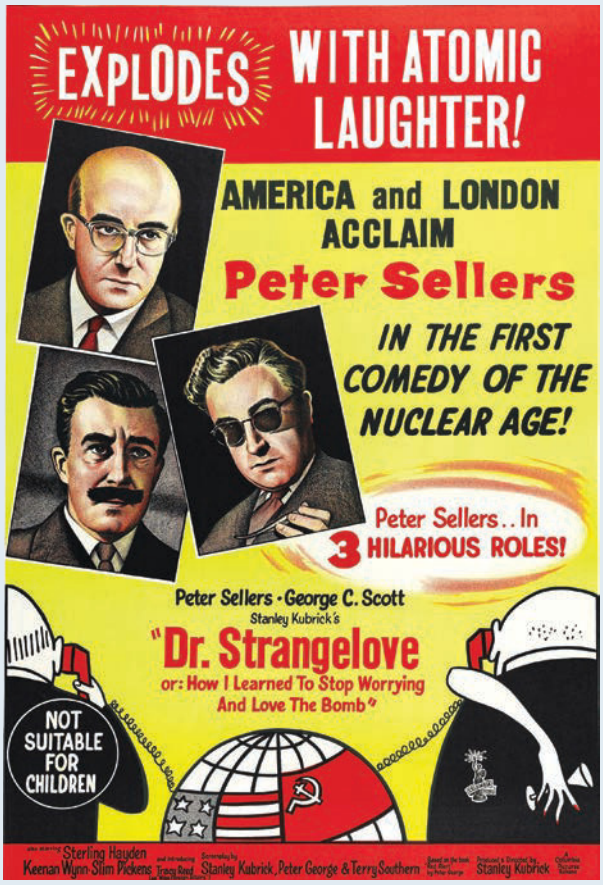
Divide the class into working 'committees'. Each committee will be responsible for researching a particular Cold War event from the list below. Every topic can be covered only once. Each committee is to report back to the class during a forum to be conducted over two lessons.

Each committee must do the following:

- Present a five-minute analysis of its particular Cold War event and be prepared to answer questions on the event.
- Produce a bibliography for the forum when it presents its information.
- Undertake a test on the information discussed at the forum to demonstrate the quality and accuracy of the information presented.
- Accompany its presentation with a visual display, including at least three images.
- Make its presentation available to its classmates, perhaps via a class wiki or website, or a blog.

Working committee topics

- Berlin Blockade, 1948–49
- Korean War, 1950–53
- **Uprising** in Hungary, 1956
- Berlin Wall, 1961–89
- **Cuban Missile Crisis**, 1962
- Nuclear arms race
- Space Race
- Vietnam War
- Invasion of Afghanistan, 1979



▶**Source 8.21** A poster for the 1964 Cold War film *Dr. Strangelove, or: How I Learned To Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*

uprising an act of resistance or rebellion

Cuban Missile Crisis a 13-day standoff between the Soviet Union and United States in October 1962 over the Soviet Union providing missiles to Cuba

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.11

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below:
How did the two different ideologies develop into the Cold War?

- capitalism
- Churchill
- CIA
- communism
- Iron Curtain
- KGB
- Potsdam
- Soviet Union
- Space Race
- United Nations
- United States
- veto
- Yalta

There is an excellent website devoted to explaining the Cold War and its events. It will be very helpful for this analysis activity. Visit the Interactive Textbook for a weblink.

THE STORY SO FAR

- The aftermath of World War II resulted in the emergence of two superpowers: the United States, with its wealth and strong military power, and the Soviet Union, which had strength in numbers due to its large population.
- The defeat of Hitler led to conflict between these two superpowers. This was due to conflicted visions of the postwar world and arguments over the future of Poland and Germany.
- The United Nations was established to replace the failed League of Nations as a desperate attempt to end all human conflict. The new peacekeeping body officially began on 24 October 1945.
- The United States' ideology of capitalism and the Soviet Union's ideology of communism led to a geopolitical superpower rivalry. The United States and other countries attempted to destroy communism, but it continued to grow.
- The 'Iron Curtain' was first established in the year following World War II as five countries had communism installed: Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. This divided Europe and prompted Churchill's famous speech.

◀ **Source 8.22** The Iron Curtain stretched for thousands of kilometres and was patrolled rigorously. This attack helicopter patrols the border in 1980.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 How did the United States and the Soviet Union become superpowers by the end of the war?

2 Why did tension continue after World War II ended?

3 What were the goals of the new United Nations?

4 Define the competing ideologies of capitalism and communism.

5 What was the Iron Curtain?

Analysing historical sources as evidence

J. Edgar Hoover was the powerful director of the FBI from the 1930s until his death in 1972. His role was to investigate and restrict national security risks. The following excerpts are from a speech he delivered to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on 26 March 1947, where he explained his view of the destructive potential of communism in the United States.

> *My feelings concerning the Communist Party of the United States are well known. I have not hesitated over the years to express my concern and apprehension … It stands for the destruction of our American form of government; it stands for the destruction of American democracy; it stands for the destruction of free enterprise; and it stands for the creation of a 'Soviet of the United States' and ultimate world revolution …*
>
> *The communist, once he is fully trained and indoctrinated, realises that he can create his order in the United States only by 'bloody revolution'. Their chief textbook, The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is used as a basis for planning their revolution. Their tactics require that to be successful they must have:*
>
> 1 *The will and sympathy of the people.*
> 2 *Military aid and assistance.*
> 3 *Plenty of guns and ammunition.*
> 4 *A program for extermination of the police as they are the most important enemy and are termed 'trained fascists'.*
> 5 *Seizure of all communications, buses, railroads, radio stations, and other forms of communications and transportation …*
>
> *What can we do? And what should be our course of action? The best antidote to communism is vigorous, intelligent, old-fashioned Americanism, with eternal vigilance. I do not favor any course of action which would give the communists cause to portray and pity themselves as martyrs. I do favor unrelenting prosecution wherever they are found to be violating our country's laws. As Americans, our most effective defense is a workable democracy that guarantees and preserves our cherished freedoms.*

▲ **Source 8.23** J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director, speech to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on 26 March 1947

1 According to the document, what does the Communist Party in the United States stand for?

2 What are two examples of violent tactics needed to have a successful communist revolution?

3 What are two actions that Americans can do to defend themselves from communism?

▶ **Source 8.24** J. Edgar Hoover

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

4 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the differences between the ideologies of capitalism and communism.

5 Using this extract and your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Hoover's point of view.

Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement about the emergence of the Cold War: *Discuss why the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union emerged between 1945 and 1947.*

Use information from this chapter to form an argument that is supported with evidence.

- To answer this question you will need to be able to explain why the United States and the Soviet Union were strengthened by World War II.
- The key examples, or evidence, are the Yalta and Potsdam conferences as these are practical examples of 'tension'. You will need to define 'tension' too.
- Better answers will also analyse the core of the tension, which is competing ideologies. The United States pursued the ideology of capitalism, while the Soviet Union pursued the ideology of communism. Explain why these ideologies are so different. It would be helpful to go back to Chapter 4 in this text and look at the 'Political spectrum' section, which has further explanations of each of these ideologies.

▲**Source 8.25** L to R: British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, President Harry S. Truman, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin in the garden of Cecilienhof Palace before meeting for the Potsdam Conference in Potsdam, Germany, 20 July, 1945

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

9 THE DIVISION OF BERLIN AND GERMANY

Since it represents a resounding confession of failure and of political weakness, this brutal border closing evidently represents a basic Soviet decision which only war could reverse.

– US PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY IN A LETTER TO WILLY BRANDT, 18 AUGUST 1961

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

With World War II ended, the tensions between the Soviet Union and the other Allied powers began to grow stronger. One of the first places where these tensions became apparent and led to major international problems was in Berlin, the capital city of Germany, which had been divided up between the Allies after the war. It became a hotbed of political intrigue, spying and conflict, which intensified dramatically with the building of the divisive Berlin Wall in 1961. The tension in Germany was finally healed decades later but did not end until the Berlin Wall was dismantled and Germany was reunified (discussed in Chapter 12, 'The End of the Cold War?').

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- Why did the United States develop a policy of 'containment'?
- What was the Soviet Union's response to containment?
- What other conflicts continued in the 1950s?
- Why was the Berlin Wall built?
- What were the responses to the Berlin Wall?

Digital resources for this chapter

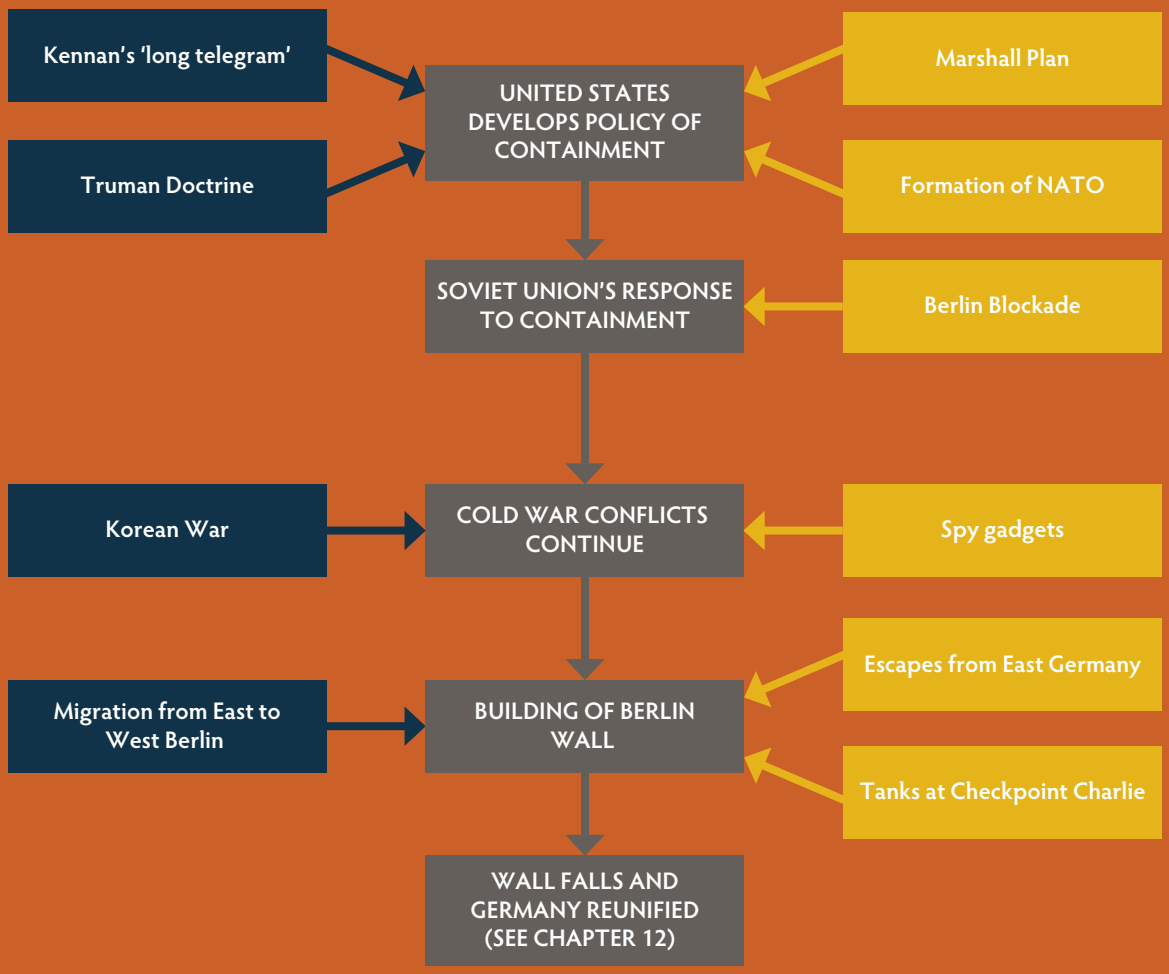
In the *Interactive Textbook*:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◂ **Source 9.0** A boy standing in front of the newly built Berlin Wall; on the other side are East German border guards, 16 August 1961

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

1945
Germany and Berlin divided into East and West

1947
The US develops the Marshall Plan

1961
13 AUGUST
Berlin Wall is built

1947
12 MARCH
Truman Doctrine

1948–49
1 APRIL–12 MAY
Berlin Blockade

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

9.1 The United States and its policy of containment

George Kennan played a critical role in shaping the United States' attitude towards the Soviet Union. As a young diplomat based at the US Embassy in Moscow, he sent a famous report to the US government in February 1946, warning of the dangers of Soviet motives in Eastern Europe. Kennan argued that the Soviet government feared the advancements of the Western world and was therefore hostile towards it. Communism had added a ruthless edge, and the Soviet government was determined to expand in order to protect itself. Most significantly, Kennan's recommendation was to adopt a policy of 'containment'. Containment involved using the power and wealth of the United States to contain or stop the spread of communism in Europe and throughout the world.

Kennan's 'long telegram' (as it became known), in addition to the events of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences (discussed in Chapter 8), convinced President Harry S. Truman that the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was a fanatic and that communism was a direct, real threat that must be stopped. Truman's response was to adopt Kennan's policy of containment, reflected in three major initiatives.

▲ **Source 9.1** George Kennan

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 9.1

All Soviet efforts will be negative and destructive in character, designed to tear down sources of strength beyond reach of Soviet control. We have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with the US there can be no permanent way of living peacefully together. If Soviet power is to be secure our traditional way of life must be destroyed and the international authority of our state destroyed …

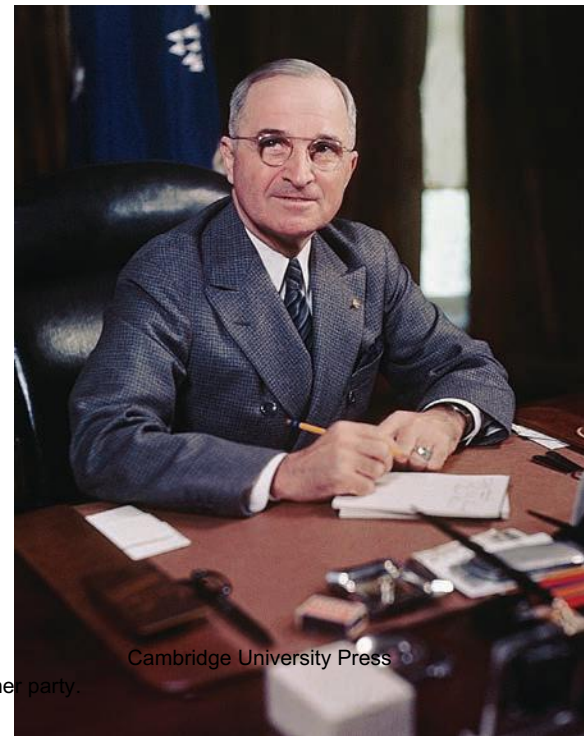
George Kennan, February 1946

1 List two words and/or phrases that George Kennan uses to describe Soviet efforts.
2 List two things that the extract states the Soviets must destroy in order to secure their power.
3 Using this extract and your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Kennan's point of view.

Initiative 1: The Truman Doctrine, 1947

Truman developed a generous aid policy. He promised financial support from the United States to any country that wanted to resist communism. In a speech to the US Congress on 12 March 1947, he argued:

> *At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life … I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must help free peoples to work out their own destiny in their own way.*



▶ **Source 9.2** US President Harry S. Truman

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Initiative 2: The Marshall Plan, 1947

Europe's economy was devastated after the war. General George Marshall, the US Secretary of State, devised a plan to rebuild Western Europe and make its nations wealthy, and so create a direct barrier to the spread of communism. The belief was that communism would not be attractive to workers if they had good jobs and were well paid in a democratic country.

Marshall Plan
US strategy to make capitalism attractive by rebuilding Western Europe after World War II

Over the next four years, the United States spent approximately US$13 billion rebuilding Western Europe. The **Marshall Plan** was extremely successful; not only had the United States limited the spread of communism, but it also established wealthy trade partners and political allies.

▶ **Source 9.3** US General George Marshall

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The United States offered Marshall Plan aid to all European nations, including Russia. Russia was furious that it was being offered to Germany and also rejected it for itself. It was no coincidence that Russian-influenced Eastern European countries also rejected the offer of financial aid from the United States.

▲ **Source 9.4** Berlin's Schloss Charlottenburg being restored in 1953.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Initiative 3: Formation of NATO, 1949

America's global perspective extended beyond economic recovery, and beyond the United Nations. The United States initiated a military alliance of non-communist countries in Europe and North America called the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Members of NATO pledged to defend each other if attacked by the common Soviet enemy.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) an alliance formed in 1949 between the United States and various European states for the purpose of collective defence against common enemies. As opposed to membership of the UN, this is a military pact designed for immediate response to threats.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 9.1

1 Summarise the three initiatives of the policy of containment and explain the background to these decisions.

2 Describe George Kennan's role in developing America's attitude towards the Soviet Union.

▲ **Source 9.5** President Truman and leaders of other member states signing the NATO treaty

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

9.2 The Soviet Union's response: The Berlin Blockade, 1948–49

Background

Germany divided into East and West

After Germany's defeat in 1945, the Allies divided Germany and its capital city of Berlin into four zones. The Americans, British and French ruled the western side of Germany and Berlin, while the Soviets ruled the eastern side. However, since Berlin lay 160 kilometres inside the Soviet-ruled zone, the four occupying powers needed to work together to rebuild Germany. This division of Germany and Berlin was a crucial decision that created the foundation for conflict for the next 45 years. The first crisis of the Cold War took place over Berlin, when this cooperation was destroyed.

▲ **Source 9.6** The division of Germany and Berlin into four zones

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE …

East Germany, despite being named the 'German Democratic Republic', was not overly democratic. The ruling party received 99 per cent of the vote during 'elections' that were held during Soviet rule. Today, North Korea is officially named the 'Democratic People's Republic of Korea'. This 'democracy' also receives staggering support at the election booth …

Tensions increase

By February 1948, the Western Allies realised that the Soviets would never agree to reunite Germany. Tensions rose when the Allies introduced a new single currency, the Deutschmark, into the regions they controlled. Stalin was afraid they were trying to create a new, unified Germany and might try to influence the implementation of communism in East Germany.

The Soviets act

On 28 June 1948, the Soviets blockaded West Berlin by closing the roads, canals and railways that linked the city with West Germany. This standoff was intended to push back the Allies and change their attitude concerning the rebuilding of Germany's economy.

Actual events

Cut off from supplies, the population of Allied Berlin only had six weeks of food and fuel. The British urged breaking roadblocks with tanks, hoping that the Soviet Union would not fight, but this was deemed too risky; it could have started a third world war. US General Lucius Clay suggested airlifting supplies into Berlin. The theory was that the Soviets would have to shoot the US planes down in order to maintain the **blockade**.

blockade barriers stopping movement of people or goods for political reasons

West Berliners adopted a strong anti-Soviet stance due to energy, electricity and coal being severely limited during the blockade. The Allies flew in supplies and aid daily for over a year, at incredible cost. On 12 May 1949, the Soviets admitted defeat, recognising that the United States was not going to give in. The blockade was lifted and the Western powers once again had full access to West Berlin.

▼**Source 9.7** Berlin citizens watch the arrival of a US supply plane.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

At the peak of the blockade, the Allies were using 1400 planes to fly 13 000 tonnes of supplies into Berlin every day. The total cost to the Allies was US$224 million plus 61 aircraft, and 46 lives were lost.

Significance

There were a number of significant outcomes from the Berlin Blockade.

- The Soviets had miscalculated. The United States was prepared to invest massive resources over Berlin, and therefore Europe. Relations between East and West deteriorated with no future cooperation foreseeable.
- The United States was able to establish a strong military presence in Britain and West Germany.
- Germany was permanently divided into two separate countries until 1989: the German Federal Republic (West Germany) was formed from the western zones and included West Berlin; and the German Democratic Republic was formed from East Germany and East Berlin.
- The Berlin crisis led to the formation of NATO as a mutual protection pact involving the United States, Canada and most of the Western European countries in April 1949. This was precisely the outcome the Soviets had hoped to avoid.
- In 1955, in response to West Germany's application to join NATO, the Soviets formed the Warsaw Pact, which was an alliance of communist nations to counter NATO.

9.3 Analysis of the Berlin Blockade

The Berlin Blockade was a crucial event because it created a pattern for future conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union. Similar themes emerged through this and other conflicts between the superpowers over the next 40 years:

- *Unwillingness to fight a direct war:* A primary feature of the Cold War was supporting nations who wanted to attack one of the superpowers. With the Soviet Union supporting East Berlin and the United States the West, conflict was direct but diffused.
- *Suspicions:* The Berlin Blockade showed that the superpowers were rightfully suspicious of each other. This suspicion led to both sides becoming paralysed by an irrational fear of the other's power. For example, Americans were so scared of the communists invading the United States that people were encouraged to watch out for 'Reds under your beds'.
- *Equally matched enemies:* The Berlin Blockade proved the ambition and resources of both superpowers. Both governments knew that they were so powerful that a direct 'hot' war would lead to massive casualties and cost.
- *Use of propaganda:* The Berlin Blockade demonstrated the power of propaganda. Both sides claimed victory for the blockade and represented the other country as the aggressor.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see footage of US transport planes supplying West Berlin during the blockade.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 9.8** Canned meat in a warehouse during the Berlin Blockade, August 1948

9.4 Conflicts continue in the 1950s

After the Berlin Blockade in 1948, the conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union continued, but in different theatres. The first was the Korean War from 1950 to 1953, the second the development of nuclear weapons in an arms race, and the third the development of space technology in a race to the moon.

During all of these conflicts, spying became critically important. Information was valuable. Spying became a dangerous but hidden 'game' where being captured could result in torture, prison or execution. It was not the romantic occupation shown in Hollywood films. Therefore, blending in with one's surroundings was crucial while still needing to be ready for the worst. The result was the spending of enormous quantities of money to develop technological innovations. The **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** was the spy agency from the United States and the **Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (KGB)** was the spy agency from the Soviet Union.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) the spy agency of the United States during the Cold War

Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (KGB) the spy agency of the Soviet Union during the Cold War; it translates as 'Committee for State Security'

Amazing spy gadgets

Sources 9.9 to 9.14 show six amazing real spy gadgets from the Cold War.

Glove pistol

◄**Source 9.9** CIA Sedgley OSS.38 glove pistol, activated by forming a fist. The single-shot gun goes off when the target is punched.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Spy shoe

◄ **Source 9.10** Soviet spy shoe with a heel transmitter, used to record and forward enemy conversations

Lipstick gun

◄ **Source 9.11** KGB's 'Kiss of Death', a 4.5mm single-shot gun fired by twisting the bottom of the lipstick

Suicide glasses

◄ **Source 9.12** The spy could casually chew on the arms of the glasses and release a pellet of cyanide poison (the red pill in the right arm) to avoid prison or harsh torture if captured by the enemy.

Invisible ink pen

◄ **Source 9.13** A KGB pen that wrote with invisible ink

Pocket camera

◄ **Source 9.14** A KGB camera with a lens inside a buttonhole and a wire running down to a pocket where the user could discreetly press the shutter button

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

9.5 Why was the Berlin Wall built?

This climate of mistrust and spying provided the background for increased tension from which the crisis of the Berlin Wall erupted.

Economic background of Berlin

By 1961, Berlin was a tale of two cities. The rubble and destruction from World War II had been cleared away, and West Berlin had become prosperous from the Marshall Plan. In comparison, while East Berlin civilians had food and shelter, they lacked the prosperity of the West. For example, for those who could even afford to buy a refrigerator, the wait was one year, and two years for a washing machine. The basic difference was how each superpower had approached the occupation of Germany: the Soviet Union took wealth from East Berlin, while the United States gave financial aid to West Berlin.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

In East Berlin, houses had to be painted grey on the outside and white on the inside, but the owner could choose the colour of the internal electrical cords – black or brown!

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Passengers could wait for over an hour for a taxi in East Berlin – not because there were not enough of them, but because the communist regime made taxi fares extremely cheap so that everyone could afford them.

East Germany and West Germany were divided by a border, which was marked by a barbed-wire fence and patrolled by guards. Berlin was completely surrounded by East Germany, so the fence did not run through the city, and people could travel relatively easily across the border between West Berlin and East Berlin. But in August 1961, this changed.

▼**Source 9.15** East German Combat Groups close the border between East and West Berlin on 13 August 1961 in preparation for the Berlin Wall construction.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see footage of the border from the start of the blockade, overlaid with a US narrative of events.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Nikita Khrushchev's story (1894–1971)

Nikita Khrushchev fought in the Red Army during the Russian Civil War under the leadership of Leon Trotsky. He was actively involved in the Communist Party under Stalin, assuming the important role of First Secretary upon Stalin's death in 1953, and became Soviet President in 1958. Khrushchev denounced Stalin's violence, overturned many of Stalin's oppressive policies and introduced 'socialism with a human face'. His determination to fight against the United States led to reforms that modernised the Soviet Union and strong political actions in Berlin, Eastern Europe and Cuba.

►**Source 9.16** President Nikita Khrushchev at the United General Assembly, New York, 1958

Why the wall was built

The Berlin Wall was built because of the constant comparisons between West and East Berlin. With its higher standard of living, West Berlin promoted capitalism as being the better system. The Allies used West Berlin like a shop window, showing off all the benefits of life in the West. West Berlin's economic boom meant professionals (such as doctors and teachers) and skilled labourers were paid high wages. The border between the Western and Soviet zones remained open and people crossed it daily for work, shopping, visiting or entertainment. As a result, many skilled people from communist East Berlin illegally relocated to capitalist West Berlin. Between 1949 and 1960, three million people defected to the West – one-sixth of East Berlin's population. It was one of the largest migrations in European history. Walter Ulbricht, the East German First Secretary, publicly warned Khrushchev in July 1961 that he needed to stop this flow to the West. Western governments were also using West Berlin as a base for spying on communist countries.

A more complex reason for the wall was how Berlin represented the wider Cold War struggle. Khrushchev had pressured President Dwight Eisenhower, the US leader before John F. Kennedy, to negotiate over Berlin's future. In particular, Khrushchev wanted the Western Allies to withdraw, making Berlin a neutral city. Kennedy took a tougher line, and repeatedly refused. Both leaders issued angry statements, but neither was willing to risk starting a war. Kennedy reflected, on his way back from meeting with Khrushchev in June 1961, that:

> *It seems particularly stupid to risk killing a million Americans over an argument about access rights on an Autobahn or because the Germans want Germany reunified. If I'm going to threaten Russia with a nuclear war, it will have to be for much bigger and more important reasons than that.*
>
> *I want peace, but if you want war, that is your problem.*
>
> Kennedy to Khrushchev at a meeting in June 1961

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 9.17** President Nikita Khrushchev and President John F. Kennedy meeting in 1961

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

John F. Kennedy's story (1917–1963)

Social discussions of family background and early years are often overshadowed by interest in political ambition and leadership. Hence, the purpose of this section is to provide an interesting social background to political leaders. To personalise the story, the first name has been used instead of the usual surname.

The war hero

Born into a wealthy family on 29 May 1917, John was the second of nine children of Joseph and Rose Kennedy. Ironically, he was born in the same year that the ideology of communism was introduced to Russia, an ideology he would spend his adult life fighting against. John rose to wide recognition in World War II when he was awarded medals for his heroism and leadership while serving in the navy. He was on a patrol boat that was blown in half by a Japanese destroyer in August 1943. John helped the surviving crewman swim to shore before being rescued.

The politician

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, also known as Jack or JFK, wore a triple crown – he was America's youngest president and the first president born in the twentieth century, and is still regarded as the nation's most popular president. John's youthful looks suggested progressive and fresh political ideals that could move America forward. John was the first politician to use make-up and image consultants to ensure an attractive image in the first televised debates.

▶ **Source 9.18** President John F. Kennedy

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

After an intense campaign, John narrowly defeated Richard Nixon in the 1960 election to become President of the United States. John loved being president. His speeches were passionate and articulate in ways that ordinary Americans could relate to. His most famous line was: 'Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country.' He was known as a man of distinguished manners with a talent for concentration; he could exhaust people just by listening to them for long periods. Mostly, John was described as a leader who loved wit and irony because it helped lighten a crisis, it could hold problems in balance and it acted as a form of healthy self-criticism.

The family man

John was not just intelligent and witty; he was also handsome and charming, which won him many admirers. In 1953, he married Jacqueline Lee Bouvier, a beautiful socialite who was frequently featured in fashion magazines. The White House, where the Kennedy family lived, was nicknamed Camelot by the media because John and Jackie reminded people of King Arthur and his wife Guinevere.

His personal life

However, there was a darker side to John that contradicted this perfect image. Although he was devoted to his family, he regularly had extramarital affairs. Jackie was aware of his unfaithfulness but was powerless to stop him. His two most remembered affairs were with film star Marilyn Monroe, and with Judith Campbell, the girlfriend of a Chicago Mafia boss.

His assassination

John's assassination was as fascinating as his life. He was shot in the head while waving to crowds from a convertible in Dallas, Texas. Although there are genuine theories that there was also a second shooter, Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested as the lone gunman. Oswald had defected to the Soviet Union years earlier but had returned to the United States with his Russian wife in 1962, a year before the assassination. John's death was particularly shocking because it was seen live through the powerful and relatively new medium of television.

▲ **Source 9.19** John and Jacqueline Kennedy with their children

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

▲**Source 9.20** John (bottom right) and Jackie (bottom left) at their wedding

▲**Source 9.21** Marilyn Monroe

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◄ **Source 9.22** President Kennedy and the First Lady smile at the crowds lining their motorcade route in Dallas, Texas, on 22 November, 1963. Minutes later the President was assassinated as his car passed through Dealey Plaza.

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

Kennedy took afternoon naps throughout his political career; he would change into pyjamas and sleep for 45 minutes. He borrowed this idea from former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

Throughout childhood, Kennedy suffered from nearly crippling bouts of back pain. When he was 38 years old, these back pains hit again and he was strapped to a board for six months. During this time he wrote a book, *Profiles in Courage*, which won the Pulitzer Prize two years later.

FOCUS QUESTION 9.2

Talk the thought – human graphs

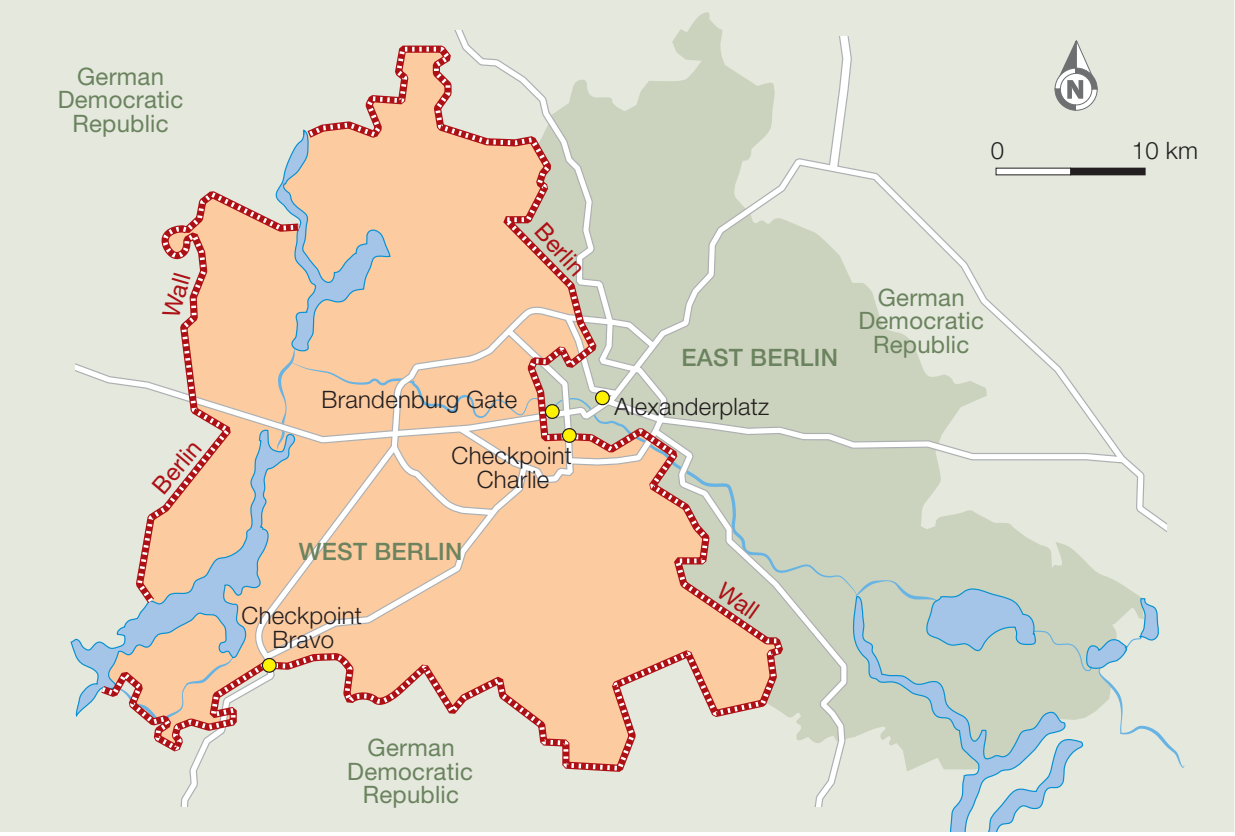
This activity is designed to gauge your initial opinion about Kennedy. To answer this question, imagine that there is a line across your classroom with 'Totally agree' on one wall and 'Totally disagree' on the other. Respond to the deliberately provocative statement: **'Kennedy's personal life shouldn't matter in our opinion of his political leadership.'** Stand anywhere along the imaginary line depending on the extent to which you agree with this statement. Share your point of view with others in the class, using examples from this section to support your argument.

How the wall was built

Kennedy felt that negotiations over Berlin had reached a stalemate. But Khrushchev had a final and radical solution. At 1 a.m. on 13 August 1961, 50 000 East German police with machine guns lined the border between West and East Berlin while contractors rolled out a barrier of barbed wire. The path of the wall exactly followed the borders of each zone, zigzagging through cemeteries and down the middle of streets. Soviet tanks took up positions, a warning to the West not to interfere. Within seven days, concrete blocks topped with barbed wire replaced the initial fence. Over the next few months, the final, permanent wall was completed with reinforced concrete slabs, guard towers, searchlights, minefields and machine-gun posts. Westerners called it the 'Wall of Shame', but Khrushchev's term for the wall was 'border control'. It effectively stopped the flow to the West, and as a result the economy of East Berlin improved.

> *If your troops try to force their way into Berlin, we will oppose you by force … though you and we may survive, all your European allies will be completely destroyed.*
>
> Soviet President Khrushchev in July 1961

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲**Source 9.23** Map of Berlin divided by the wall, 1961

Statistics

Built – from 13 August 1961

Material – vertical slabs of reinforced concrete

Height – 3.4 metres

Length – 165 kilometres (45 kilometres in the city and 120 kilometres separating West Berlin from East Germany)

Number of watchtowers – 300

Number of bunkers – 22

Anti-vehicle trench – 105 kilometres

Successfully crossed the wall – 5043 people

Arrested in the border area – 3221 people

Died crossing the wall – approximately 200 people

Destroyed – 9 November 1989

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 9.24** Fortifications of the wall in 1961

▲**Source 9.25** Graffiti on the west side of the wall, 1986. As the concrete wall had a smooth surface, it was an ideal canvas for graffiti artists.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

9.6 The response to the Berlin Wall

East Berlin's response: Escapes and migration

People in East Berlin who did not support communism were literally trapped behind the wall. Some families who had crossed the border, either from the West or the East, to visit friends over the weekend were now separated on either side. While the barbed wire wall was being built on 13 August, many people desperately swam across the Teltow Canal, which formed a boundary between the two halves of the city, or jumped the low parts of the wire; one family crashed through the fence in their Volkswagen! But this was the only day of 'easy' escape. Once the wall was erected, those who tried to escape were shot. The large flow of migrants from the East stopped as a result. Despite this, many people still tried to escape, and many succeeded – but others failed and were killed.

▲ **Source 9.26** East German policeman Conrad Schumann jumps barbed wire, 15 August 1961

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Many of Berlin's underground train stations became deserted ghost stations, patrolled by border guards to prevent East Germans from escaping through the tunnels.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

On 17 August 1962, two 18-year-old men ran towards the wall. The first successfully scaled it. The second, Peter Fechter, ran out of energy just as he reached the top and was shot by an East German guard. His body lay on the sand at the base of the wall as he screamed in agony for nearly an hour. Once he had bled to death, guards carried his body away. He was the 50th person to die at the Berlin Wall and became a symbol of the struggle for freedom.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Western response

The time chosen to divide the city was perfect – it was a weekend, the middle of the night in Washington, DC, and the French government was on its summer holiday. Quick decisions were impossible, and the Western Allies were powerless. To add to the surprise, Walter Ulbricht, the East German First Secretary, had stated just prior to 13 August that 'no one has any intention of building a wall', when asked why significant amounts of building materials were being amassed.

Despite the failure of diplomatic measures, President Kennedy was reluctant to begin a war over Berlin. He sent a special representative to West Berlin, General Lucius Clay, who had been the commander of the American zone during the 1948 Berlin airlift. Vice President Lyndon Johnson was also sent to West Berlin to reassure its citizens that they would not be abandoned.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

General Clay's first action in Berlin was to build a concrete wall at a US military training school, so that US soldiers could have practice knocking it down.

Historian Robert Dallek recorded President Kennedy's realisation that the Berlin Wall could actually be perceived as a godsend.

FOCUS QUESTION 9.3

Explain why President Kennedy saw the wall as a positive outcome.

'Why would Khrushchev put up a wall if he really intended to seize West Berlin?' Kennedy asked ...

'There wouldn't be any need of a wall if he occupied the whole city. This is his way out of his predicament. It's not a very nice solution, but a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war.'

Cited in Robert Dallek, *An Unfinished Life: John F Kennedy 1917–1963*, Allen Lane, London, 2003, p. 426

Checkpoint Charlie: Tanks with live ammunition

Only one border crossing was open for Westerners to enter East Berlin. It was called Checkpoint Charlie, and it became an important Cold War symbol – the place where East met West. It was not only a crucial exchange point for spies but also the scene of one of the tensest scenarios in the Cold War.

The Allies and the Soviets agreed that government personnel could move freely between East and West without needing passports. At the end of October 1961, senior US diplomat E. Allan Lightner was refused access to East Berlin – to attend the theatre – because he refused to show his passport. US troops were immediately sent to escort

▶ **Source 9.27** President Kennedy visiting Checkpoint Charlie in June 1963

ISBN 9781108894821 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Lightner and his wife into East Berlin. This practice continued over the next few days, as Allied leaders decided to test the East Germans' resolve. It escalated to the point where battle-ready soldiers escorted US civilians into the East on meaningless excursions, waving their loaded guns, just to prove the point.

But Khrushchev was equal to the American bluff, and added his own show of force by sending 33 Soviet tanks into East Berlin – 23 at the Brandenburg Gate and 10 at Checkpoint Charlie. The Soviet tanks pointed loaded cannons directly at the US tanks less than 100 metres away. Tensions soared and everyone was on full alert – the Soviet military commander had a direct line to Khrushchev for orders, Clay had a direct line to Kennedy, and NATO and Strategic Air Command were on alert. Khrushchev demanded that force be met with force, while the commander in West Germany complained: 'What did Clay think he was doing? You don't spit in the face of a bulldog.' Commanders on both sides were concerned that some nervous soldier would fire his weapon and trigger an all-out war between the superpowers.

After a tense 16 hours at Checkpoint Charlie, while the world held its breath, the tension was broken as a Soviet tank reversed 5 metres, beginning a withdrawal of all the tanks.

FOCUS QUESTION 9.4

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

▲**Source 9.28** Threatening Soviet tanks at Checkpoint Charlie in 1961

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'What's going on in this image?'** (see Source 9.27). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video example of US reporting on Checkpoint Charlie, complete with ominous music.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

9.7 The significance of the Berlin Wall

détente the label given to the 'thawing out period' of the geopolitical tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States

The construction of the Berlin Wall led to three significant outcomes.

1 It transformed the Cold War and became the primary symbol of Cold War tensions.

2 Berlin became an issue of principle at the heart of each side's Cold War stance. Both sides were determined never to lose power in Berlin. The wall was of strategic and ideological importance.

3 Both sides engaged in a period of improved relations between 1967 and 1979 in a policy called **détente**. Two Treaties (SALT 1 and SALT 2) were signed during this time, both aiming to curb the nuclear and ballistic missile arms race. A period of uneasy calm descended on Europe until relations soured again with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 9.2

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below: *How did the policy of containment erupt into the Berlin Blockade?*

- airlift
- Berlin
- blockade
- containment
- Marshall Plan
- Stalin
- Truman Doctrine
- zones

THE STORY SO FAR

- Germany became a crucial battleground throughout the Cold War.
- After World War II, Germany was divided between East Germany and West Germany, with separate governments, ideologies, flags and anthems. Berlin was also divided into East and West Berlin. The East was controlled by communist Soviet Union while the West was controlled by capitalist Western powers.
- Soviet Union President Stalin blockaded West Berlin by closing all links between the two sections, in what was called the Berlin Blockade, from 1948 to 1949. The United States called Stalin's bluff and spent US$224 million flying in supplies to West Berlin.
- The Berlin Wall was built in 1961 as an aggressive response by the East Berlin government to stop migration from East to West, to avoid constant comparisons and to improve the economy in East Berlin.

▲**Source 9.29** A young woman, accompanied by her boyfriend, stands precariously near the top of the Berlin War to talk to her mother on the East Berlin side in 1962.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 Why did the United States develop a policy of 'containment'?

2 What was the significance or outcome of the Berlin Blockade?

3 Why was the Berlin Wall built?

4 What were the responses to the Berlin Wall?

FOCUS QUESTION 9.5

Wall building is not new in history (for example, the Great Wall of China), and since the fall of the Berlin Wall others have been built around the world. Research at least one more border wall proposed or built since 1991 and the political context of the decision to build it. Exchange your findings with a fellow student.

Analysing historical sources as evidence

Kennedy's Ich bin ein Berliner speech, June 1963

In 1963, Kennedy visited Berlin and, while looking over the wall, declared to a crowd of 250 000 Germans that 'Ich bin ein Berliner [I am a Berliner]'. The power of this speech for Germans in West Berlin was his declaration that 'I am one of you'.

> *There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system but it permits us to make economic progress. Let them come to Berlin … all free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and therefore as a free man, I take pride in the words Ich bin ein Berliner.*

1 List two of the arguments that, according to Kennedy, people use for supporting communism.

2 What might he mean when he says that 'all free men ... are citizens of Berlin'?

3 What is the purpose of repeating the phrase, 'Let them come to Berlin'?

4 Use your own knowledge from this chapter to explain why the Berlin Blockade (1948–49) and Berlin Wall (1961) are good examples of Cold War tensions.

5 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Kennedy's point of view.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video of Kennedy in Berlin, delivering his 'Berliner' speech.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 9.30** Kennedy addressing the crowd in Berlin. There is an urban myth that Kennedy did not realise that a 'Berliner' was a popular local doughnut. So instead of saying 'I am a Berliner', he actually said 'I am a jam doughnut'!

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement about the Berlin Wall: *The Berlin Wall became the best symbol of Cold War tensions.*

To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer. Use information from this chapter to form an argument that is supported with evidence.

- To answer this question you will need to be able to explain the division and control of Germany and Berlin into East and West, and then the provocative policy of containment.
- It will be important to briefly provide the background for the wall being built, including the Berlin Blockade.
- Think about how best to define what a 'symbol' is. What does a symbol do? What are the qualities of an effective 'symbol'? Using your own definition, in what ways is the Berlin Wall an effective symbol of the Cold War? In what ways is it not?
- What are some other possible symbols of the Cold War – Checkpoint Charlie, a space rocket or a nuclear bomb, or the political spectrum itself?
- Better answers will not fully argue that it was or was not the best symbol, but rather discuss ways in which it is and is not the best symbol. Use this discussion to decide on your overall argument.

▲**Source 9.31** A control tower of the former GDR border guard forces at a former fortified border crossing between East and West Germany today in Moedlareuth, Germany. East Germany's communist authorities established a security zone along the border to West Germany beginning in 1954 with the principal aim of preventing people fleeing from East Germany to West Germany. Guards armed with heavy machine guns stood at the ready to shoot anyone who tried to escape. In 1961 East Germany also built the Berlin Wall around West Berlin, which existed as a West German exclave under Allied occupation in East Germany.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

10 THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

We're eyeball to eyeball, and I think the other fellow just blinked.

– SECRETARY OF STATE, DEAN RUSK

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

After the Korean War in the 1950s, US policy became very aggressive. The policy of containment was replaced by 'brinksmanship' – showing strength by pushing conflict to the brink (the edge) of war and then retreating. Both the superpowers, the USA and the USSR, fought for influence in the Middle East, Europe, Africa and Asia. These tensions of the 1950s exploded into the threat of a devastating nuclear war in October 1962. The crisis was based around the small island country of Cuba in the Caribbean Sea, approximately 150 kilometres off the southern coast of the United States. Cuba became the site of the most dangerous fortnight in human history.

The statement of Robert McNamara, US Defense Secretary, 'Reason has its limits', identifies the core of this crisis. Rational thinkers and politicians were willing to risk the future of the human race, all for the ideas of capitalism and communism. The Cuban Missile Crisis was the point when the limit of reason was reached and the United States' desperation for ideological victory took over. Should this crisis be remembered for its logic or its lunacy?

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- How long did the United States' nuclear monopoly last?
- What were the key drivers of the emerging nuclear arms race?
- What was it like to grow up in the Nuclear Age?
- What was the Cuban Missile Crisis about?
- Why did Castro want Soviet missiles in Cuba?
- What was Kennedy's response?
- How did negotiations between Kennedy and Khrushchev achieve peace?
- How was the crisis perceived?

Digital resources for this chapter

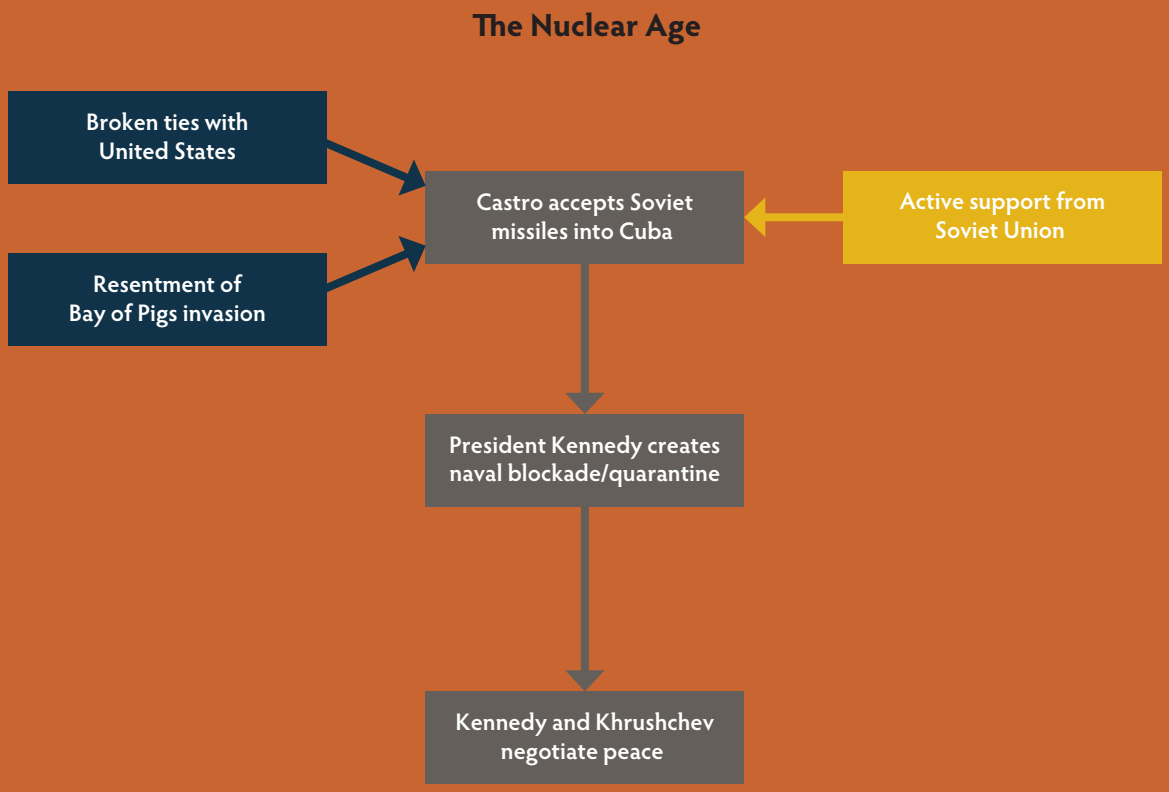
In the ***Interactive Textbook***:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◄ **Source 10.0** The first test explosion of an atomic bomb at Alamogordo, New Mexico, 1945

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

1945
6 AND 9 AUGUST
Atomic bombs used on Japan. WWII in Pacific ends

1949
29 AUGUST
USSR detonates its first atomic bomb

1950
25 JUNE
Korean War begins (lasts until 1953)

1962
14–28 OCTOBER
Cuban Missile Crisis

1963
22 NOVEMBER
President John F. Kennedy's assassination

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

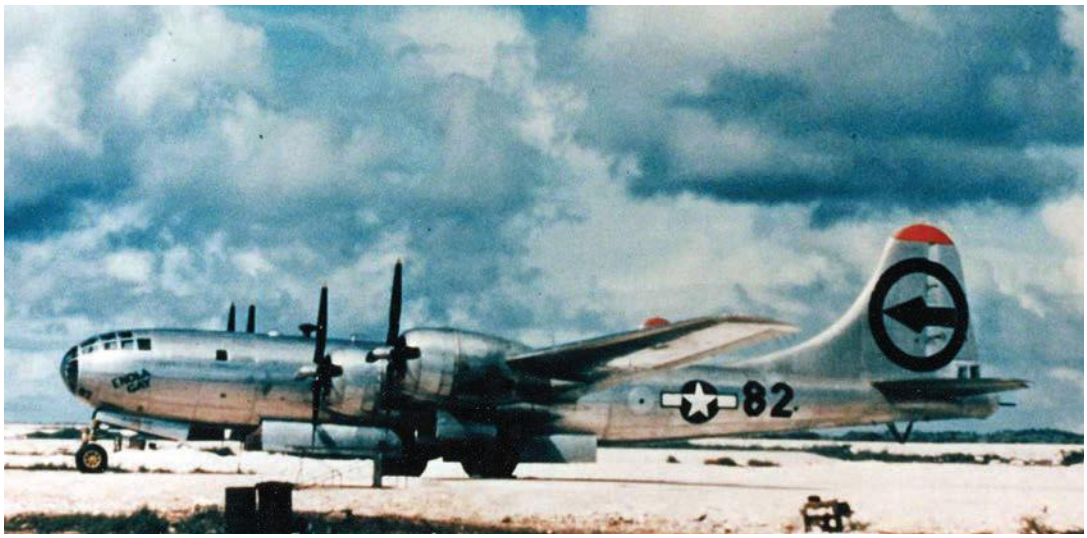
10.1 The Nuclear Age

Now I am become Death, destroyer of worlds.

ROBERT J. OPPENHEIMER

The period from 1949 to 1962 saw a dramatic escalation of the nuclear arms race that culminated in the Cuban Missile Crisis. On 9 August 1945, when the United States dropped its second atomic bomb (on Nagasaki), it did not have any additional operational bombs immediately available. Indeed, the technology was very much in its infancy – the Nagasaki bomb was based on plutonium technology, as distinct from the Hiroshima device, which used uranium. However, when the USSR exploded its first atomic bomb on 29 August 1949, the balance of global politics forever shifted. Technological developments that followed would rapidly increase the power of nuclear weapons until the Tsar Bomba was detonated by the USSR on 30 October 1961. It was unimaginably powerful, 1500 times that of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs combined, or 10 times the power of every single munition expended in the entirety of World War II. Perhaps even more importantly, though, the capacity to deliver nuclear warfare to practically anywhere in the planet at short notice via ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles) and more recently SLBMs (submarine-launched ballistic missiles) was upon the world. This was certainly a change from the aircraft-delivery approach of the first atomic bombs, changing the time frames from hours to minutes.

▼ **Source 10.1** The *Enola Gay*, a Boeing B-29 Superfortress bomber, became the first aircraft to drop an atomic bomb on 6 August 1945, during the final stages of World War II. The city of Hiroshima in Japan was hit. Eventually these huge bombers would be replaced by smaller bombers, then later again by intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).



Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

◄ **Source 10.2** A painting by Hiroshi Matsuzoe of the Nagasaki Mitsubishi Motors plant in ruins after the atomic bombing of the city. Matsuzoe is an atomic bomb survivor from Nagasaki.

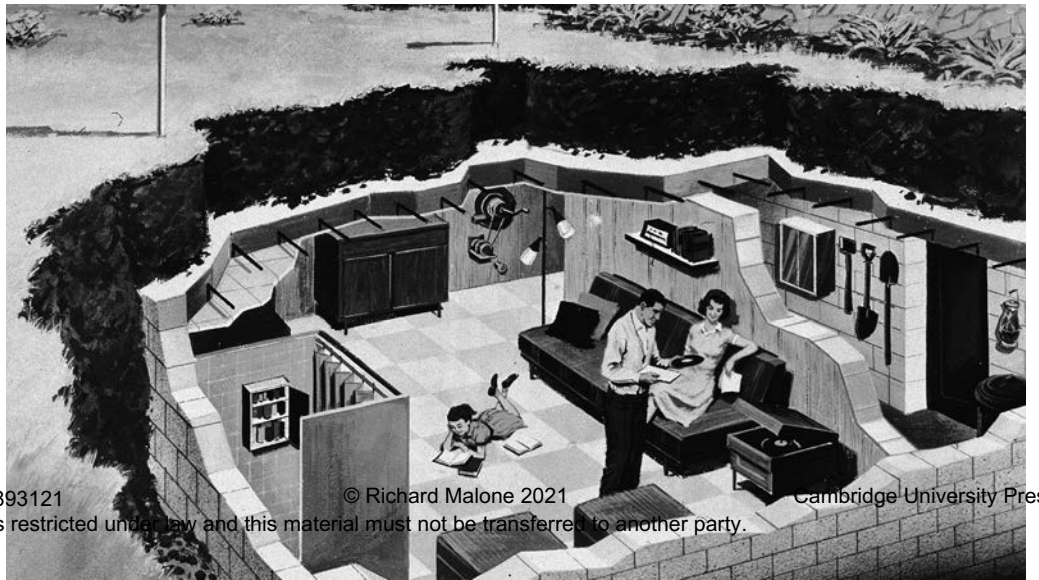
ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Nuclear proliferation became a new battleground, as nations in possession of nuclear weapons, worked to prevent others from acquiring them even as they continued to amass their own stockpiles. Today, the nations of the United States, Russia, China, France, Britain, India, Pakistan and North Korea have active nuclear weapons. The State of Israel is strongly believed to possess nuclear weapons but at this stage, will neither admit nor deny this under a policy of political ambiguity. The countries of Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and Turkey host other countries' warheads in war time. At one stage, South Africa had its own, as did as a series of former Soviet states, but they have abandoned them under treaty arrangements. The United States remains the only nation to have deployed nuclear weapons against another nation.

Growing up in the Nuclear Age

The generation of children (the baby boomers) born during or shortly after World War II grew up with the reality of an imminent nuclear apocalypse. Along with evacuation drills at school, US children were also trained in how to respond in the event of a nuclear attack. It was also increasingly common for families to take matters into their own hands by building underground shelters in their back yards.

▶ **Source 10.3** 'Duck and Cover' was a campaign designed to prepare the US community to respond to a sudden nuclear attack. People were told that if they saw 'the flash' to duck and find the nearest cover. School children were drilled in this.



▶ **Source 10.4** With lead shielding, a blast-proof door, periscope, bedding, toilet and tinned food to last weeks, the family shelter provided a last resort in the event of a nuclear attack.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.1

'Duck and Cover' was a friendly and informative government-sponsored film about how to make oneself safer in the event of the nuclear attack. Watch the footage via the link to the right and then answer the following questions.

1 Explain the possible reasoning behind using 'Bert the Turtle' as the protagonist.
2 To what extent are the suggested measures plausible self-protection behaviours? Name and evaluate at least two of the suggested actions people were advised to take in your response.
3 Discuss the possible reasons why the government of the time decided to proceed with 'Duck and Cover'.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to watch the 'Duck and Cover' film.

Nuclear testing

As the nuclear arms race accelerated, a period of unrestrained testing emerged, where the superpowers would detonate their weapons in various manners and for various reasons. This could range from a basic measure of a new weapon's force to military scenarios for the purpose of informing battlefield tactics.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.2

The residents of Bikini Atoll, Marshall Islands, were relocated so that the site could be used for nuclear weapons testing. Watch the footage via the link to the right and then answer the following questions.

1 Describe the tone of the narration in the first half, including choice of adjectives and music.
2 Evaluate the attitude of the narration towards the residents of Bikini Atoll.
3 How does the film justify the relocation?

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video on the relocation of Bikini Atoll residents.

Over 2000 nuclear tests have been carried out to date, with the majority of these conducted by the United States and USSR/Russia followed by France with 217 tests. The United States has carried out more than half the world's tests at 1032. More than a quarter of these tests (approximately 500) were carried out above the Earth (often in the upper atmosphere) from 1945 until the 1960s, resulting in growing international concern regarding the spread of radiation. Both the United States and the USSR had detonated extremely large hydrogen bombs by this stage, including the disastrous Castle Bravo incident by the United States at Bikini Atoll. The Castle Bravo device was a hydrogen bomb that was two-and-a-half times more powerful than scientists had predicted and caused significant damage well beyond the zone they had prepared for, including contaminating the nearby populated atolls of Rongelap and Utirik. The United States continued to detonate bombs at Bikini for another four years – with 23 tests in total.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video of the dropping of the Castle Bravo bomb at Bikini Atoll.

This time included nuclear tests by the other three permanent UN Security Council members (France, Britain and China), which created radioactive fallout that travelled around the Earth via naturally occurring stratospheric air streams. In 1963, the United Nations sought to ban all nuclear testing in the atmosphere, space and underwater. This eventually led to nations testing underground in order to reduce the radioactive pollution that resulted. By this stage, the nuclear armed powers had the technology they needed so did not resist the move.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The main man-made contribution to the exposure of the world's population [to radiation] has come from the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, from 1945 to 1980. Each nuclear test resulted in unrestrained release into the environment of substantial quantities of radioactive materials, which were widely dispersed in the atmosphere and deposited everywhere on Earth's surface.

Report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation to the General Assembly states, 2000

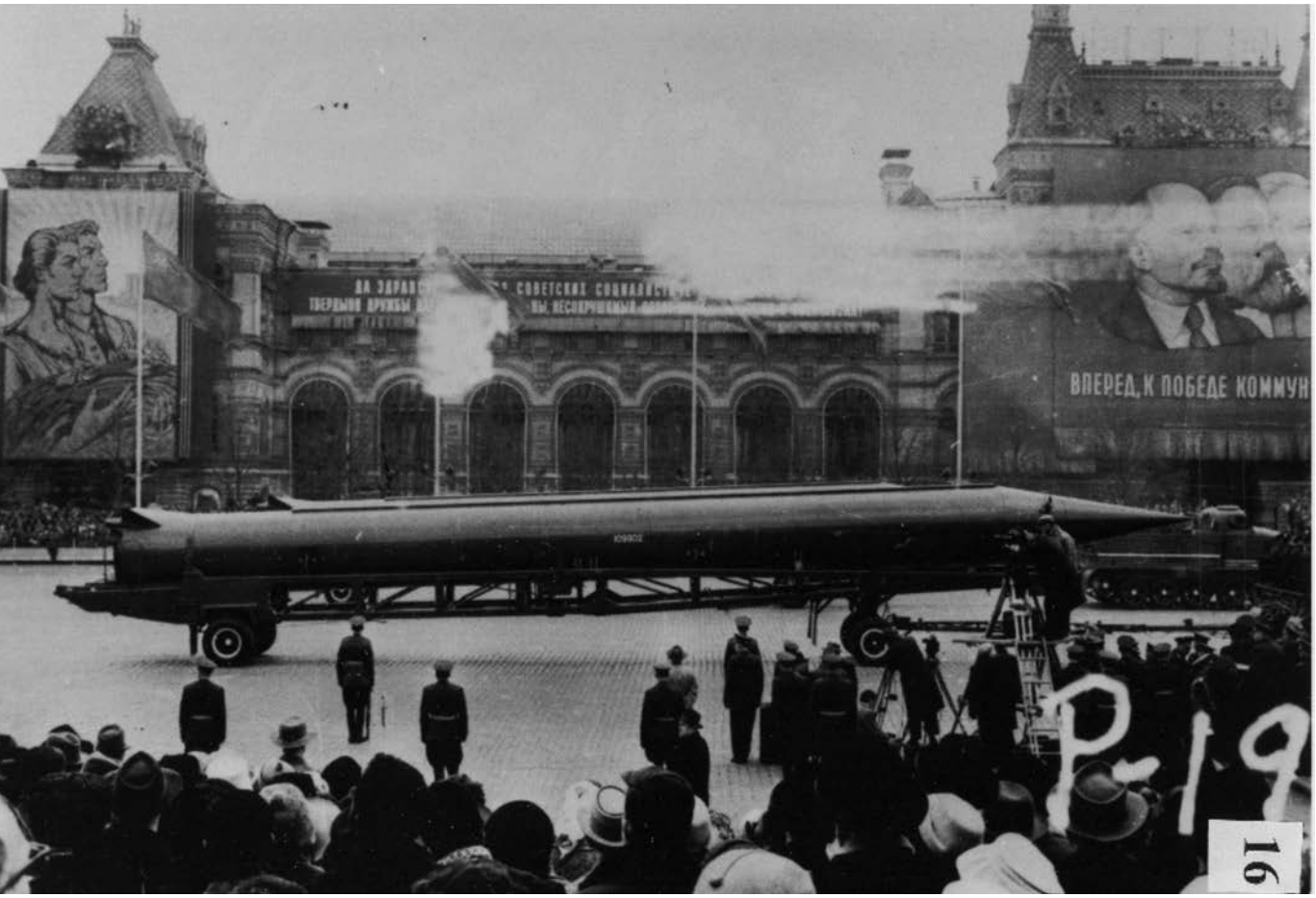
10.2 The Cuban Missile Crisis

The nuclear arms race came to an extremely dangerous head during the period now known as the Cuban Missile Crisis, which started with photographs taken by a spy plane on the 14 October 1962. Robert Kennedy was President John F. Kennedy's brother. His role as Attorney General meant he was also a crucial adviser to the president, and a valuable eye-witness to the events in Cuba. This is his summary of the beginning of the crisis:

On Tuesday morning, 16 October 1962, shortly after 9 o'clock, President Kennedy called and asked me to come to the White House … In his office, he told me that a U-2 [a US spy plane] had just finished a photographic mission and that the intelligence community had become convinced that Russia was placing missiles and atomic weapons in Cuba.

That was the beginning of the Cuban Missile Crisis – a confrontation between the two giant atomic nations, the United States and the Soviet Union, which brought the world to the abyss of nuclear destruction and the end of mankind.

▼ **Source 10.5** The Cuban Missile Crisis is the closest the world has ever come to nuclear war.



ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 10.1

1 What was the key concern for President Kennedy?

2 What was Robert Kennedy's definition of the Cuban Missile Crisis?

3 Use information from the map (see Source 10.6) and the extract above to write your own two-sentence summary of what the crisis in Cuba was about.

▲ **Source 10.6** The cities that could be reached by Soviet missiles from Cuba

Access the Interactive Textbook to view episodes of the *Cold War*, a six-part CNN documentary series based on more than 500 interviews.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 10.7** Robert Kennedy (centre) with his brothers John F. Kennedy (left) and Ted Kennedy (right)

10.3 Why did Castro want Soviet missiles in Cuba?

Reason 1: Broken economic ties with the United States

guerrilla unconventional warfare or tactics, where individuals or small groups use raids, ambushes and stealth to attack and destabilise larger and more powerful forces

The United States had been deeply involved in Cuba since helping it become independent from the Spanish in 1898. By 1959, the United States controlled 90 per cent of Cuban mines, 90 per cent of the cattle ranches and 40 per cent of the sugar industry.

Fidel Castro seized power in a military coup in 1959, carried out by his **guerrilla** force called the '26th of July Movement' (which included famous Argentinean revolutionary Che Guevara). Castro was not a communist at this stage, although leading members of his government were, including his brother Raúl. The United States, however, became hostile to Cuba because it perceived Castro's reforms – such as nationalising private schools and redistributing large portions of land to the peasants – as being communist in nature. Castro had also nationalised American business interests in Cuba. As a result, the US government not only repeatedly refused to provide financial aid, but actively fought against the new government. For example, the United States blockaded any oil from entering Cuba.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Castro announced that he was Cuba's new leader via television. His speech lasted seven hours!

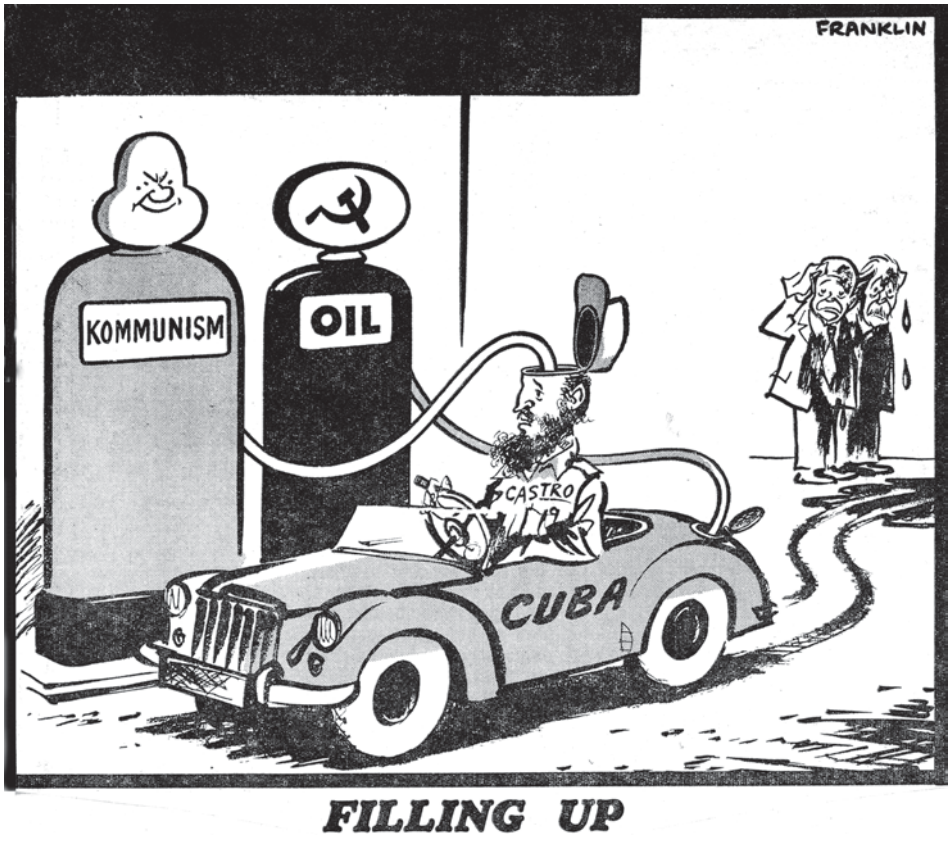
ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The problem for Castro became one of survival: how to transfer Cuba's economic links from the United States to the Soviet Union, while still maintaining the perception of nationalist independence throughout Latin America. In February 1960, Castro signed a trade pact with the Soviet Union, which resulted in all diplomatic ties with the United States being cut by January 1961. The broken economic links between Cuba and the United States soon expanded to political alienation. Middle-class Cuban exiles living in America were engaged by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to plan a counter-revolution to overthrow Castro. The CIA trained and equipped 1400 men to invade Cuba after landing on the beach in the Bay of Pigs. The CIA believed that many Cubans were opposed to the new Castro government and that the invasion would spark an uprising, eventually resulting in the overthrow of Castro. The United States felt it important to use Cuban nationals to do this so they could avoid accusations that they had in fact invaded as a nation.

◀ **Source 10.8** Cuban President Fidel Castro and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, September 1960

◀ **Source 10.9** Fidel Castro during the crisis

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to



▲ **Source 10.10** A US satirist's cartoon about Soviet influence on Cuba. Try to identify the figures depicted.

Reason 2: Resentment of the Bay of Pigs invasion

▲ **Source 10.11** Cuba's close proximity to the United States was what made it such a threat.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

But the April 1961 invasion was a complete disaster. Cuban locals were hostile to the landing, and no uprising occurred. Troops quickly defeated the invaders. More than 100 men were killed, and only 14 were rescued by the US navy.

The Bay of Pigs was a major affront to Cuba and a complete embarrassment for the new president and the CIA director John A. McCone. While Kennedy had not devised the plan, as the new president he had given it final approval. Despite this, Kennedy continued an aggressive policy towards Cuba with a new CIA plan called Operation Mongoose. Operation Mongoose included:

- continuation of the economic blockade of Cuba
- a ban on all Cuban imports into the United States
- a ban on US travel to Cuba
- the sinking of a Cuban merchant ship coming with goods from Europe
- sabotaging oil-drilling sites in Cuba
- invasion exercises by 40 000 US military personnel on the neighbouring island of Puerto Rico.

The Bay of Pigs and Operation Mongoose attacks drove Castro into a permanent alliance with the Soviets. Not only did he officially declare himself a Marxist-Leninist in December 1961, but he formally asked the Soviet government for assistance against any future US invasions. It was this request that directly led to the creation of Soviet missile bases in Cuba.

▲ **Source 10.12** President Kennedy meets with his security advisors in January 1961, before both the Bay of Pigs failure and the missile crisis itself. CIA director John A. McCone is seen at the head of the table.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The CIA invented many ways to try to kill Castro, including poisoned cigars, bacteria-infested handkerchiefs and exploding seafood! Castro's former Security Chief, Fabian Escalante, claimed that Castro survived 638 assassination attempts in his 49-year rule.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 10.13** The Douglas A-26C Invader 44–35440 used in the Bay of Pigs invasion painted in false Cuban AF markings at the Wings over Miami Air Museum

Reason 3: Active support from the Soviet Union

Nikita Khrushchev became Premier of the Soviet Union, officially titled Chairman of the Council of Ministers, in 1958, and took an immediate interest in the new Castro government because of Cuba's close proximity to the United States. In 1959, at Castro's request, a Cuban–Soviet political relationship was established, and this quickly developed into Operation Anadyr, a secret military agreement to assist Cuba.

In May 1962, Khrushchev was walking on the shore of the Black Sea in Bulgaria, aware that over the water in Turkey, US military bases were pointing nuclear missiles at the Soviet Union. It was then that he decided to threaten the United States in a similar way through Cuba. "If you start throwing hedgehogs under me, I shall throw a couple of porcupines under you" he mused, and made a plan to equalise the balance of nuclear power.

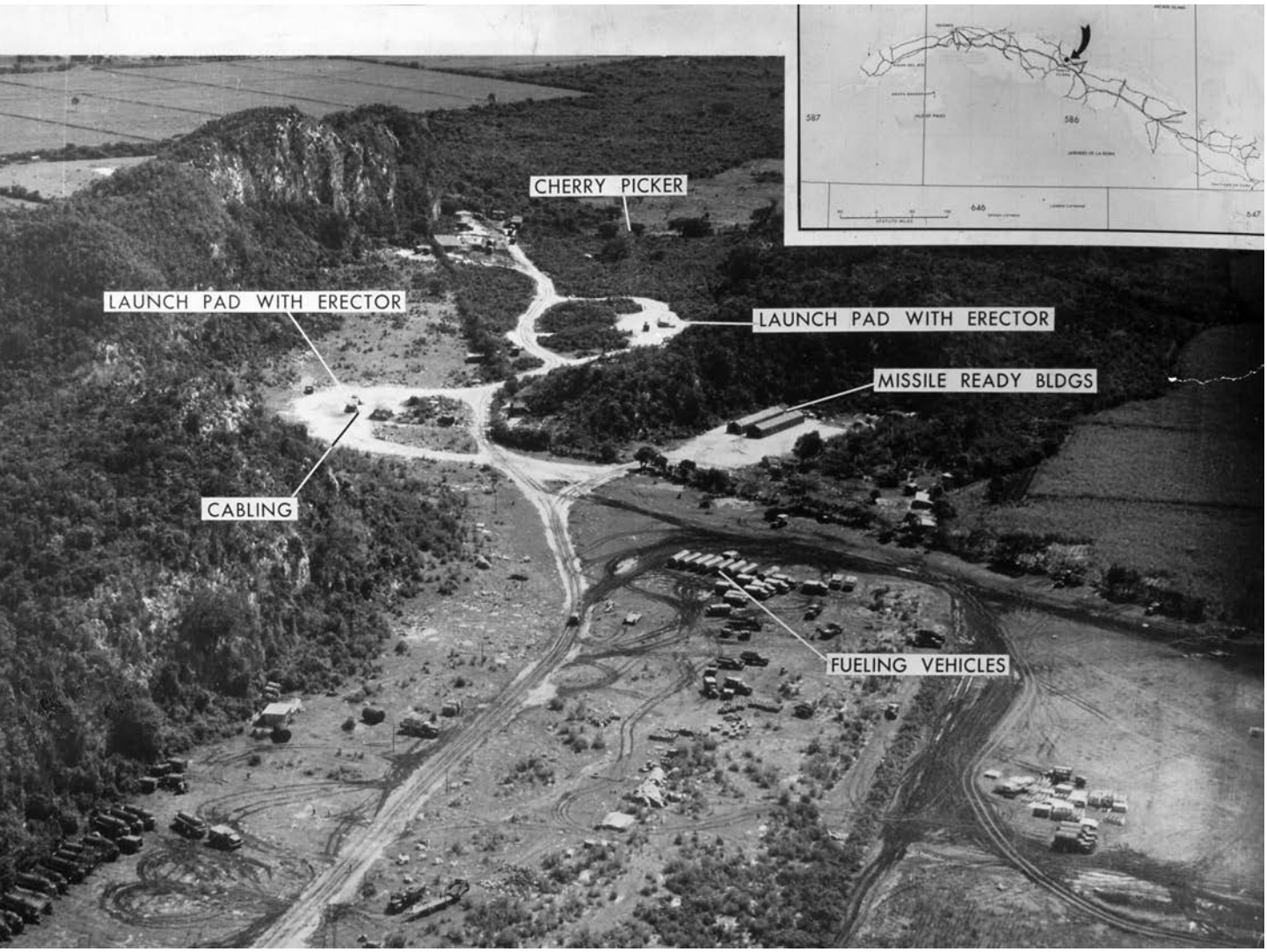
By 25 September 1962, Soviet forces were in place in Cuba, including 40 nuclear warheads and 34 Soviet ships sailing towards the island. Missile bases and launch pads were under construction and due to be operational by the end of October. It was the first time that ballistic missiles had been placed by the Soviet Union outside of its own soil.

Soviet weapons in Cuba

These have been estimated at:

- 24 SS-4 medium-range ballistic missiles (each could travel 1770 kilometres)
- 16 SS-5 long-range ballistic missiles (each could travel 3540 kilometres)
- 42 Il-28 jet bombers
- 42 MiG-21 jet fighters
- 24 advanced SAM surface-to-air missiles
- four elite combat regiments
- two tank battalions with the latest T-55 tanks
- more than 40 000 troops and personnel.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲ **Source 10.14** An image of Cuban missile sites taken by a US spy plane

I want to make one thing absolutely clear; when we put our ballistic missiles in Cuba, we had no desire to start a war … our principal aim was only to deter America from starting a war. We were well aware that a war which started over Cuba would quickly expand into a world war … Our goal was precisely the opposite: we wanted to keep the Americans from invading Cuba, and, to that end, we wanted to make them think twice by confronting them with our missiles.

Nikita Khrushchev, 1977

FOCUS QUESTIONS 10.2

1 What was Khrushchev's main aim in putting Soviet missiles in Cuba?
2 What was his attitude to war?
3 With the benefit of hindsight, explain whether Castro's actions indicated that he was a communist from the outset, or if this was something he turned to later.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

10.4 Kennedy's response

We will mould our strength and become first again. Not first if. Not first but. Not first when. But first period. I want the world to wonder not what Mr Khrushchev is doing. I want them to wonder what the United States is doing.

Kennedy campaign speech, 1960

The U-2 spy-plane photographs proved that Cuba was becoming a secret missile base. Soviet planes capable of carrying nuclear weapons were photographed on Cuban airfields. Kennedy and his advisers needed to restrict any further build-up of weapons in Cuba, and considered four main options:

- a letter of protest to Khrushchev
- bombing the missile sites
- invading Cuba
- a naval blockade.

Kennedy decided to send the US navy to blockade Cuba. This naval blockade totally surrounded the island, stopping Soviet ships from transporting any more weapons. As naval blockades are considered an act of war under international law, it was referred to as a quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba.

▼ **Source 10.15** Kennedy meeting with Soviet ministers in the middle of the crisis

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

But the threat dramatically escalated when the Soviets called the United States' bluff and continued sending ships towards Cuba. Khrushchev placed all Soviet troops in Cuba on full alert. US planes patrolled Cuban shores and Kennedy mobilised 200 000 military personnel in Florida, along with B-52 bombers armed with active nuclear warheads and 156 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).

Kennedy appeared on television on 22 October 1962 to inform the US public of the dangerous confrontation with the Soviets over Cuba:

> *The 1930s taught us a clear lesson: aggressive conduct, if allowed to go unchecked, ultimately leads to war … We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth – but neither will we shrink from that risk at any time it must be faced.*

▼ **Source 10.16** Reconnaissance footage of Russian vessels with suspected arms and supplies a month before Kennedy's speech

Three days later, at least 14 Soviet ships that had been approaching the quarantine zone reversed course. A Soviet petroleum tanker that had been been intercepted and cleared of carrying weapons was allowed through.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 10.3

1 In the quote above, to which other nation is Kennedy linking the aggression of the Soviet Union?
2 What does he mean by 'the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth'?
3 Do you interpret Kennedy's comment about his willingness to confront nuclear war as a sign of positive leadership strength or negative arrogance?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▶ **Source 10.17** *Thirteen Days* (2000), an excellent film about the Cuban Missile Crisis

10.5 Outcomes and consequences

Kennedy and Khrushchev telegrams

What follows are some of the messages telegrammed between the leaders of each nation in the lead up to and during the crisis. Note how the tone shifts in correspondence with unfolding events.

Negotiations for peace

I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. ...

President Kennedy, 22 October 1962

I went and telephoned my wife and told her to drop everything and get out of Moscow.

A Russian journalist, fearing that US bombers were on their way

Khrushchev's telegrams, 26 October

With tensions rising and advisers on both sides pushing for open war, Kennedy and Khrushchev both looked for ways to solve the situation without losing face. Khrushchev sent two private telegrams to Kennedy, outlining possible negotiation options.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Khrushchev's first telegram

In his first telegram, Khrushchev suggested that he would be willing to privately discuss the issue of Soviet missiles if the naval blockade/quarantine was publicly lifted. Below are excerpts from his lengthy telegram.

Embassy translation follows of letter from Khrushchev to Kennedy delivered to Embassy by messenger 4:43 p.m. Moscow time October 26

Dear Mr. President:

I have received your letter of October 25. From your letter, I got the feeling that you have some understanding of the situation which has developed and (some) sense of responsibility. I value this.

[Section removed]

I think you will understand me correctly if you are really concerned about the welfare of the world. Everyone needs peace: both capitalists, if they have not lost their reason, and, still more, Communists, people who know how to value not only their own lives but, more than anything, the lives of the peoples. We, Communists, are against all wars between states in general and have been defending the cause of peace since we came into the world. We have always regarded war as a calamity, and not as a game nor as a means for the attainment of definite goals, nor, all the more, as a goal in itself. Our goals are clear, and the means to attain them is labor. War is our enemy and a calamity for all the peoples.

[Section removed]

In the name of the Soviet Government and the Soviet people, I assure you that your conclusions regarding offensive weapons on Cuba are groundless. It is apparent from what you have written me that our conceptions are different on this score, or rather, we have different estimates of these or those military means. Indeed, in reality, the same forms of weapons can have different interpretations.

[Section removed]

How can one, consequently, give such a completely incorrect interpretation as you are now giving, to the effect that some sort of means on Cuba are offensive. All the means located there, and I assure you of this, have a defensive character, are on Cuba solely for the purposes of defense, and we have sent them to Cuba at the request of the Cuban Government. You, however, say that these are offensive means.

[section removed]

You have now proclaimed piratical measures, which were employed in the Middle Ages, when ships proceeding in international waters were attacked, and you have called this 'a quarantine' around Cuba. Our vessels, apparently, will soon enter the zone which your Navy is patrolling. I assure you that these vessels, now bound for Cuba, are carrying the most innocent peaceful cargoes. Do you really think that we only occupy ourselves with the carriage of so-called offensive weapons, atomic and hydrogen bombs? Although perhaps your military people imagine that these (cargoes) are some sort of special type of weapon, I assure you that they are the most ordinary peaceful products.

Consequently, Mr. President, let us show good sense. I assure you that on those ships, which are bound for Cuba, there are no weapons at all. The weapons which were necessary for the defense of Cuba are already there. I do not want to say that there were not any shipments of weapons at all. No, there were such shipments. But now Cuba has already received the necessary means of defense.

[section removed]

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Let us normalize relations. We have received an appeal from the Acting Secretary General of the UN, U Thant, with his proposals. I have already answered him. His proposals come to this, that our side should not transport armaments of any kind to Cuba during a certain period of time, while negotiations are being conducted – and we are ready to enter such negotiations – and the other side should not undertake any sort of piratical actions against vessels engaged in navigation on the high seas. I consider these proposals reasonable. This would be a way out of the situation which has been created, which would give the peoples the possibility of breathing calmly. You have asked what happened, what evoked the delivery of weapons to Cuba? You have spoken about this to our Minister of Foreign Affairs. I will tell you frankly, Mr. President, what evoked it.

We were very grieved by the fact – I spoke about it in Vienna – that a landing took place, that an attack on Cuba was committed, as a result of which many Cubans perished. You yourself told me then that this had been a mistake. I respected that explanation.

[Section removed]

If assurances were given by the President and the Government of the United States that the USA itself would not participate in an attack on Cuba and would restrain others from actions of this sort, if you would recall your fleet, this would immediately change everything. I am not speaking for Fidel Castro, but I think that he and the Government of Cuba, evidently, would declare demobilization and would appeal to the people to get down to peaceful labor.

[Section removed]

Let us therefore show statesmanlike wisdom. I propose: We, for our part, will declare that our ships, bound for Cuba, will not carry any kind of armaments. You would declare that the United States will not invade Cuba with its forces and will not support any sort of forces which might intend to carry out an invasion of Cuba. Then the necessity for the presence of our military specialists in Cuba would disappear.

Mr. President, I appeal to you to weigh well what the aggressive, piratical actions, which you have declared the USA intends to carry out in international waters, would lead to. You yourself know that any sensible man simply cannot agree with this, cannot recognize your right to such actions.

[Section removed]

Consequently, if there is no intention to tighten that knot and thereby to doom the world to the catastrophe of thermonuclear war, then let us not only relax the forces pulling on the ends of the rope, let us take measures to untie that knot. We are ready for this.

[Section removed]

There, Mr. President, are my thoughts, which, if you agreed with them, could put an end to that tense situation which is disturbing all peoples.

These thoughts are dictated by a sincere desire to relieve the situation, to remove the threat of war.

Respectfully yours,

N. Khrushchev

Khrushchev's second telegram

In his second telegram, Khrushchev suggested that he would remove Soviet missiles from Cuba if the United States removed its missiles from Turkey and Italy.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Kennedy's reply, 27 October

On the advice of Robert Kennedy, President Kennedy officially responded to the first telegram but not the second. He promised to lift the naval blockade/quarantine, and not to invade Cuba, if the Soviet missiles were permanently removed.

Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in the Soviet Union, Washington, October 27, 1962, 8:05 p.m.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have read your letter of October 26th with great care and welcomed the statement of your desire to seek a prompt solution to the problem. The first thing that needs to be done, however, is for work to cease on offensive missile bases in Cuba and for all weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive use to be rendered inoperable, under effective United Nations arrangements.

Assuming this is done promptly, I have given my representatives in New York instructions that will permit them to work out this weekend – in cooperation with the Acting Secretary General and your representative – an arrangement for a permanent solution to the Cuban problem along the lines suggested in your letter of October 26th. As I read your letter, the key elements of your proposals – which seem generally acceptable as I understand them – are as follows:

1. *You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba under appropriate United Nations observation and supervision; and undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba.*
2. *We, on our part, would agree – upon the establishment of adequate arrangements through the United Nations to ensure the carrying out and continuation of these commitments – (a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba. I am confident that other nations of the Western Hemisphere would be prepared to do likewise.*

If you will give your representative similar instructions, there is no reason why we should not be able to complete these arrangements and announce them to the world within a couple of days. The effect of such a settlement on easing world tensions would enable us to work toward a more general arrangement regarding 'other armaments', as proposed in your second letter which you made public. I would like to say again that the United States is very much interested in reducing tensions and halting the arms race; and if your letter signifies that you are prepared to discuss a detente affecting NATO and the Warsaw Pact, we are quite prepared to consider with our allies any useful proposals.

But the first ingredient, let me emphasize, is the cessation of work on missile sites in Cuba and measures to render such weapons inoperable, under effective international guarantees. The continuation of this threat, or a prolonging of this discussion concerning Cuba by linking these problems to the broader questions of European and world security, would surely lead to an intensification of the Cuban crisis and a grave risk to the peace of the world. For this reason I hope we can quickly agree along the lines in this letter and in your letter of October 26th.

John F. Kennedy

Secretly, Robert Kennedy met with the Soviet ambassador, Anatoly Dobrynin, and delivered an ultimatum – if the Cuban missiles were not removed by the next day, the United States would destroy the missiles themselves. He then offered another option: that US bases in Italy and Turkey would be removed in the next six months *if* the Cuban missiles were removed first. The message was relayed to Khrushchev, who accepted the private deal.

The crisis was over.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to watch footage of the announcement of Khrushchev's Cuba backdown in the United States.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Access the Interactive Textbook to read more letters between Kennedy and Khruschev.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.3

Based on your review of the communication between Khrushchev and Kennedy in 1960–62 and the background context of the Cold War, write a research essay discussing the key issues that created the Cuban Missile Crisis. You do not necessarily have to limit your discussion to the documents above, as there were many more exchanged during this period.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.4

The cartoon in Source 10.18 was drawn by Herbert Block immediately after the Cuban Missile Crisis. The two figures in the image are President Kennedy of the United States and Premier Khrushchev of the Soviet Union.

1 Describe the actions and attitudes of the two leaders in the cartoon.
2 How does the title contribute to the meaning of the image?
3 Explain how 'nuclear war' has been portrayed.
4 Explain the context in which this cartoon was drawn.

▶ **Source 10.18** 'Let's get a lock for this thing' by Herbert Block, 1962

brinksmanship the policy of pushing dangerous events to the brink of active conflict in order to achieve a win. It occurs in business and legal dealings, international politics, foreign policy, industrial relations and military strategy, including the threat of nuclear warfare.

Perceptions of the crisis

The near-catastrophe in Cuba sent a clear and shocking message to both nations about the importance of negotiation and the danger of direct confrontation and **brinksmanship**. Both governments were anxious that mutual concessions were seen to be made, and neither could afford to be perceived as having backed down in the face of pressure. So, both governments claimed victory – the United States boasted that its policy of 'containment' had worked, while the Soviets claimed that their policy of 'peaceful coexistence' had worked.

Both governments were permanently affected by the crisis – Kennedy's popularity grew immensely, while Khrushchev's deteriorated badly. The deal over the missiles in Turkey was kept secret, which meant that Khrushchev was perceived to have backed down; he was forced to resign in October 1964.

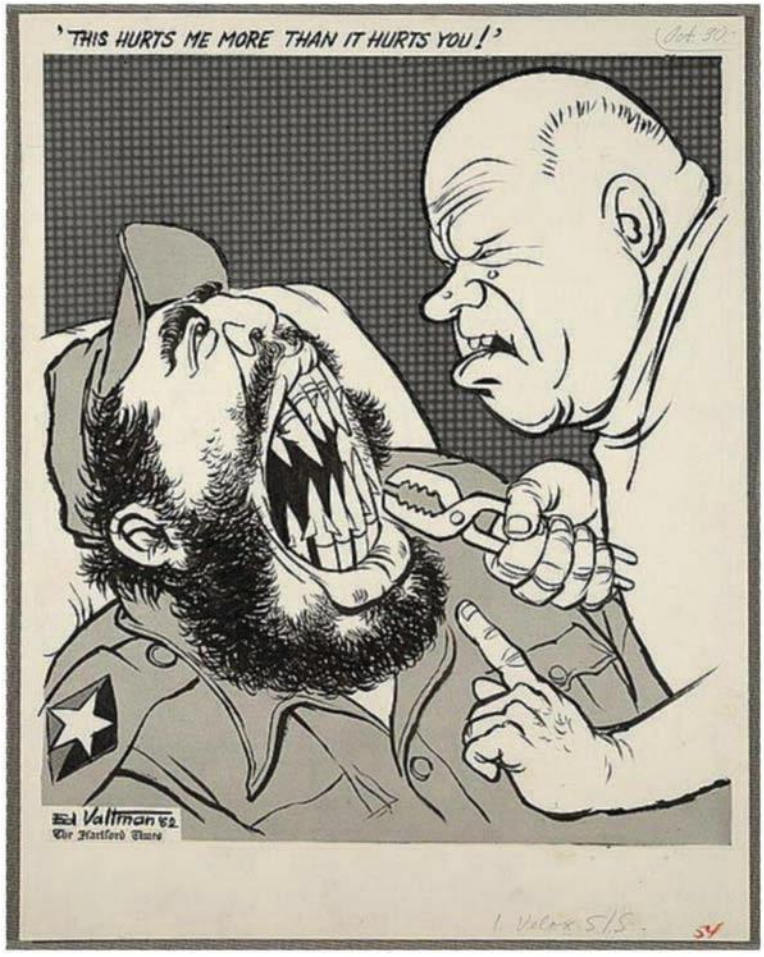
AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Khrushchev was the first leader of the Soviet Union not to die in office. Both Lenin (1924) and Stalin (1953) had. Brezhnev succeeded Khrushchev and also died in office (1982).

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Castro considered the Soviet withdrawal to be a moral defeat and cursed Khrushchev as a 'son of a bitch, bastard, asshole'. Although intensely disappointed about the outcome, Castro's power increased. China was so unimpressed that it decided to become independent from the Soviet Union. America's European allies were appalled that they were not consulted at all, and French President Charles de Gaulle withdrew France from NATO. In short, the behaviour of the superpowers during this crisis debased both of their standings with their respective alliance partners.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.5



▲ **Source 10.19** 'This hurts me more than it hurts you' by Edmund S. Valtman

1 Who are the two leaders in this image (Source 10.19)?
2 What is the character on the right about to do?
3 Explain the title of the cartoon.
4 Using the information in the cartoon, what point of the Cuban Missile Crisis would this image be referring to?

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Castro ruled Cuba for 49 years, only retiring in 2008 at the age of 81. He outlasted nine US presidents. He handed over control of Cuba to his 76-year-old brother, Raúl. In his retirement message, he claimed: 'I want only to fight as a soldier of ideas.'

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

It is interesting to analyse the crisis from a leadership perspective. Kennedy established a small group of senior officials to debate the crisis. ExComm, the Executive Committee of the National Security Council, met almost hourly for the next two weeks. One interesting reflection was that ExComm officials had such respect for Kennedy that they developed a 'messiah complex'. They believed that the president could not do anything wrong, and that his opinions must be the right ones. Kennedy had to rely on his brother Robert for objective advice.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.6

In December 1962, Khrushchev gave a speech to the Supreme Soviet summarising the role of the United States in the crisis.

Comrades, everyone still remembers the tense days of October when mankind was anxiously listening to the news coming from the Caribbean. In those days the world was on the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. What created this crisis? The revolution in Cuba was met with hostility from the imperialists in the United States of America. The imperialists are frightened of Cuba because of her ideas. They hate the idea that little Cuba has dared to go her own way, instead of trying to please American business. American forces have been doing everything they can, from the first day of the revolution, to overthrow Cuba's government and restore their own control. They set up an economic blockade of Cuba. This is inhuman – an attempt to starve a whole nation. Even this was not enough for them. They decided to use force to suppress the Cuban revolution.

We carried weapons there at the request of the Cuban government. Cuba needed weapons as a means of deterring the aggressors, and not as a means of attack. We sent about forty missiles to Cuba. Naturally, neither we nor our Cuban friends thought that this small number of missiles would be used for an attack on the United States. Our aim was only to defend Cuba.

1 According to Khrushchev, who was responsible for creating the crisis?
2 According to Khrushchev, why were the imperialists frightened of Cuba?
3 List two actions taken by the United States against Cuba.
4 Using information from this chapter, explain why Soviet missiles and bases were built in Cuba.
5 Using information from this and previous chapters, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Khrushchev's perspective in understanding the dynamics of Cold War tensions.

FOCUS QUESTION 10.4

Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model (see Chapter 1, p. 12) in reference to Khrushchev's speech in Analysis Activity 10.6.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.7

1 In your opinion, who was the key aggressor in this crisis? You must support your ideas with evidence. Key points to consider would be:
   - Kennedy initiated the Bay of Pigs invasion and the quarantine; he called the missiles in Cuba 'offensive [attacking] weapons'.
   - Khrushchev initiated shipments of missiles and troops to Cuban soil; he called the missiles 'defensive weapons'.
2 Which leader deserves the credit for avoiding nuclear war?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.8

Khrushchev's son, Sergei, was a history lecturer at Brown University (in the United States) years after the crisis. When asked about each side's reaction, he had the following response.

Because Americans were lucky that they didn't have natural enemies like Europeans and Asians through their millennia. [Americans] all the time exaggerate the outside threat because they've never experienced that threat before. The Soviet Union had a 20th century with three major wars that fully destroyed their country. There was a very different understanding of the enemy on their borders. Americans never had enemies on their borders, so they exaggerate this threat like the Cuban Missile Crisis and 9/11.

The Soviet Union reacted very differently. For Americans it was a unique crisis, because it was the first time in all their history they realized they could be killed. For the Soviet people they had their war experience. For them it was no different. There was no panic in the Moscow streets and life went on as usual. They experienced threats many times in history starting with the Mongolian invasion.

https://news.usni.org/2012/10/24/soviet-perspective-cuban-missile-crisis-nikita-khrushchevs-son

1 To what extent is Sergei Khruschev delivering a neutral perspective in this excerpt?
2 Is his description of 9/11 as a relatively minor matter fair or accurate? Explain your response using evidence.

◄ **Source 10.20** Many Americans, such as these women protesting in 1962, were desperate to avoid the full-scale war threatened by the Cuban crisis.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTION 10.5

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Who won the Cuban Missile Crisis?'** A student responds briefly. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each brief student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

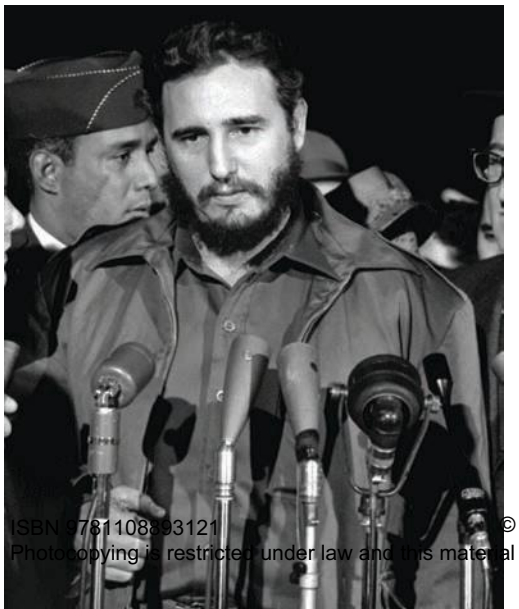
ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.9

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below: *Why did Castro accept Soviet missiles in Cuba?*

- ballistic missiles
- Bay of Pigs
- Castro
- CIA
- Khrushchev
- nationalist
- Operation Anadyr
- Operation Mongoose

THE STORY SO FAR

- The small island of Cuba, close to the southern coast of the United States, became a dangerous new launch pad which gave rise to a Cold War crisis.
- The Soviet Union had placed missiles and atomic weapons in Cuba ready for a direct attack on the United States.
- US President Kennedy surrounded Cuba in a naval blockade/quarantine, but the Premier of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev, continued to send ships towards Cuba. This created a dangerous situation where nuclear war was the likely result.
- Through a series of tense telegram negotiations, plus a private deal, the United States promised not to invade Cuba and to remove its missiles in Turkey and the Soviet Union promised to remove its missiles.



◄ **Source 10.21** Cuban Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, in Washington DC in April 1959

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 Why did Castro want Soviet missiles in Cuba?

2 Describe how the naval blockade/quarantine nearly resulted in full-scale war.

3 How was peace finally achieved?

Analysing historical sources as evidence

Thomas G. Paterson is an American historian who criticised the US government's actions. This is an extract from Paterson's writings, quoted in *The Australian* on the 30th anniversary of Kennedy's assassination, 22 November 1993.

> *Khrushchev's decision to deploy missiles in Cuba was reckless. Yet had there been no exile expedition at the Bay of Pigs, no destructive covert activities, no assassination plots, no military manoeuvres and plans, and no economic and diplomatic steps to harass, isolate and destroy the Castro government, there would not have been a Cuban missile crisis.*

1 What is the author's main argument about the Cuban Missile Crisis?

2 List three examples that the author uses to support his argument.

3 Why is this argument surprising, given the author and the date it was published?

4 Use your own knowledge from this chapter to explain how the negotiations between Kennedy and Khrushchev resolved the crisis.

5 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Paterson's point of view.

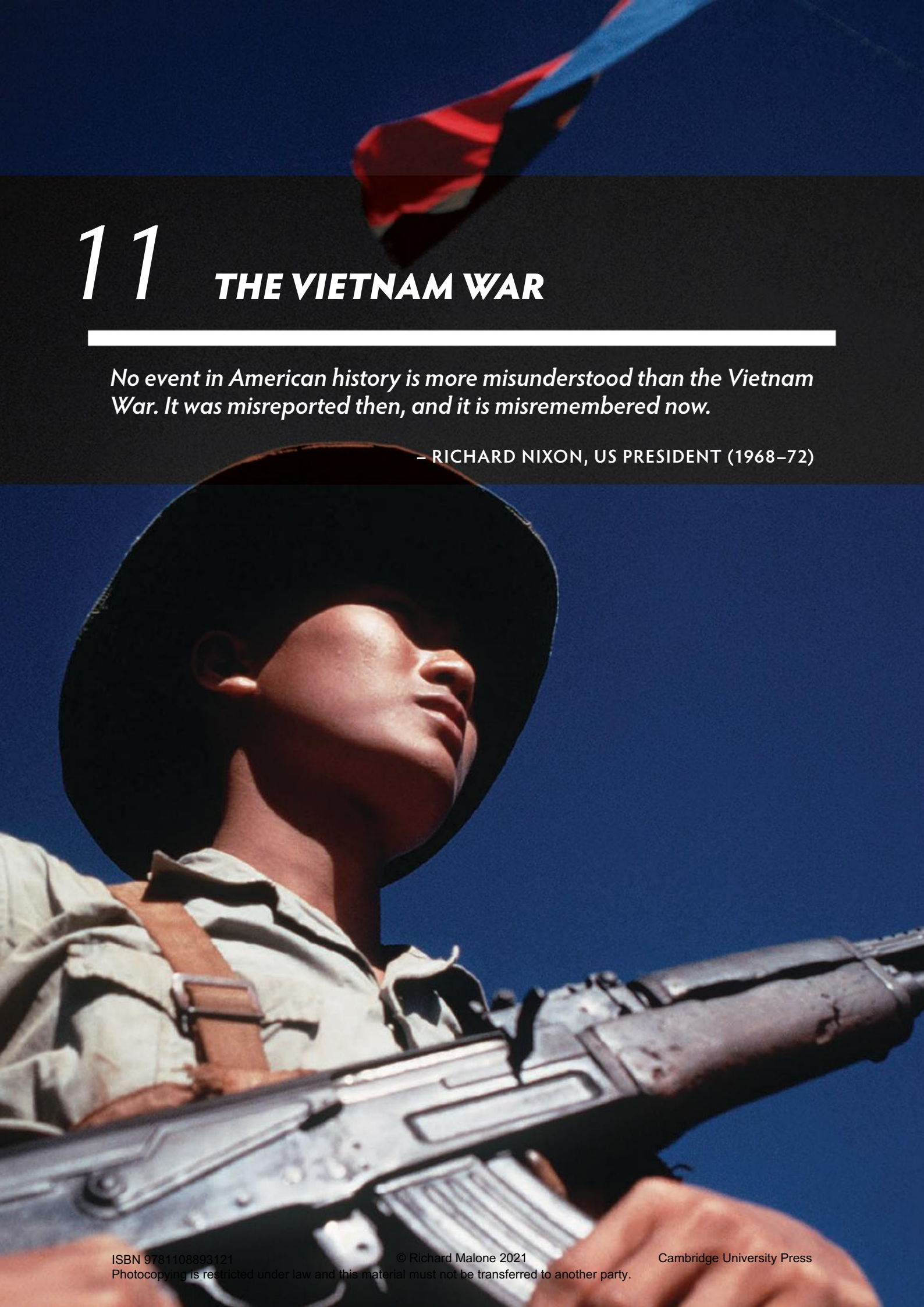
Constructing historical arguments

Neil Tweedle wrote in *The Age* on 21 February 2008: 'The United States instituted a naval blockade and prepared to invade. It was a game of nerve and Khrushchev blinked.'

What does Tweedle mean by this and to what extent do you think this is an accurate interpretation of the Cuban Missile Crisis? Provide detailed examples to support your answer.

- You will need to understand the dangerous political dynamics of the Cuban crisis in order to be able to explain why it was a 'game of nerve'. Be able to provide some examples as to why the situation was so fragile.
- This statement by Tweedle is a very pro-American statement, suggesting that the United States was stronger ('prepared to invade') and that Soviet Union President Khrushchev was weaker (because he 'blinked').
- In your opinion, what are the true elements of this quote? And what parts, or assumptions, are understated or biased?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



11 THE VIETNAM WAR

No event in American history is more misunderstood than the Vietnam War. It was misreported then, and it is misremembered now.

– RICHARD NIXON, US PRESIDENT (1968–72)

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

While the United States and the Soviet Union were never engaged in direct armed conflict, they opposed each other in a range of international conflicts, including in Berlin, Korea, Cuba and Vietnam.

Vietnam was one of the dangerous 'hot' battlegrounds of the Cold War, with the Soviet Union and China assisting the Vietnamese communists in their battle against America and democratic South Vietnam. The opposed ideological views of capitalism and communism were again used to justify conflict.

In reality, however, Vietnam's problems began before the Cold War, with the millenia-old imperial rule of China, a brief period of independence and then the colonial rule of France from 1858. This was supplanted by the Japanese invasion in World War II, only to start again when the French returned to take control once they themselves had (somewhat ironically) been liberated from the Nazis in 1944–45. The result was a divided nation embroiled in a decades-long civil war. The two ideologies of capitalism and communism would soon pick a side.

In comparison, for the majority of Vietnamese people it was much simpler; this was yet another war against a colonising force, with Americans replacing the French or the Chinese before them. This chapter analyses and discusses how postwar societies used ideologies to legitimise their world views and portray competing systems.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- What was the background to the Vietnam War?
- What were the key battles?
- Which weapons were used?
- What was the nature of the anti-war protests?
- What were the outcomes and consequences of the war?

Digital resources for this chapter

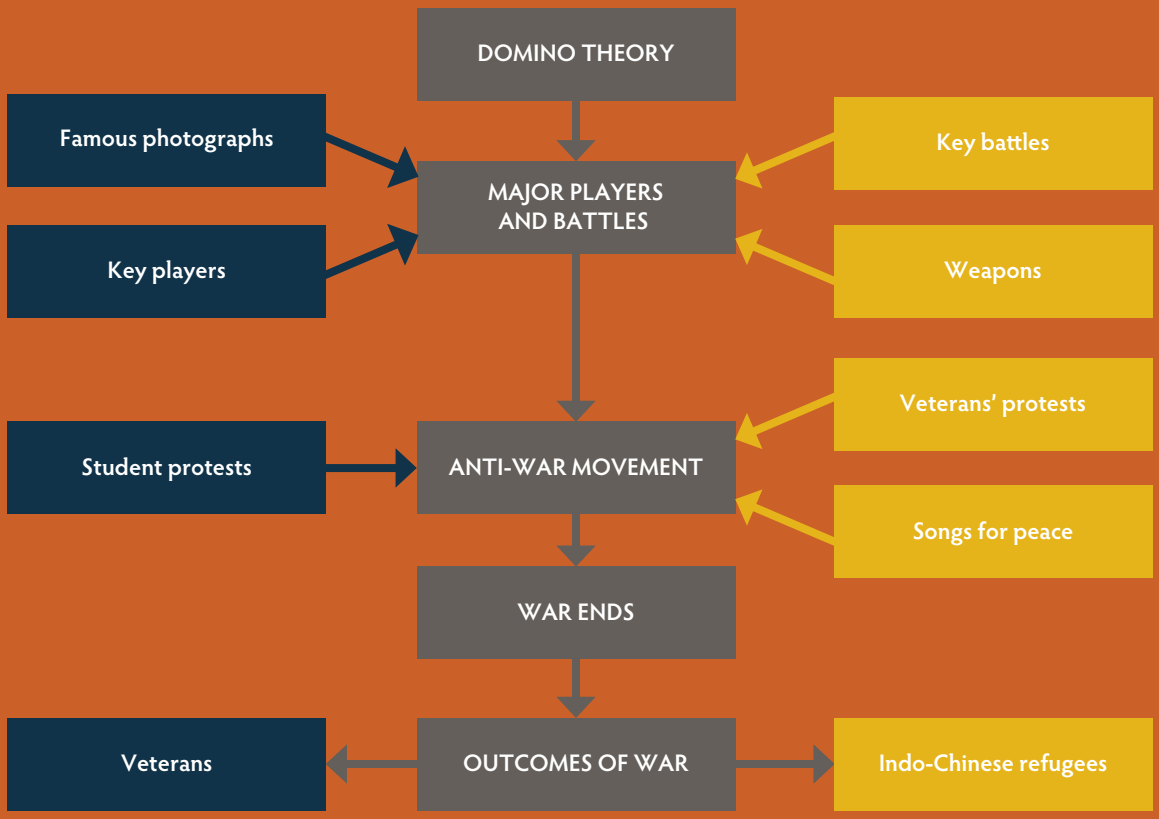
In the ***Interactive Textbook:***

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◄ **Source 11.0** Viet Cong soldier beneath a Viet Cong flag during the exchange of POWs by the Four Power Joint Military Commission, 1973

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

1954
France's colonial rule of Vietnam ceases after the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, where Ho Chi Minh's nationalist forces defeated France

1954
US President Eisenhower articulates the anti-communist concept of 'domino theory'

1964
Gulf of Tonkin incident triggers war; US direct military aggression begins in Vietnam in 1965

1968
United States has over half a million troops stationed in Vietnam

1970
8 MAY
Anti-war moratorium is held in Melbourne with 80 000 protestors

1973
27 JANUARY
Paris Peace Agreement is signed formally ending the war, with US troops evacuated by March

1975
APRIL
Operation Frequent Wind sees the evacuation of all remaining US civilians from Vietnam

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

11.1 Background to the Vietnam War

The war arose out of centuries of foreign occupation of Vietnam. France's colonial rule over Vietnam ceased in 1954 when the nationalist Vietnamese forces, led by Ho Chi Minh (who was educated in France but inspired by the Russian communist revolution), emerged victorious from the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. Despite this significant victory, Ho Chi Minh was unable to secure control over all of Vietnam. The 1954 Geneva Convention symbolised the end of French occupation and called for reunification elections in 1956. However, the South Vietnamese regime refused to comply with the Convention and put off elections indefinitely. With the support of the United States, Ngo Dinh Diem quickly rose to power in South Vietnam. He was very important to the US geopolitical strategy as the North had already aligned with communism (the **East**) and was essentially 'lost' to the **West**. The United States believed the South was their only hope of stopping further spread of communism.

West and East terms used to describe the ideological divide between the West (capitalism) and the East (communism); the terms are related to Western and Eastern Europe after World War II ended

◄ **Source 11.1** A 1954 map of French Indochina, showing the 17th parallel, the approximate demarcation line between North and South Vietnam after the French were defeated by Ho Chi Minh

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Vietcong Vietnamese soldiers who fought for the communist North Vietnam

domino theory United States' belief that if South Vietnam fell to communism, then all other surrounding countries would also eventually fall to communism, like a row of dominoes

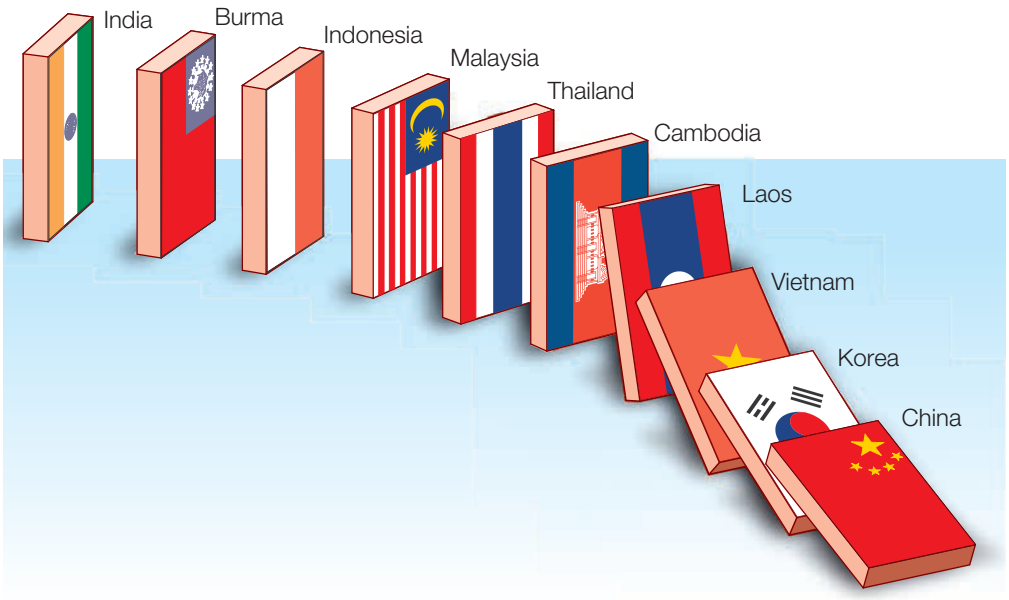
During the early 1960s, the predominantly communist **Vietcong** forces were consistently attacking Diem's regime in the south. These attacks peaked in 1964, when the South Vietnamese government was close to being overthrown by the Vietcong.

It represented a very complicated and new theatre of war. While World War II involved soldiers wearing uniforms and holding a front line, the Vietnam War was incredibly difficult for the United States to fight. Their conventional power in the battlefield was not as effective against the guerrilla tactics of the Vietcong as it had been against Germany, Japan or even North Korea. US and allied soldiers had trouble distinguishing between friend and foe: North Vietnamese, South Vietnamese or even Chinese combatants at any given point.

Domino theory

The United States was concerned by the situation in Vietnam. Leaders of the United States believed that once South Vietnam was overthrown by communist forces, its neighbouring countries – Thailand, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia and Cambodia – would also become communist. This concern was known as the '**domino theory**'. In 1954, US President Dwight Eisenhower compared the nations of South-East Asia to a row of dominoes: 'You knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly.' As a direct result of the belief in the domino theory, the United States decided to send troops to Vietnam to support the government of South Vietnam and to fight against the communists.

The rationale for entering the war was however discredited in 2005 when over 200 documents, transcripts and audio recordings were declassified. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara has now been accused by some historians of having misled Congress in the evidence he gave at the time. The incident that was cited as the trigger for war was known as the Gulf of Tonkin incident. Indeed, there was an incident on 2 August 1964 where the US naval destroyer USS *Maddox* was confronted by three North Vietnamese torpedo boats. However, two days later on 4 August 1964, the USS *Maddox* was again patrolling the area – this time in heavy storm conditions. Responding to numerous 'blips' on its radar, the destroyer unloaded its firepower at the targets for an extended period. The evidence that was declassified in 2005 indicates that McNamara and President Johnson



▲ **Source 11.2** US leaders strongly believed in the domino theory and feared that if South Vietnam came under the influence of communism, surrounding regions would follow. The United States relied extensively on this theory to justify its military intervention in Vietnam from 1965 to 1973.

Only three months after President Kennedy's assassination, President Lyndon Johnson (and then years later President Richard Nixon) spoke with the Defense Secretary Robert McNamara about what to do about the Vietnam situation. Nixon wanted to nuke the country! Access the Interactive Textbook to watch a video on this issue.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to watch a video of US President Dwight Eisenhower explaining his views on communism.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

knew that it was likely the blips were actually nothing but weather related, and that no Vietnamese vessels were in the area. They used the second incident as the trigger point though. Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, enabling President Lyndon Johnson to legally authorise open warfare against North Vietnam – communist aggression had to be stopped. By 1968, the United States had 550 000 troops fighting in the Vietnam War.

On 4 August 1964, President Lyndon Johnson announced an escalation of hostilities towards North Vietnam due to Gulf of Tonkin Incident. Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video on this issue.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The domino theory was used by nations, including Australia, to draft soldiers under constitutional provisions for national self-defence. As the self-defence notion was based on the domino theory, some viewpoints have considered them very dubious applications of the constitutional law.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Operation 34A was a top-secret US action of air surveillance, espionage and naval sabotage efforts against North Vietnam before the war officially broke out. It was seen in hindsight as antagonistic, possibly leading to exchanges like the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident.

Interestingly, some historians formed an evidence-based view years later that the domino theory was not simply a fearful concept but also had a legitimate basis. The Communist Party of Vietnam's official biography of Ho Chi Minh quotes that he 'felt the need for active propaganda and organisational work in order to step up the revolutionary movement in colonial countries, including Vietnam. He deemed it his task to spread communist doctrine in Asia in general and in Indochina particularly.' Similarly, in its internal party directive, the Chinese Communist Party declared that its task was 'to assist in every possible way the communist parties and people in all oppressed nations in Asia to win their liberation'.

Wartime Vietnamese propaganda

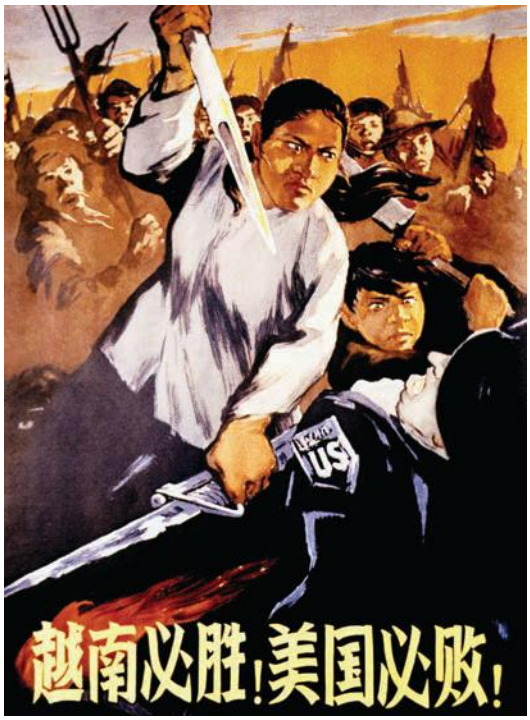
Examine the following images from the Vietnam war. Some are by the North Vietnamese, while others were created by the Chinese government in support of their communist allies. What do you notice about the messages sent to the people of Vietnam, the composition of at least some of their forces, and the tactics used by them?

▲ **Source 11.3** A North Vietnamese poster: 'People firing with a mortar against the enemy'

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 11.4** A North Vietnamese poster: 'The Yankee troops may well come but they won't be able to move forward'

▲ **Source 11.5** 'Support Vietnam People', a poster circa 1969 showing China's support of the communist cause in Vietnam. Vietnam is in front, with China 'backing' them.

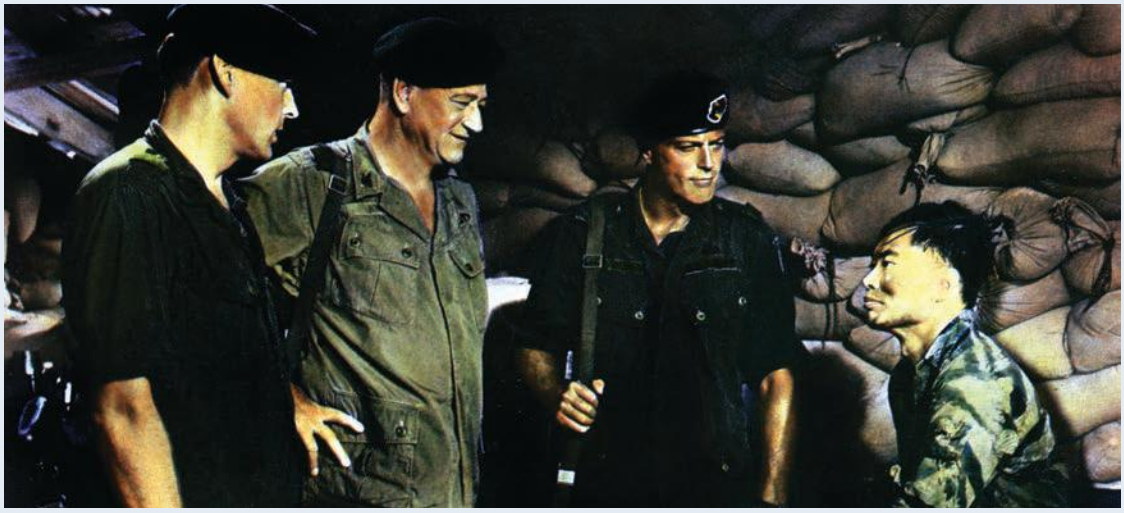


▲ **Source 11.6** Another Chinese propaganda poster: 'Rather death than slavery'

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.1

The Green Berets (starring John Wayne, 1968) was a famous pro-war and anti-communist film justifying America's involvement in Vietnam. The film was praised by film critics at the time, but is criticised now as government propaganda. The United States did not win the Vietnam War, but has produced numerous films about it with varying perspectives and levels of reality. While still depicting the conflict, the 1986 film *Platoon*, written by Oliver Stone, is an anti-war film that demonstrates the waste, injustice and suffering of the war.



▲ **Source 11.7** A scene from the 1968 film, *The Green Berets*. This film was produced during the height of the US involvement in the war.

Delving deeper

The late Roger Ebert was a respected film reviewer in the United States. He was born during World War II, lived through the Vietnam war and reviewed the two films as they were released (when he was aged 26 and 44, respectively). His reviews provide insight into his views on the films and perhaps his perspective on the political situation at the time. Read the reviews via the link to the left, then complete the following activity.

▶ **Source 11.8** The cover from the 1986 film, *Platoon*. The conflict lies more within the characters and their own morality than simply between 'good' versus 'evil'. *Platoon* was produced 11 years after the war was officially lost.

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

Access the Interactive Textbook to read Ebert's reviews.

The time that a source is produced can greatly impact its reliability. Film sources are no exception and tend to either replicate or lead public feeling at the time. Using Roger Ebert's viewpoints, fill the remaining answers in the table.

Roger Ebert's reviews of the films		
	The Green Berets	**Platoon**
Year of release	1968	
Pro/anti-war	Pro-war	
Historical context of release year		
Primary/secondary source		Secondary
Historical accuracy of the film		
Representation of the battlefield		
Social/political message		
Director's attitude to the war		
Recommended by reviewer?		

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.2

This is an extract from a speech given by US President Lyndon Johnson to university students in April 1965 in which he justifies why America has entered the war in Vietnam.

Vietnam is far away from this quiet campus. We have no territory there, nor do we seek any. The war is dirty and brutal and difficult. And some 400 young men, born into an America that is bursting with opportunity and promise, have ended their lives on Vietnam's steaming soil. The first reality is that North Vietnam has attacked the independent nation of South Vietnam. Its object is total conquest … Over this war and all Asia is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea …

Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Vietnam? We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American president has offered support to the people of South Vietnam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Vietnam defend its independence. And I intend to keep that promise …

We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war.

However, many opposed US involvement, as illustrated by Democrat Senator Wayne Morse, who had the following to say on the Senate's impending vote to adopt the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution on 7 August 1964.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

I believe this resolution to be a historic mistake. I believe that within the next century, future generations will look with dismay and great disappointment upon a Congress which is now about to make such a historic mistake.

1 Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model (see Chapter 1, p. 12), first in reference to President Johnson's justification for the United States' involvement in the war, and then for Senator Morse's stern warning.

11.2 Key players and places

Pro-communist forces

These were the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) or North Vietnamese Army (NVA), and the National Liberation Front for South Vietnam (NLF) or Vietcong (VC). They were supported by China and the Soviet Union:

- From 1950 to 1978, China gave North Vietnam over US$15 billion in economic aid and sent over 300 000 military personnel.
- Soviet Russia gave North Vietnam US$1 billion each year during the height of the war for military and economic aid.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara outline the nature and justification for stepping up US bombing raids on the North in 1966, citing the need to protect US allies.

Pro-American forces

These were the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), often called the South Vietnamese army, supported by the following:

- the armed forces of the United States, Republic of Korea, Philippines, Thailand and the Australian, New Zealand defence forces, and a variety of irregular troops.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.3

Watch the videos via the link to the right, then complete the following questions.

1 Based on the video sources, how were the lines of civilians and combatants so difficult for non-Vietnamese soldiers to see?

2 Describe the different approaches to conflict of each side as seen in the video sources.

Access the Interactive Textbook to see some documentary insights into some of the experiences of regular US forces during the Vietnam War, and the perspective of a North Vietnamese villager.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

11.3 Major battles of the Vietnam War

▲ **Source 11.9** Major battles of the Vietnam War, including Operation Frequent Wind, the largest helicopter evacuation in history. The battles on this map are described in detail below.

Battle of Ap Bac, January 1963

The Battle of Ap Bac was the first battle in the war. In this battle, 350 North Vietnamese Regulars (NVN) attacked 1500 South Vietnamese Regulars (ARVN). The South was assisted by US military advisers who implemented combat and transport helicopters, paratroopers and mechanised vehicles. Around 186 casualties for the South compared with 57 for the North meant that it was a victory for the North and motivated the United States to consider the seriousness of the communist threat and the need for greater direct involvement.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▼ **Source 11.10** US troops operating a heavy machine gun

Battle of Dak To, November 1967

This three-week battle began by chance when a US division on a routine patrol discovered defensive positions of the People's Army of North Vietnam (PAVN) on 3 November 1967 around the city of Dak To in the Central Highlands. Patrols continued for a week until the Bravo Company discovered and engaged the North Vietnamese in battle on Hill 823. The North lost 100 men and the Americans only nine. More confrontations continued over the next two weeks, resulting in high casualties on both sides: 361 Americans died and over 1400 were wounded, and the supporting South Vietnamese army suffered 73 killed and hundreds wounded; the North Vietnamese army lost 1600 men with another 1500 wounded.

Battle of Khe Sanh, January to July 1968

The Battle of Khe Sanh was one of the longest and bloodiest battles of the war. It began on 21 January 1968, when PAVN forces initiated a massive artillery bombardment on the US Marine garrison at Khe Sanh, near the border of Laos. An intense siege began, where US Marines and their South Vietnamese allies fought off attacks from PAVN. On 9 July 1968, after 77 days of fighting, US forces abandoned the Khe Sanh combat base. The casualties for both sides were significant – 1409 Americans were killed and several thousand wounded compared with the North Vietnamese army's estimated 10 000 to 15 000 killed with thousands more wounded. Like many battles in the Vietnam War, the overall result was inconclusive, but both sides claimed victory.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 11.11** US soldiers watch results of US air support from inside the allied base at Khe Sanh.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Australian band Cold Chisel wrote a hit song called 'Khe Sanh' (1978), which described the difficulties soldiers faced when resuming suburban life in Australia.

▼ **Source 11.12** US soldiers at the end of the Battle of Khe Sanh. Many would return to a hostile nation of protesters, venting their anger at the war, but sadly directing it at conscripted soldiers.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

My Lai Massacre, March 1968

A unique part of the war was that for the United States and its allies, the enemy was hard to identify. The Vietcong did not wear uniforms, and after three years fighting in Vietnam, US troops knew that anyone could be a Vietcong fighter or sympathiser. Anti-war English novelist Graham Greene wrote in his book *The Quiet American* that Vietnam was:

> *…a war of jungle and mountain and marsh, paddy fields where you wade shoulder-high and the enemy simply disappear, bury their arms, put on peasant dress.*

Innocent civilians were often accidentally killed during battles, but they were deliberately targeted in the horrific massacre at My Lai. Three platoons of US troops were dropped by helicopters to search and destroy Vietcong enemies who had been active around the village of My Lai. Being told that it was a Vietcong village, the platoons moved slowly through My Lai, brutally killing women, children and the elderly. An official US army investigation decided that 347 villagers had been killed, compared with the actual memorial at My Lai that lists 504 names with ages ranging from one to 82. The US public was horrified, and numerous studies began into what had happened.

▲**Source 11.13** Victims of the My Lai Massacre

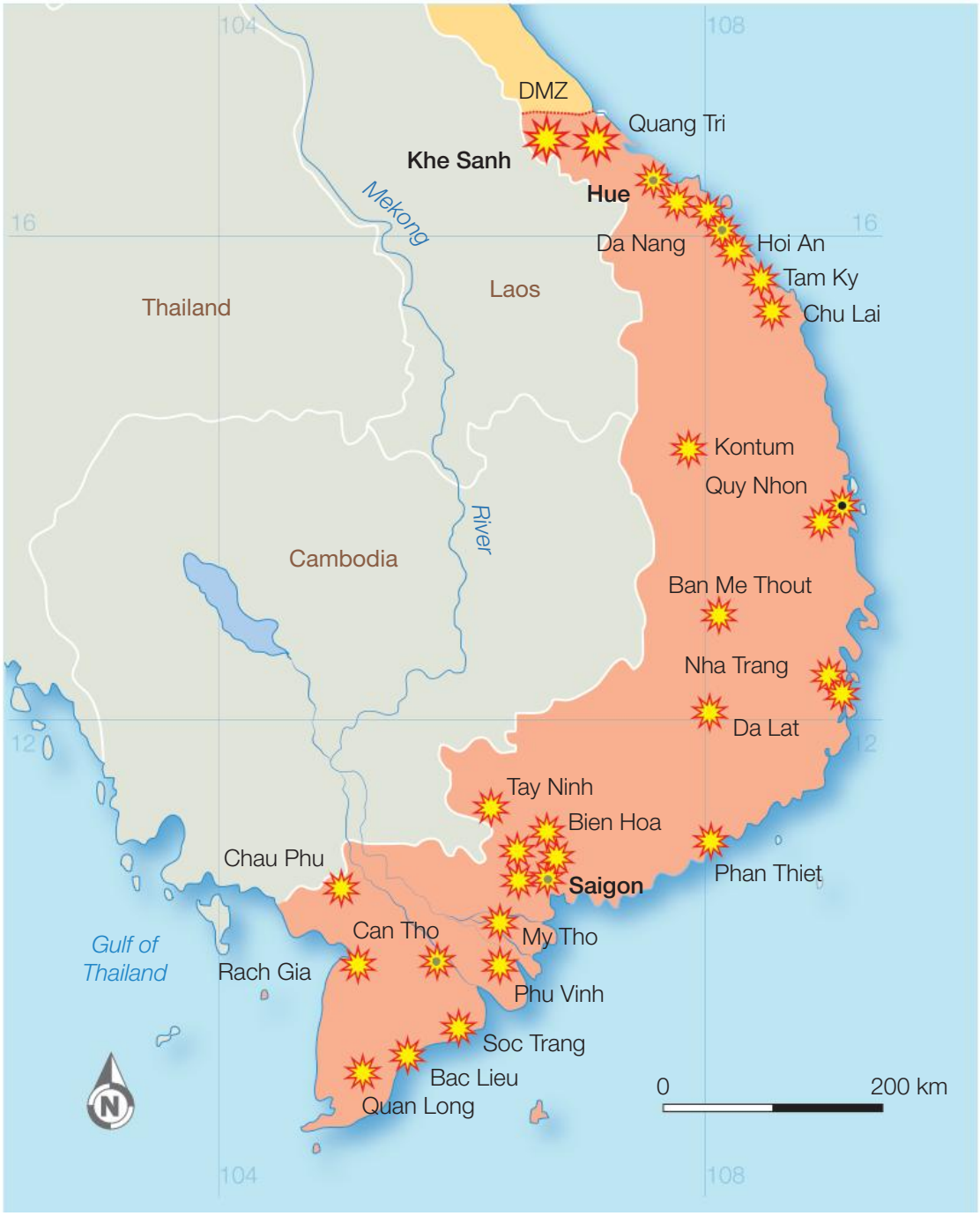
AMAZING BUT TRUE …

The My Lai Massacre was included in numerous US psychology studies in the years afterwards as a nation tried to grapple with the terrible shame attached to the event. Ultimately, the concept of 'group think' was blamed for the My Lai Massacre. This focused on the belief that the desire to fit in and not let the team down can mean that an entire group falls into unforgiveable behaviour. Not one soldier in the platoons questioned what was going on until after it was over.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The Tet Offensive, January to June 1968

With attention and resources focused on defending Khe Sanh, a new strategic campaign began within weeks. North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces launched the Tet Offensive, which was a series of coordinated surprise attacks on cities and towns throughout South Vietnam. In a major political and propaganda success for the North, more than 100 towns and cities in South Vietnam were attacked by over 500 000 North Vietnamese army troops and Vietcong. These battles were so devastating, with over 45 000 US and allied troops killed, that they became the direct turning point of public opinion against the continuation of the war on the US home front.



▲ **Source 11.14** Places targeted by the North during the Tet Offensive

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

RESEARCH QUESTION 11.1

Watch the film *Good Morning, Vietnam* starring comedic actor Robin Williams as a popular DJ in the midst of the war. Then research the Vietnamese radio personality, Trinh Thi Ngo, known as 'Hanoi Hannah', who broadcasted in English against US forces. Compare the two sources.

▶ **Source 11.15** Robin Williams in *Good Morning, Vietnam*

11.4 Weapons used in the war

The US and South Vietnamese forces relied heavily on their superior air power, including B-52 bombers and other aircraft that dropped thousands of pounds of explosives over North Vietnam and communist targets in South Vietnam. While US troops and their allies used mainly US-manufactured weapons, communist forces used weapons manufactured in the Soviet Union and China.

'Huey' helicopters

Over 7000 helicopters were used because they could fly at low altitudes and speeds and land easily in small spaces. US forces used the Huey to transport troops, supplies and equipment, aid ground troops with additional firepower and evacuate killed or wounded soldiers.

▼ **Source 11.16** A Bell UH-1 Huey squadron firing on Vietcong, 1965

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 11.17** US troops running towards a chopper, 1970

M-16 and AK-47 assault rifles

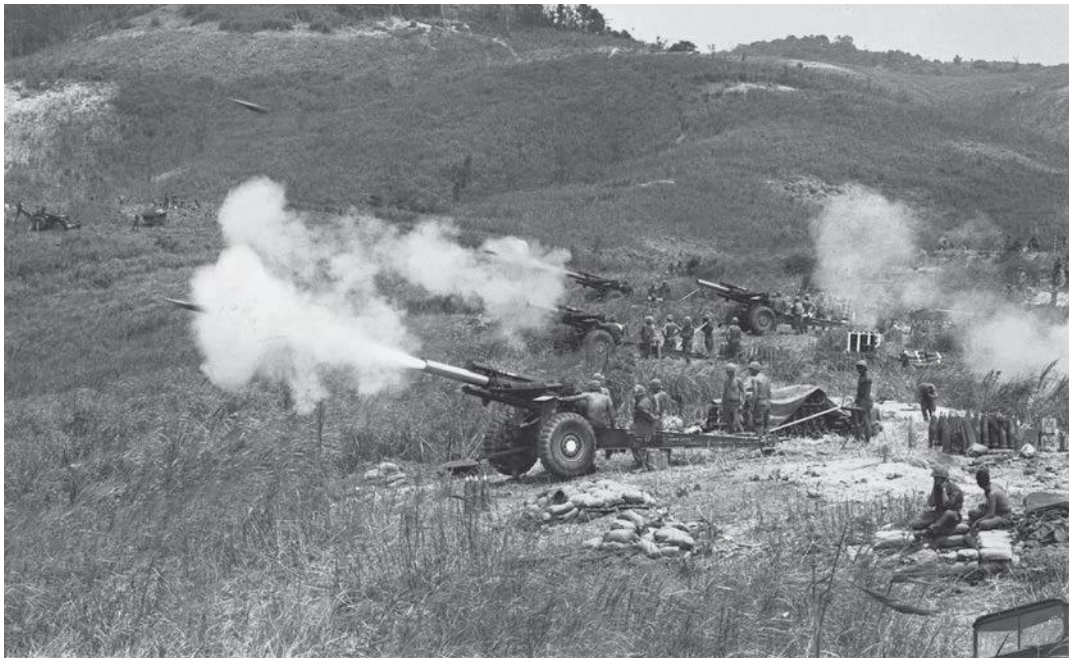
The M-16 rifle was redesigned in 1966 to handle the wet and muddy conditions in Vietnam and became the standard weapon for US soldiers. It was renowned for its low 'kick' and easy use. In comparison, communist troops used the Soviet supplied rifle, the AK-47, which was less accurate but was an incredibly tough piece of equipment.

▼ **Source 11.18** A US serviceman firing his M-16 rifle, 1967

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Heavy artillery

A large range of heavy artillery was used during the Vietnam War. Americans were armed with weapons such as self-propelled howitzers, which were the most accurate weapons in the US army's possession. These artillery units were radioed coordinates from the battlefield, often requiring sudden responses and very accurate hit zones to avoid hitting their own troops.



▲ **Source 11.19** A US artillery crew responding to a radio call in 1968

Bombers

Bombs were used by all parties involved in the war including China, and South and North Vietnam. Bombs were a prominent part of the American air campaign. In a time of changing technologies and warfare, the Vietnam War confirmed that bombers were effective weapons. Bombers flew many missions during the Vietnam War to collect intelligence and provide protection. Towards the end of the war, heavy bombers pounded the North's capital, Hanoi. It was effectively reduced to rubble in most parts.

◄ **Source 11.20** A US Strategic Air Command B-52 bomber dropping 750-pound bombs, 1966

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see US bombers drop a series of bombs on North Vietnamese jungle targets.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 11.21** Skyraider aircraft aboard the USS *Bonhomme Richard* aircraft carrier before a bombing mission, 1965

Vietcong booby traps

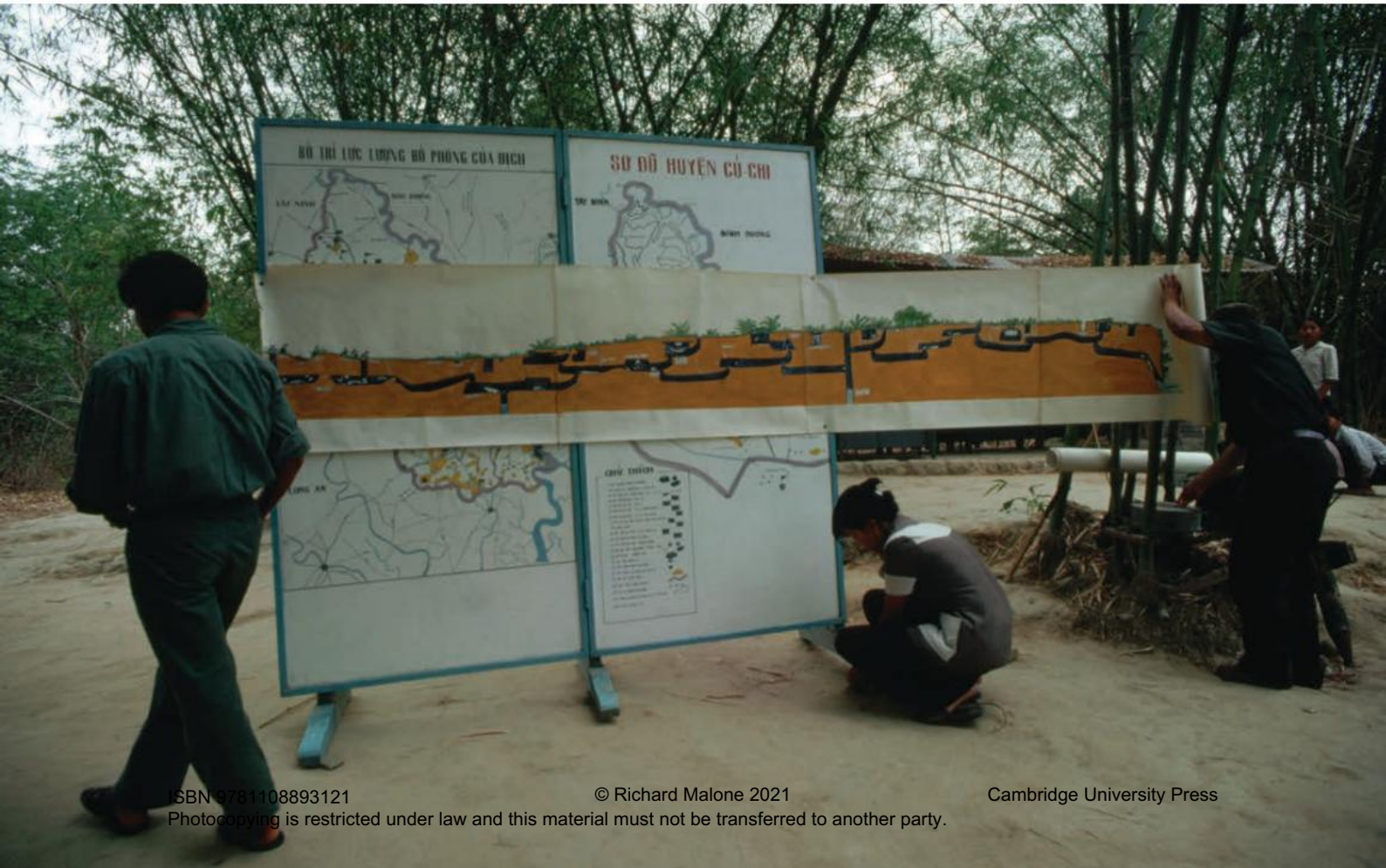
The North Vietnamese soldiers created inventive weapons such as sharpened bamboo sticks, called punji sticks, and crossbows triggered by tripwires. Punji sticks were often hidden in thick undergrowth or, worse still, at the bottom of a pit with the unsuspecting soldier being impaled when he fell in.

▼ **Source 11.22** A soldier walks through a field staked with punji sticks

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 11.23** A painting of Viet Cong pit traps at Cu Chi tunnels, Vietnam. The images show some of the ways enemies could be incapacitated, or worse.

▼ **Source 11.24** The tunnel networks of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong were extremely effective in avoiding the heavy bombing and herbicide sprays of the United States and their allies, while allowing storage and transportation of troops and hardware.



ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 11.25** While a critical means of achieving victory in the Vietnam War, the now famous Cu Chi tunnels are a modern tourist attraction. Some have been enlarged and lit up to accommodate Western tourism. If you look carefully here, you will see that the top third of this tunnel is a newer piece of work.

Landmines

Both sides used landmines to terrible effect. In fact, 70 per cent of US marine casualties were from mines and booby traps. The Vietnamese people had to deal with unexploded mines for decades after the war.

▲ **Source 11.26** Remnants from a landmine

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Agent Orange

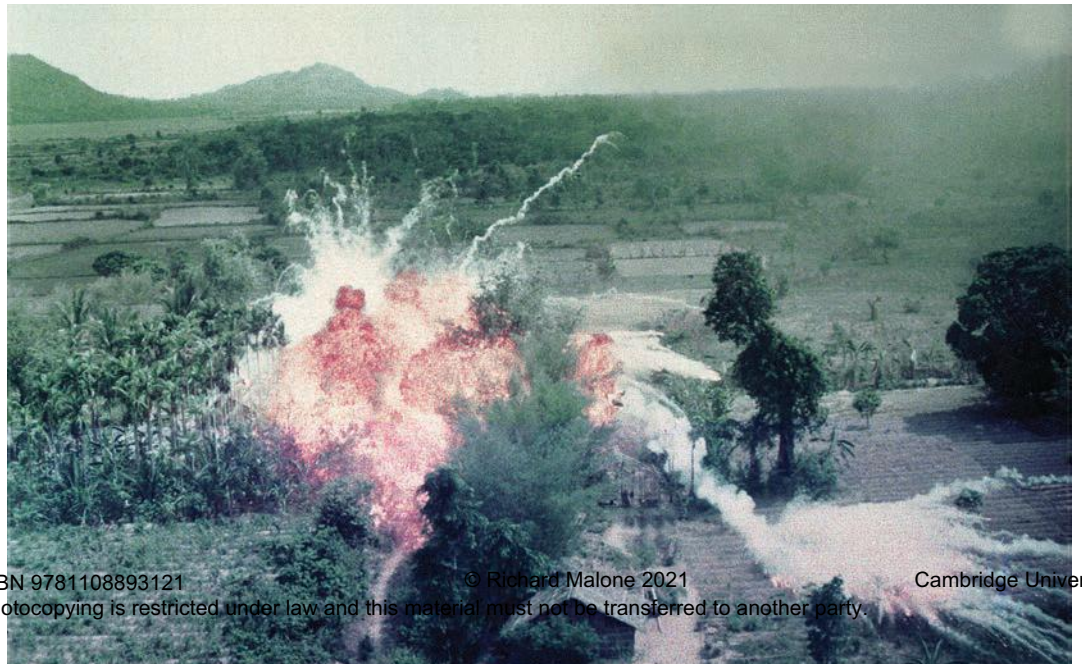
This highly toxic 'defoliant' chemical was widely used by the United States to burn the leaves and branches of forests to remove the hiding places of enemy soldiers. Terrible long-term agricultural poisoning and birth defects in the Vietnamese population have been attributed to TCDD, the most potent dioxin, which is one of the contaminants in Agent Orange.

▼ **Source 11.27** Agent Orange devastated large areas of forest in Vietnam.

Napalm

Napalm is a mixture of a chemical thickener and a flammable liquid such as gasoline, resulting in a sticky incendiary gel. It sticks to bodies and buildings and was used by US forces with devastating results.

▼ **Source 11.28** Napalm bombs exploding in a Vietcong village south of Saigon



ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.4

▲ **Source 11.29** South Vietnamese police chief General Nguyen Ngoc Loan executes a Vietcong prisoner on a street in Saigon on 1 February 1968 during the early stages of the Tet Offensive. This famous photo was taken by Eddie Adams and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1969.

▲ **Source 11.30** Nine-year-old Kim Phuc, known as 'the girl in the picture', escaping her bombed and burning village with severe napalm burns to her back and arms. This Pulitzer Prize–winning photograph was taken by Nick Ut and was declared the world photo of the year in 1972.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1 Look at the famous photos in Sources 11.29 and 11.30. What is your initial impression of each of these photos?
2 What do you consider the reaction of the US public would have been to these two photographs?
3 Use the information in the captions to research the full stories of General Loan and Kim Phuc. The true story behind General Loan's action might surprise you! Make sure you read about Kim's reaction to meeting John Plummer in 1996; he coordinated the napalm bomb attack on Kim's village.
4 What is your understanding of each photo now?
5 Also research other famous photos: Buddhist monk Quang Duc setting himself on fire in Saigon in 1963, or the student placing a flower in a soldier's gun barrel in an anti-war rally in Washington in 1968.
6 Why are photographs and other visual images such a powerful source of communication? What are the problems with using photographs as a source?

11.5 The anti-war movement

War guarantees a conflict between patriotism and anti-war sentiment. But the Vietnam War split America as no previous international engagement ever had. Predictably, at first there was widespread support for the war from media, former servicemen and the public. However, as the war dragged on and television images brought home the true horror of the conflict, public opinion turned against it. Journalists embedded in the battlefield, who became household names, opened the US public's eyes to the reality of the war. It became increasingly difficult for politicians to seize the narrative when people were able to see for themselves and form their own opinions. Early opposition had been limited to groups such as pacifists and mothers' groups. Violent anti-war protests in 1968 had achieved little. However, the cumulative influence and divisive nature of the protests resulted in the US government withdrawing its troops in 1973. The war ended two years later. Communist Colonel Bui Tin was one of the North Vietnamese delegates who accepted the surrender of South Vietnam. He wrote in his memoirs that 'the anti-war movement in the United States, which led to the collapse of political will in Washington, was essential to our strategy'.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

▲ **Source 11.31** Beloved US news broadcaster and CBS anchor Walter Cronkite (left) reporting from a CBS news studio (as he was usually seen to Americans), (right) reporting live from Vietnam at the aftermath of the Tet offensive for the television special 'Report from Vietnam by Walter Cronkite', 1968

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Vietnam moratorium a term to describe the anti-war protests, as they demanded a moratorium, or halt, to the existing state of action in Vietnam

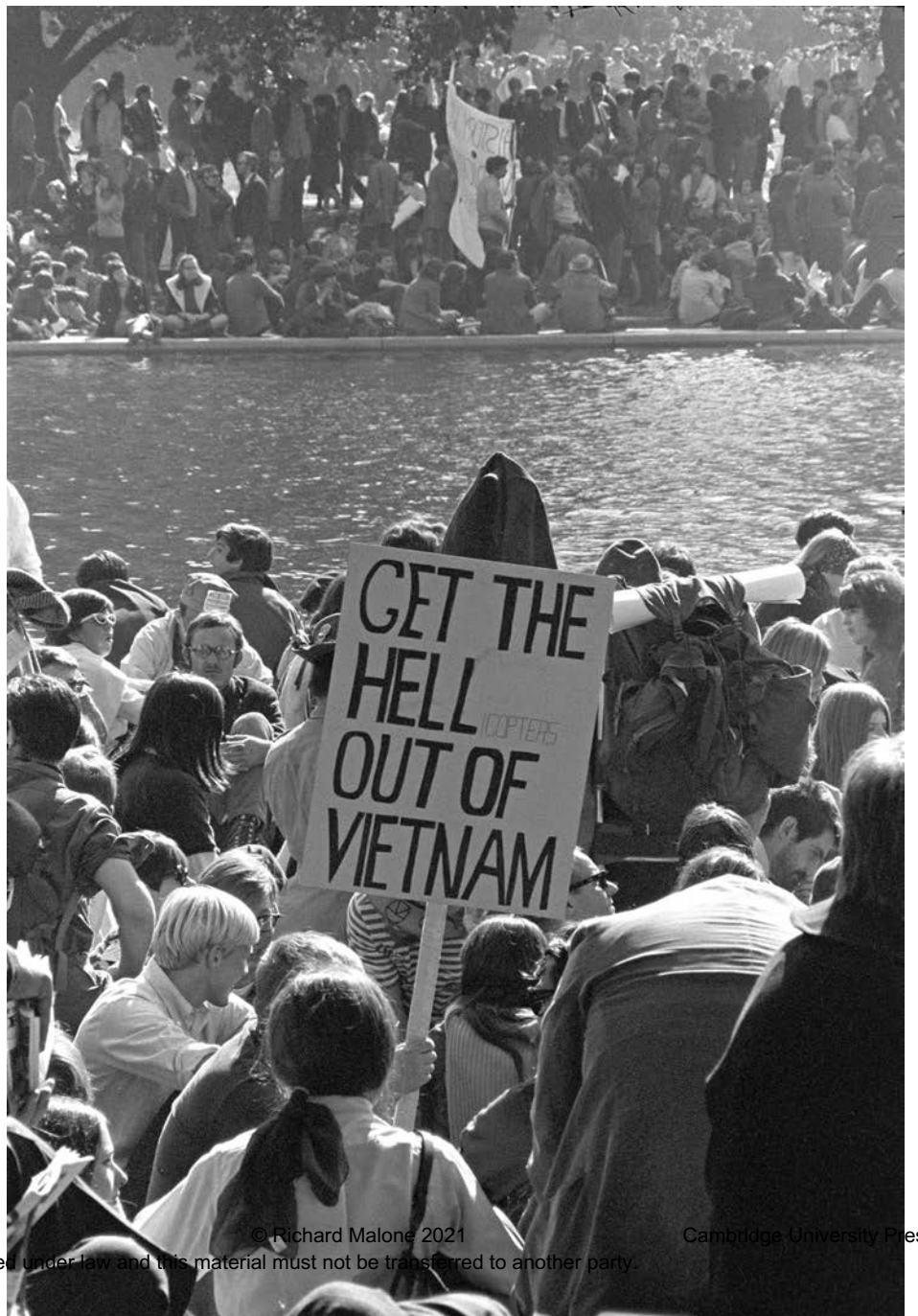
AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Vietnam was known as the first televised war. US audiences received nightly broadcasts of never before seen footage of battle scenes and their aftermath. Such footage helped turn people off war, as the conflict became protracted and anti-war sentiment grew. Cronkite broke from the standard of objective journalism when he concluded the broadcast with his personal observation that the war would end in a stalemate. As Cronkite was so respected by the US public, his influence was immediately felt. One month after Cronkite's report, US President Lyndon B. Johnson announced he would not seek re-election.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Protest demonstrations were also popular in Australia. Melbourne was brought to a standstill on 8 May 1970 when over 80 000 people marched in the city. Within a year of this **Vietnam moratorium** nearly all Australian troops had been brought home.

▶ **Source 11.32** War protestors march on the Pentagon in Washington, DC, 21 October 1967



ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 11.33** Martin Luther King's wife, Coretta Scott King, leading a night protest at the White House, 15 October 1969

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see videos of the anti-war protest movement. The movement erupted around the world, but as you can see in these video sources, it took on many forms.

FOCUS QUESTION 11.1

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'What's going on in these protest images?'** (see Sources 11.32 and 11.33). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the two images.

Student protests

Civil rights protests and anti-nuclear war protests in schools and universities naturally extended into anti-war campaigns. As the number of troops being sent to Vietnam grew, so did the protests. American youth had been brought up on a diet of peace and love, rejecting their parents' competitive materialism. Mass demonstrations were common. Copied from the civil rights protests (discussed in Chapter 13), universities also witnessed 'teacher-ins' where staff and students would cancel lessons to debate the war. 'Sit-ins' on railway lines that carried troops to war, or in recruitment offices, were also organised to disrupt the machine of war and shift the focus on to protests.

Resistance to conscription

Resistance to conscription was another crucial method of protest initiated by the **Draft Resistance Movement**. Marches were held all across the United States, and draft cards were burned.

Draft Resistance Movement formed in the 1960s to protest against the conscription 'draft'

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

Conscripted men were also given guidelines as to how to avoid going to war – do not answer the draft letter, fail their interview, get married, enrol in college or leave the country. Around 250 000 people avoided going to war, but 25 000 were charged for breaking draft laws.

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

Despite the huge numbers of anti-war protesters, there were also a small number of dedicated pro-war activists. They held the belief that the fight against communism was a noble one and that the United States had a responsibility to involve itself.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.5

Read this primary source and then answer the following questions.

My name is John Lacey. I left America in 1967 just after leaving college. I did this to avoid being drafted. I went to Canada and then to Sweden where I lived until there was an amnesty for draft-dodgers, which let me return to the USA.

Was I a coward? Did I let my country down? In one way I was a coward for I left rather than go to jail for my refusal to join the army. But I wasn't afraid to fight. I refused to serve in Vietnam because we had no right to be there. We only brought untold suffering and destruction to that country. We acted like the bully of the world and used all our vast military might against a small nation of peasants.

Some people might say that I was not in a position to judge what was happening in Vietnam. However, there were many war veterans who hated the war just as much as I did. They saw the injustices at first hand and they condemned the war too.

I'm bitter about our government's actions. They lied to justify their actions and while they spent millions in bombing North Vietnam the problems in the ghettoes of our big cities grew worse and worse. The Vietnam War has left a deep scar on my country.

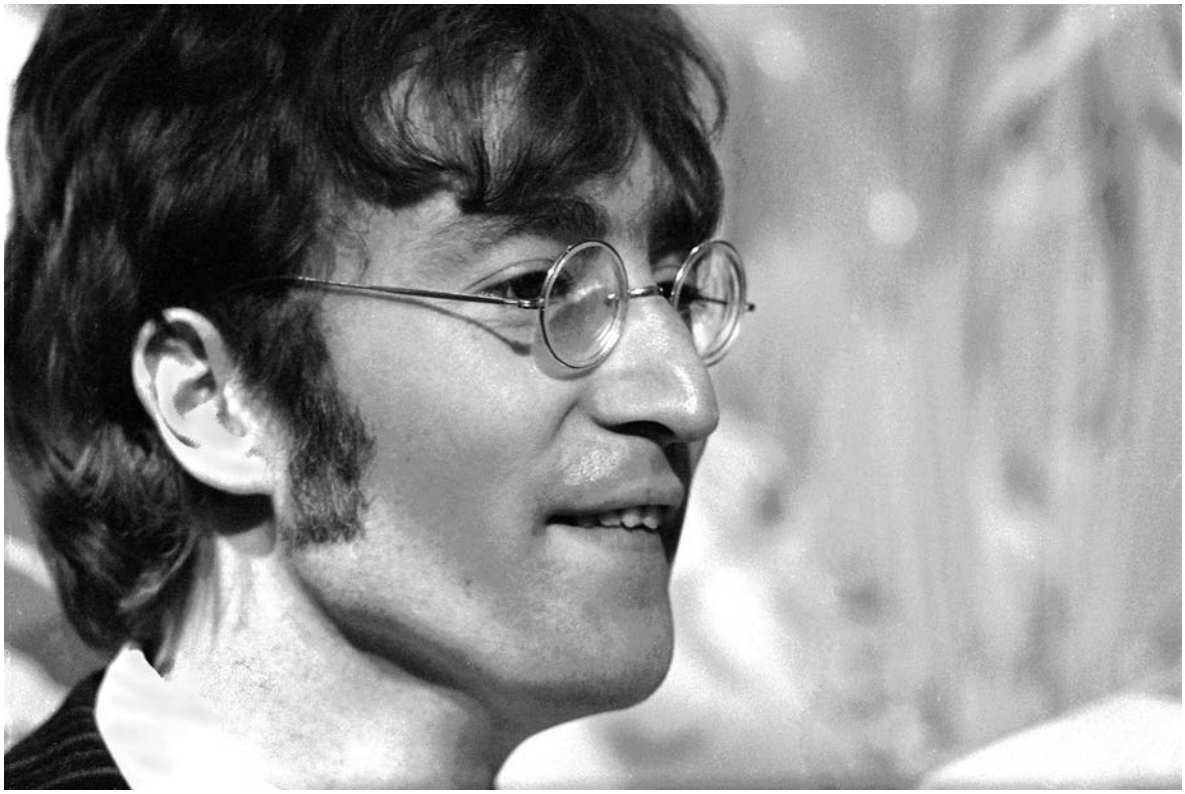
J. Cannon et al., *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Co-operation?*, p. 26

1 Did Lacey believe he was a coward? Explain his thinking.
2 What were his main concerns about the amount of money the government spent on the war?
3 Why did he return to the United States?

Consequences of the war on people: Songs for peace

Songs became the anthem of peace. They captured the popular imagination, giving a common voice to the desire for peace and unifying communities. Former Beatle John Lennon's song 'Imagine' (with lyrics such as 'Imagine all the people, living life in peace') and his monumental anthem 'Give peace a chance' (with the lyric 'All we are saying, is give peace a chance') were typical of the era.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲ **Source 11.34** John Lennon

American pop artist Billy Joel arguably wrote the epitaph of the Vietnam War with his song 'Goodnight Saigon' (1983). The powerful song is about the struggles and bonding of US marines. It begins with the sounds of crickets in the early evening, followed by the sound of helicopters. The song ends with these sounds in reverse. The experience of fighting and fearing in the war came alive for those at the home front.

'I was only 19' was the most popular song from the Australian group Redgum. The song by John Schumann focuses on a first-hand experience of war combat and his return home psychologically scarred.

The lyrics to 'I was only 19' can be read on John Schumann's website. Search for these and compare the lyrics with Billy Joel's 'Goodnight Saigon'. Consider how different the war experience of an Australian soldier would have been from that of an American soldier.

Veterans' protests

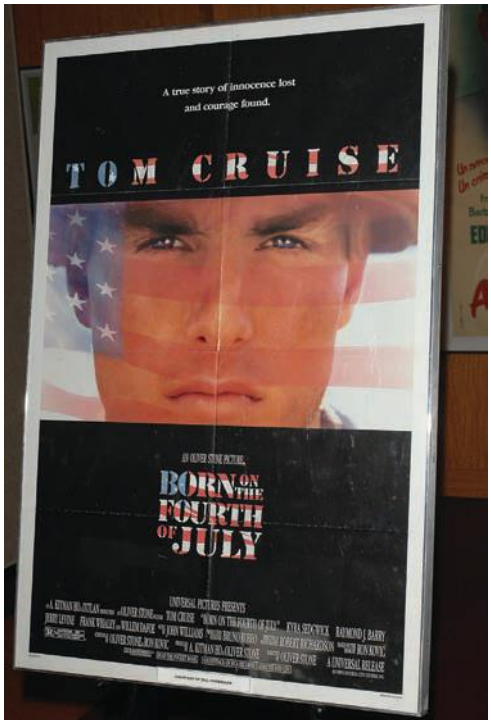
A group called **Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW)** was created in 1967. They participated in protest marches and demonstrations. Their website states that their aim was to 'expose the ugly truth about US involvement in Southeast Asia and our first-hand experiences helped many other Americans to see the unjust nature of that war'. Their voice became particularly powerful given the increasing number of disabled and crippled soldiers returning home.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) a group of Vietnam Veterans giving a voice to disabled and crippled soldiers and working towards exposing the truth about the United States in South-East Asia

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War began with six veterans marching in a peaceful demonstration in 1967, but soon grew rapidly to over 30 000 members.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



◄ **Source 11.35** Film poster for *Born on the Fourth of July*

RESEARCH QUESTION 11.2

Watch the film *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), directed by Oliver Stone. It focuses on the story of Ron Kovic. Paralysed in the war and feeling betrayed, he becomes an anti-war and pro-human rights political activist. Write a review of the film for those who have not seen it and make reference to the differing perspectives of the people in the film.

11.6 The war ends

Peace talks

Peace talks began between the North Vietnamese government and the United States, resulting in a ceasefire finally being signed on 27 January 1973 in the Paris Peace Agreement. American combat troops were subsequently withdrawn from Vietnam by President Richard Nixon in March 1973. The active war had ended for American soldiers.

FOCUS QUESTION 11.2

What was the role of each US president in the war? Create a table with column headings: Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. List key battles or decisions under each president.

But after rebuilding its strength and bases in 1974, the North Vietnamese army launched a massive attack on the South from January to April 1975 with stunning success, defeating 12 provinces, gaining control over eight million civilians and capturing the major cities of Phuoc Long and Hue. The South Vietnamese army and government were collapsing.

▲ **Source 11.36** Evacuation from Xuan Loc: two Chinook helicopters hover above a road as they assist in evacuating supplies and soldiers of the South Vietnamese (ARVN) 18th Division and their families from Xuan Loc in April, 1975.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Operation Frequent Wind, April 1975

In response to the North's invasion of the South, the Americans enacted their final mission of the Vietnam War, beginning an enormous airlift called 'Operation Frequent Wind'. Using US marine and air force helicopters, over an 18-hour period, more than 1000 American civilians and 7000 South Vietnamese refugees were flown out of Saigon on 30 April 1975. By dawn, the final helicopter left with the American Ambassador from the roof of the US embassy as North Vietnam tanks drove into a conquered Saigon. With this final act, the Vietnam War had ended. The North had won and a communist government began ruling over a unified Vietnam. The first 'unification' act of the Northern army was to conduct mass arrests and persecution of South Vietnamese people. Over one million people were placed in concentration camps.

▲ **Source 11.37** The last helicopter rides were frantically organised in the days leading up to the fall of Saigon. This photograph shows the absolute last ride about to take off. Not everyone in the queue made it on.

◀ **Source 11.38** A Russian-built North Vietnam tank smashes through the gates of the Presidential Palace in Saigon. The gates were also symbolic as their architecture reflected the remnants of French colonial rule.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see footage from the last days of US involvement in Vietnam, and the last evacuation of Saigon as Communist forces approach.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◄ **Source 11.39** Most of the people in this image never made it out and were captured by the North Vietnam army the day after Operation Frequent Wind.

▲ **Source 11.40** *(Left)* A helicopter on the deck of the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier USS *Midway* is pushed overboard to make room for a dramatic landing of a small Cessna plane during operation 'Frequent Wind', the evacuation of South Vietnam on 30 April 1975. *(Right)* The plane was piloted by South Vietnamese Air Force Major Buang, who carried his wife and five children to safety. Three crewmen are moving toward the plane to assist, two of the deck crews are seen clapping their hands in joy.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

At 4.03 a.m. on 30 April 1975, two US marines were the last two Americans killed in the Vietnam War when they died in a rocket attack at the airport.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The musical Miss Saigon is based in Saigon at the end of the war. The doomed romance between an American soldier and a Vietnamese bargirl ends in 1975 when the soldier leaves her behind in the chaos and flies away in a helicopter from the roof of the American Embassy. Years later, through a program to help the 'Bui-Doi' (children with American soldier fathers and Vietnamese mothers), the American soldier finds out that he fathered a child with the bar girl and returns to Vietnam.

▲**Source 11.41** Film poster for *Miss Saigon*. In a war where few explanations could capture the enormity of the suffering and loss, the US public turned to smaller, human stories to make sense of it.

11.7 Consequences of the war on nations: No one wins

In war, whichever side may call itself the victor, there are no winners, but all are losers.

Neville Chamberlain, 3 July 1938

Figures of death, 1965–74

Figures of casualties vary greatly depending on the time period and perspective. These are the death statistics estimated by US political scientist Gunther Lewy in 1978:

- Allied military deaths – 282 000 (including over 200 000 South Vietnamese and 58 000 Americans)
- Communist military deaths – 444 000
- Civilian deaths (North and South) – 587 000
- Total – 1 313 000

Life in Vietnam after the war

While the Vietnamese people could, for the first time in hundreds of years, proclaim independence and unification, the atrocities of the war took generations to overcome. North Vietnam towns and cities had been reduced to piles of rubble between 1965 and 1968 under President Johnson's 'Operation Rolling Thunder'. This

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

operation sought to cripple supply systems in the North and saw almost 700 000 tonnes of bombs dropped. Agent Orange poisoned the landscape and caused birth defects, and mines and anti-personnel munitions dropped in the rice fields meant that poverty-stricken farmers were being killed or maimed years after the war was officially over. To make matters worse, old scores were settled and supporters of the South were rounded up and either murdered or put in concentration camps. It was truly a nation torn apart by its own civil war and the interference of foreign nations. The superpowers of both East and West had hugely amplified the conflict for their own ideological and geopolitical purposes. Only in recent years has Vietnam started to emerge socially and economically as it has gradually rebuilt its industrial infrastructure and agricultural systems.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.6

Watch the award-winning documentary *The Fog of War: Eleven lessons from the life of Robert S. McNamara* (2003). McNamara was the US Defense Secretary from 1961 to 1968, during both the Cuban Missile Crisis and the first half of the Vietnam War. He was interviewed initially for an hour on the topic, but eventually completed 20 hours of interviews. He expressed very interesting perspectives that reflected his views of these critical events both at the time and upon reflection. The director, Errol Morris, distilled these perspectives into eleven key lessons. Some of his recollections explain just how little the combatants understood of each other and how different and misguided people in the war room could have disproportionate and dangerous influences on decision making.

Now, in pairs or groups, engage in the following exercise, with particular emphasis on McNamara's 'lessons' and the events that surrounded them.

1 Brainstorm a list of at least eight questions about the topic, concept or object. Use these question-starts to help you think of interesting questions:
   - Why …?
   - How would it be different if …?
   - What are the reasons …?
   - Suppose that …?
   - What if …?
   - What if we knew …?
   - What is the purpose of …?
   - What would change if …?
2 Review the brainstormed list and highlight the questions that seem most interesting. Then, select one or more of the highlighted questions to discuss for a few moments.
3 Reflect: What new ideas do you have about the topic, concept or object that you did not have before?

The war in Vietnam came to an end for the United States with its main body of troops withdrawing in 1973 and final withdrawals in 1975. Vietnam was a military engagement for America that lasted in some ways for 30 years, yet was a war that no one 'won'. The impact of a strategic loss to communism in Vietnam shocked the proud nation. As some critics have noted:

> *[Vietnam] remains an open wound that has never been healed or fully understood, either by successive political administrations or by the media that helps reflect and shape public opinion.*
>
> Albert Auster and Leonard Quart,
> *How the War was Remembered – Hollywood and Vietnam*, 1988

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

In many ways, the name Vietnam itself has become a byword to describe attritional, messy warfare involving the United States, such as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. It frames much of the current domestic caution and criticism around the United States sending troops into a region. Some argued initially that Donald Trump's posturing against Iran and alliances with Saudi Arabia and Israel had laid the foundations for US involvement in yet another protracted and unwinnable war. However, he turned this on its head in October 2019 by announcing America's withdrawal from northern Syria with little or no warning. Analysts speculated that despite the obvious strategic and relational damage this caused the United States, it had been a 2016 campaign promise of Trump's to withdraw from endless wars, and with his re-election campaign pending, he decided to keep that promise.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The United States had been widely criticised for entering World Wars I and II much later than other countries. It learnt its global lesson. It then entered the Korean War, Vietnam War and Iraq Wars first – but has been widely criticised for doing so!

Vietnam veterans

Unlike the World War II soldiers who returned as heroes in 1945, Vietnam War veterans were not celebrated when they arrived. The war in Vietnam was seen as an embarrassment, meaning that the returning soldiers were also seen in that way. These soldiers became social outcasts and often suffered abuse from the public. The war caused soldiers to experience psychological trauma and many were exposed to Agent Orange, a defoliant chemical, which was found to cause birth deformities as well as cancer. Source 11.41 provides a summary of the enduring effects of the Vietnam War on veterans.

Physical impact	Psychological impact	Social impact
Aside from injuries sustained in battle that caused physical disabilities, Vietnam veterans also dealt with a higher than normal rate of cancer. Many children of veterans were born with birth defects and also developed and suffered from various types of cancer. Today, Agent Orange is accepted as the cause of these incidents of cancer, fertility problems and birth deformities.	Many veterans suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which has been found to increase rates of clinical depression, alcohol and substance abuse, and suicide. PTSD can also make returning to civilian life difficult as people tend to feel restless and struggle to maintain marriages and relationships.	The government refused to provide an official welcome home for veterans, which began their social exclusion and isolation. US officials also denied the devastating consequences of Agent Orange for several years. The wives, partners and children veterans suffered socially, which has been linked to higher rates of PTSD and suicide.

▲ **Source 11.42** Impact of the war on veterans

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

In some cases, Vietnam veterans were treated appallingly when they returned. Even though many were conscripted and therefore had no choice about their involvement, it appears that citizens back home were unable to separate their intense opposition to the war from the individual young people involved. Access the Interactive Textbook to see a video on this issue.

▲**Source 11.43** Vietnam Veteran US Army Sgt Frank Spink hugs his daughter after being awarded a Silver Star, very much after the time it was due. Unable to manage its mixed views about the war and losing it, the government was reluctant to award medals at the time – a decision the nation later deeply regretted.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

In 1995, 1 713 823 of those Americans who served in Vietnam were still alive. Yet the census for that year showed that 9 492 958 people claimed they had served in Vietnam!

Indo-Chinese refugees

When the war ended, many South Vietnamese people urgently attempted to escape the country. They feared that because they had worked with the Americans and South Vietnamese government against the communist forces, now the war was over they would be imprisoned or attacked. Indeed, many were.

While many Vietnamese people did suffer in the aftermath of the war, the expected total bloodbath never occurred. However, the country was devastated by the war, making life exceedingly difficult in Vietnam. It was thus for both economic and political reasons that thousands of Vietnamese people attempted to leave their country as refugees. Indeed, approximately two million fled their country in the five years after 1975 and spent time in camps in various part of South-East Asia. They were eventually resettled in developed countries like the United States, France, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Italy and West Germany.

▼**Source 11.44** The populations of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos suffered greatly during the conflict, with atrocities committed by both protagonists. In this image, a suspected Vietcong member is detained by US troops.

In Cambodia the situation was more severe. In 1975, the now infamous **Khmer Rouge** came to power. During the three-and-a-half-year reign of the Khmer Rouge regime, it is estimated that approximately one-quarter of Cambodia's population was killed. Eventually, Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978, causing another Indo-Chinese war. Depending on historical perspective, Vietnam either invaded Cambodia to

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

end the terrible genocide or to install a pro-Vietnamese government. The war caused widespread starvation and fear, giving significant reasons for Cambodian people to also flee their country.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.7

Research one of the following terms, and produce a multimedia presentation to inform your classmates about your findings. Your teacher may set this as individual or group work.

- Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia
- General Lon Nol
- Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP)
- Khmer Rouge
- Pol Pot
- Prince Norodom Sihanouk
- S-21
- The Killing Fields

Khmer Rouge a murderous group purporting to be communist that controlled Cambodia from 1975 to 1978. Rouge means 'red' in French, and the name is derived from the French colonial past and their allegiance to communist doctrine. They committed genocide on much of their own population. War crimes trials against the perpetrators did not conclude until as late as 2010.

▼**Source 11.45** A new generation of Cambodians try to make sense of the horror at the Genocide Memorial.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.8

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below: *Why did the United States join the Vietnam War?*

- 17th parallel
- communism
- domino theory
- Ho Chi Minh
- North Vietnam
- South Vietnam
- Vietcong

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

THE STORY SO FAR

- Conflict was continuous in Vietnam well before the Americans arrived. The French occupation was defeated in 1954, resulting in Vietnam being divided into North and South Vietnam.
- An ideological conflict began in the context of the Cold War because North Vietnam was communist. A belief in the domino theory prompted the United States, supported by many other Western nations including Australia, to enter the war.
- Bloody battles were fought with dangerous weapons, many of which harmed innocent Vietnamese civilians, prompting widespread protest movements in America and its allies, including Australia and New Zealand.
- Continuing battles at the war front and home front resulted in the US government withdrawing its troops from the war in 1973. Australian troops had been immediately withdrawn in 1972 to fulfil newly elected Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's election promise. The nation-wide protests in Australia had turned the war into an election issue.
- Two years later, in 1975, the war ended when North Vietnam defeated South Vietnam and formed a combined Vietnamese government.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 What was the background to the Vietnam War?

2 What were the key battles of the war?

3 What was the nature and impact of the anti-war protests?

4 How did the war in Vietnam end?

5 What were the outcomes and consequences of war for both people and nations?

Analysing historical sources as evidence – class debate!

The Vietnam War is still hotly debated, so let us debate it in class.

Divide your class into three teams for a three-way debate. Each team will have three speakers as well as several researchers and speech writers. The teams will be allocated one of the below topics so that all viewpoints are represented.

Use a normal debating system where each team has a first, second and third speaker, with each team taking one turn at a time.

- First speaker: Introduce your team, outline your team's arguments and engage in half of those arguments in your speech. If another team's first speaker went before you, you may also offer rebuttal to their arguments.
- Second speaker: Press ahead with a reinforcement of your first speaker's arguments, the remaining team arguments, and rebut the opposition.
- Third speaker: You need to restate and defend your team's argument, while rebutting opposition arguments. No new team arguments from you are allowed.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Perspective 1 – Losing a noble war: conservative revisionists

These historians argue that the war was morally right – a noble crusade against ruthless communism. A winnable war was lost because of poor military and political decisions that were further undermined by the anti-war protests at home. Historians Harry Summers, Lewis Sorley, Bruce Palmer, Phil Davidson and Andrew Krepinevich hold this point of view.

Perspective 2 – Seeing America as the real villain: the new left

These historians argue that the United States was morally wrong to fight the war in Vietnam. They view America as an aggressive imperialist power that was intent on dominating the developing world, mainly for economic reasons, and entered a civil war that was not its war. The most prominent historian holding this point of view is Gabriel Kolko.

Perspective 3 – Making a tragic mistake: the liberal realists

These historians argue that the war was wrong – not on moral grounds, but more for practical reasons. The war was not winnable for the United States. To the liberal realists, Vietnam was not worth the loss of so much US life and money. The most prominent historians who promote this point of view are George Herring, Neal Sheehan and Stanley Karnow.

Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement about the Vietnam War: *Did we have to kill them in order to save them?*

To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer. Use information from this chapter to form an argument that is supported by evidence.

- Think about provocative questions such as whether the Vietnamese people could have been any worse off under communism.
- Was America engaged in a noble effort to defend a small, young country against an invading communist force? Or was it guilty of an aggressive war against a people who were merely seeking the right to determine their own style of government and, therefore, their own future?
- To respond to this question, you will need to be able to evaluate the reasons for and against US intervention in Vietnam.
- What were the problems created by the war? Think about the death statistics. Think about the outcome of war for returning veterans. Think about the arguments over fighting someone else's war. Think about the anti-war movement and massive protests.
- What did the war solve? Think about the domino theory and the desire to stop the spread of communism. Did the war actually 'solve' these issues, or just attempt to solve them? Question to what extent the battles in Vietnam were actually ideological ones.
- Form your overall argument. Crucially, were the Vietnamese people really 'saved' thanks to America's involvement in the war?
- Was the outcome of the war worth the deaths? What is your argument? Write it down in one sentence and include it in your introduction.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

12 THE END OF THE COLD WAR?

Healing those wounds of history is the central story of the European Union.

– DAVID CAMERON, BRITISH PRIME MINISTER (2010–16)

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

The Cold War began with a bang but ended with a whimper. The ruins of Berlin in Germany, and of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, signalled the beginning of tensions between the world's two new superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Decades of rivalry, antagonism and regional wars followed as each attempted to prove the superiority of its ideology – the United States promoted capitalism and the Soviet Union promoted communism. Ultimately, the Soviet Union collapsed, Germany was reunited and many Soviet satellite states regained their independence.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- What was the role of Gorbachev in the end of the Cold War?
- To what extent did de-nuclearisation occur after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962?
- What were the monumental events that ended the Cold War?
- Will the passage of time demonstrate that the Cold War did in fact end?

Digital resources for this chapter

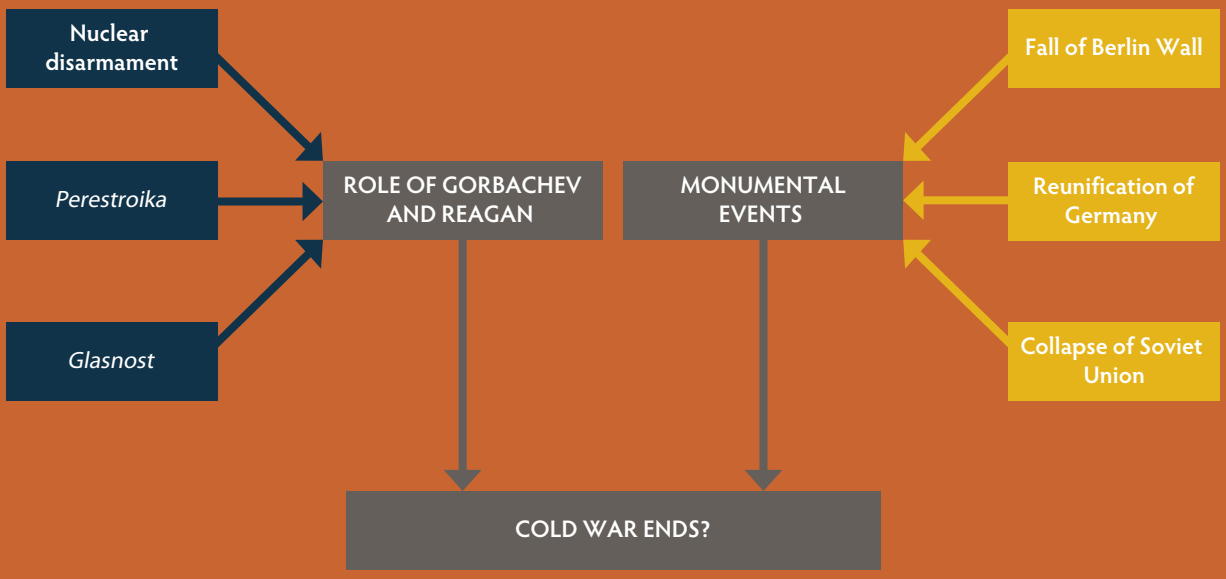
In the ***Interactive Textbook:***

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◀ **Source 12.0** US President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, during an arrival ceremony outside the White House, part of the Washington Summit held in August 1987

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



Timeline of key chapter events

1979
DECEMBER
Russia invades Afghanistan

1985
14 MARCH
Mikhail Gorbachev becomes President of the Soviet Union

1991
DECEMBER
Collapse of the Soviet Union

2001
11 SEPTEMBER
World Trade Center in New York destroyed in terrorist attack

1979–89
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) supports anti-Soviet forces in Afghanistan

1989
9 NOVEMBER
Fall of the Berlin Wall

2000
MAY
Vladimir Putin first rises to power in Russia

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

12.1 The USSR running out of steam

By the early 1980s, the Soviet Union had become a victim not only of its failure to translate its ideological system into sustained economic development, but also of a series of poor military ventures. At the end of 1979, the USSR had invaded Afghanistan in order to prop up a failing government that it had helped gain power via a **coup** in 1978. It was under intense pressure from Islamic political factions that had taken up arms against it. The United States was arming, training and backing these factions under its top-secret Operation Cyclone. This plan was run by the CIA, hoping to drag the Russians into the 'Afghanistan trap'. To President Carter's surprise, they took the bait and the United States had handed their enemy its own 'Vietnam'.

coup an action by a group, often violent, to remove a country's official government and take over. It is often carried out by a general leading the army against the government, or by armed political parties.

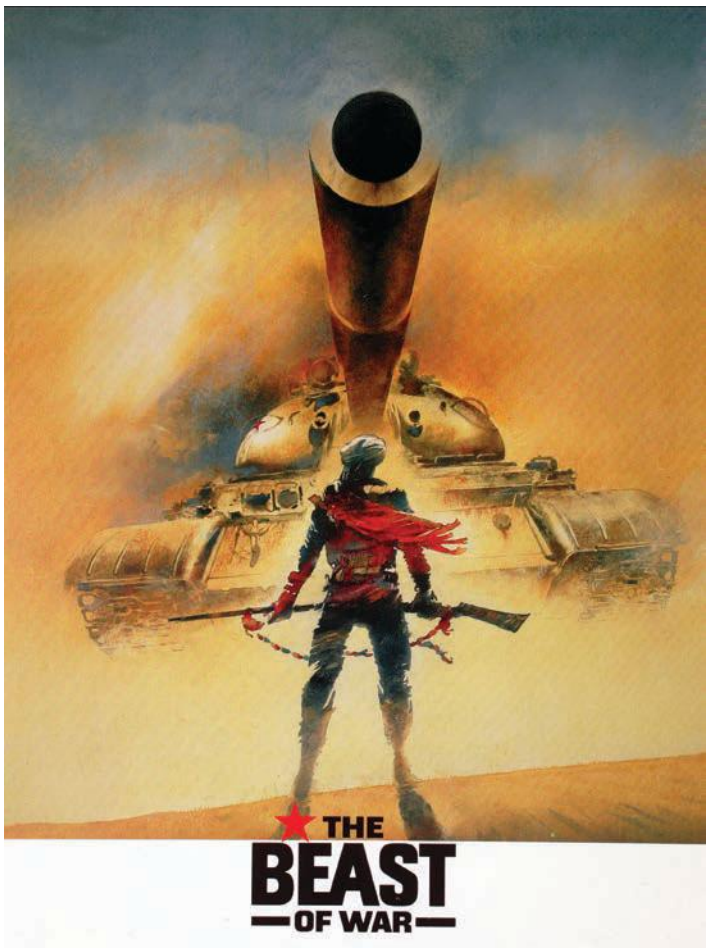
While its exterior was as tough and imposing as ever, and nuclear war remained but a few codes and buttons away, the Soviet economic system was in free fall. However, due to its intense efforts in maintaining secrecy, few within the USSR knew of its economic predicament, let alone those outside the bloc. The United States and capitalism would soon be proven to have finally outlasted its nemesis. In the meantime, however, tensions remained high. At the start of the decade, the United States and 62 other counties boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Four years later, Russia and 13 of its satellite states boycotted the Los Angeles Olympics in retaliation.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Operation Cyclone involved the CIA distributing billions of dollars in military aid and training to the Mujahideen, who were Pakistani and Afghani resistance fighters who were prepared to fight against Soviet interests and eventually the invasion itself. A young and increasingly popular fighter in the Mujahideen in this time was Osama Bin Laden.

▲**Source 12.1** The Berlin Wall, with Brandenburg Gate in the background, 1 December 1989

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



◀ **Source 12.2** The 1988 US film, *The Beast of War*, depicted a lost Soviet tank in remote parts of Afghanistan during the invasion. The film offers striking similarities of the horrors of war and the moral culpability of soldiers as the Vietnam War films coming out at the time.

12.2 The role of Gorbachev

Mikhail Gorbachev became leader of the Soviet Union in 1985 and immediately became the key figure in ending the Cold War. This involved three main initiatives.

Initiative 1: Nuclear disarmament

The Soviet Union was nearly bankrupt, so slowing the arms race was the most obvious way to begin an economic recovery in the bloc. Gorbachev initiated meetings with US President Ronald Reagan in 1985 and 1986 to discuss arms limitation. In 1987 they signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF); both countries pledged not to build any more weapons and to dismantle all nuclear weapons with a range of 500–5500 kilometres.

The threat of world war is no more.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, December 1991

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

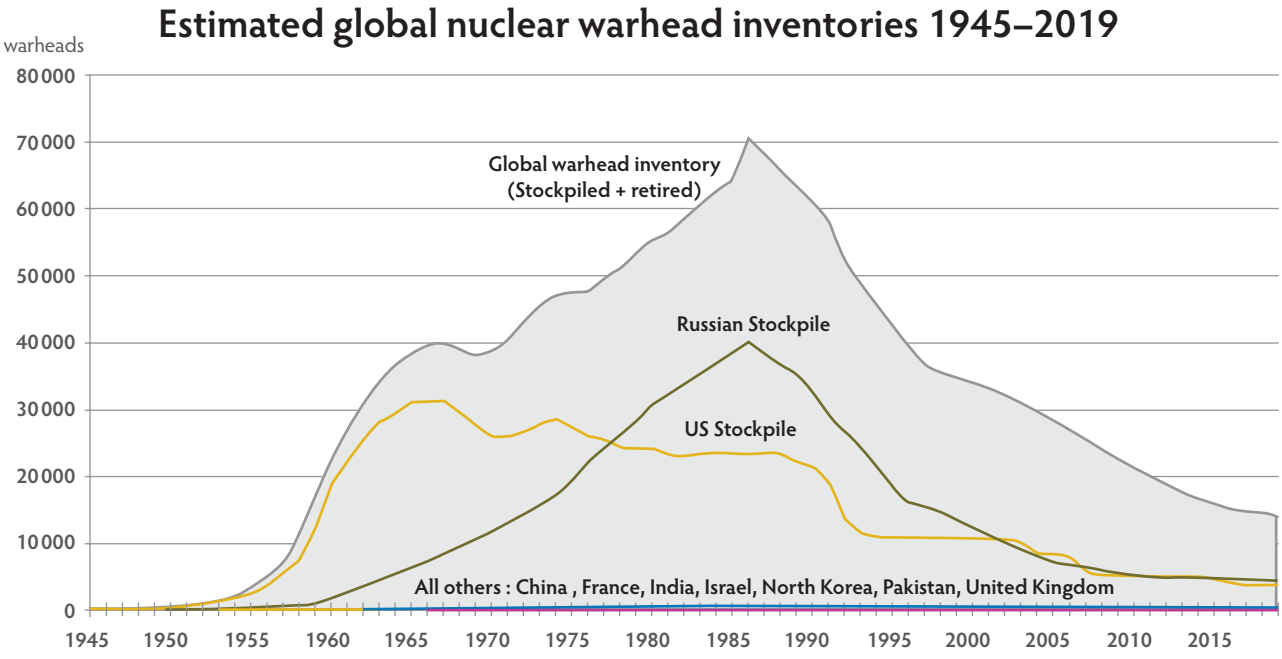
On 1 February 2019, President Trump suspended the United States' partnership in the INF treaty, accusing Putin and Russia of non-compliance in relation to a series of new-generation weapons currently under development. Russia did the same the following day. The United States formally withdrew from the treaty on 2 August 2019.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 12.3** Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev

▲**Source 12.4** US president Ronald Reagan, 1983

Attempts to regulate or restrict nuclear weapons were not new to the USSR and the United States. Indeed, the 1972 and 1979 Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT 1 and SALT 2) had attempted to start this process until the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan soured relations once more, and the arms race continued unabated. Reagan and Gorbachev were, however, the first leaders to achieve meaningful, sustained numerical reduction in warheads. The number of nuclear warheads exceeded 60 000 at the beginning of their negotiations. Absurdly, each nation had enough warheads to destroy the entire world several times over at that stage.



Source: Federation of American Scientists, 2019

▲**Source 12.5** Tracking the inventories of the United States and the USSR/Russia over time demonstrates their clear impact on the global totals. Why do you think the global decline was not as fast in the 1990s as the US and Russian trends had previously dictated?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Earlier reform attempts

The SALT 1, SALT 2 and 1987 INF treaties were bilateral, meaning that they were between two nations only. The United Nations made efforts from as early as 1946 to multilaterally (between many nations) remove nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction from national arsenals. These initiatives inevitably ran into resistance from the nuclear-armed nations, as they were reluctant to relinquish their strategic advantage. This resulted in the production of even greater quantities of ever-more powerful nuclear warheads up until the agreement between the US and Russia to radically reduce weapons stockpiles, making it a critical moment in history. Reagan, Gorbachev and their advisors showed the courage and skill to achieve a pivotal directional change for humanity.

▲**Source 12.6** A replica of the 1961 Russian 'Tsar bomb'. At 27 tonnes, this is the most powerful bomb ever detonated on Earth. It was 3000 times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 and unleashed power equivalent to 10 times the amount of all munitions used in World War II. It was so big that it had to be carried on the outside of even the biggest Russian bomber of the day. It was more of a show of strength than a real and practical method of waging war in the emerging era of the intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM).

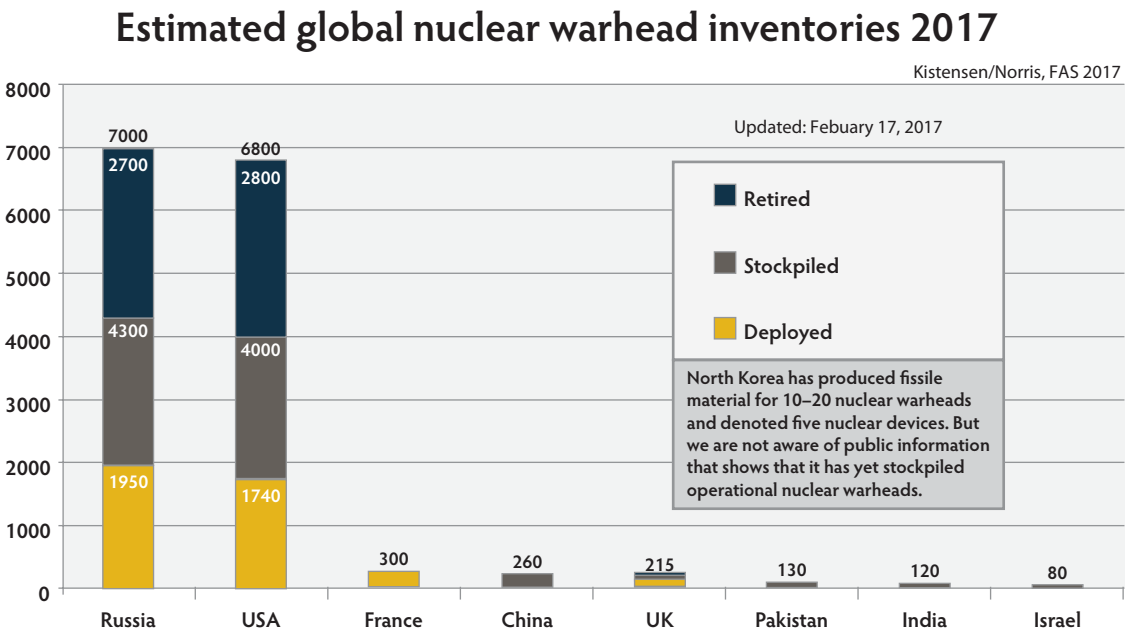
Stepping back from the brink?

Each of the following treaties were first signed in the listed year. However, they remain open indefinitely for additional nations to sign at any time.

- 1963: Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Underwater (104 signatory nations in 2019)
- 1968: Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (93 signatory nations in 2019)
- Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (183 signatory nations in 2019, but not yet in force)
- 2017: Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (70 signatory nations in 2019, but no signatures from any nuclear-armed or hosting nations)

Snapshots like the graph depicted in Source 12.7 tell a powerful story of the war footing of various nations. Despite a progressive reduction of warheads over time, none of these nations have signed the 2017 UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲**Source 12.7** Global inventories demonstrate a clear legacy of the Cold War and the arms race of the superpowers. The breakdown of the status of these warheads, from deployed to retired, indicates how each nation has managed its weapons.

Initiative 2: *Perestroika* and *glasnost*

As the Soviet Union's communist economy had fallen so far behind free-market capitalist economies of the West, and the Soviet Union could not keep up with US technological advances, Gorbachev attempted to dramatically reform the economy of the Soviet Union. ***Perestroika*** (literally meaning 'restructuring') was a policy designed to stimulate economic growth by adopting capitalistic trade practices, such as liberating private enterprises, after decades of state control. However, the communist bureaucracy blocked *perestroika*, so to try to force its hand, Gorbachev then introduced a second major reform: *glasnost*.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Lost in translation? Back in 1959, Khrushchev had said 'Мы вас похороним!' in his first visit to the United States, which was translated literally into 'We will bury you!' While his hosts and the local media were aghast at the threat, the meaning of his words in Russian was 'We will outlast you!' in reference to capitalism and communism. It was a phrase that stuck, though it proved to be incorrect no matter the translation.

Glasnost was a Russian word meaning 'more open government', which was Gorbachev's new approach to leadership. This directly affected the Eastern European countries that had previously been threatened with military action if they openly opposed the Soviet Union. The classic example was in Hungary in 1956, where tanks rolled into the streets of the capital to disband protests. In 1989, however, citizens in communist countries were able to demand democratic reforms without the threat of attack. Communist governments in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and East Germany all fell in peaceful but emotional scenes. As a reforming leader, *perestroika* and *glasnost* were Gorbachev's most imperative objectives, and were in effect from 1985 to 1991. Reorganising the Soviet Union in the short term, however, proved difficult. Importantly, Gorbachev's policies ultimately weakened communist ideology itself, by instilling in the people of the Soviet Union a desire for greater economic and ideological freedoms impossible under traditional communist rule.

perestroika a Russian term literally meaning 'restructuring', *perestroika* was one of Gorbachev's major reform policies from the late 1980s, designed to reform the Soviet Union's struggling communist economy by introducing capitalistic practices borrowed from the West

glasnost a Soviet policy initiated by Gorbachev that attempted to make the government more open and encouraged constructive dialogue with Soviet citizens

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

An unfortunate coincidence during the 1956 Melbourne Olympics was that the USSR was scheduled to play a water polo match against the world champion Hungary team, at the same time that Russian tanks were on Hungarian streets crushing the popular revolt against their rule. The USSR had even gone to the lengths of acquiring a copy of the training and tactical manual of the Hungarians, made possible by their occupation. The game would later be remembered as the 'Blood in the Water' match, in which Hungary prevailed 4–0.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 12.1

1 Explain why Mikhail Gorbachev met with Ronald Reagan. Describe the outcomes of the meetings and what this meant for the world.

2 Suggest what is meant by the phrase 'more open government'.

The new doctrine is in place, which is the Frank Sinatra doctrine. Frank Sinatra has a popular song, 'I did it my way'. So Hungary, Poland, any other country has its own way. They decide which road to take. It's their business.

Gennady Gerasimov, Soviet Foreign Office, 1989

▲ **Source 12.8** Gorbachev with President Reagan and then Vice-President George H. W. Bush in New York, 1988

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Initiative 3: Cold War declared over

In December 1989, Gorbachev met with US President George Bush in Malta to officially declare that the Cold War was over.

> *In a word, the total dismantling of socialism as a world phenomenon has been proceeding … Perhaps it is inevitable and good.*
>
> Anatoly Chernvaev, an assistant to the President of the Soviet Union, 1989

Cold War statistics

- *Length* – 44 years.
- *Cost* – up to $8 trillion in the United States for military expenditure, and even higher in the Soviet Union.
- *Deaths* – nearly 100 000 Americans died in Korea and Vietnam.
- *World* – local civil wars in South-East Asia were intensified by superpower involvement, leaving millions dead. By 1989, the United States had developed military alliances with 50 countries and 1.5 million US troops were posted in 117 countries.

FOCUS QUESTION 12.2

Talk the thought – human graphs

This activity is designed to prompt your opinions about the Cold War. To answer this question, imagine that there is a line across your classroom with 'Totally agree' on one wall and 'Totally disagree' on the other. Respond to the deliberately provocative statement: **'The Cold War was worth fighting.'** Stand anywhere along the imaginary line depending on the extent to which you agree with this statement. Share your point of view with others in the class, using examples to support your argument.

12.3 Monumental events

Monumental event 1: Tearing down the Berlin Wall, November 1989

The Berlin Wall fell almost as suddenly and unexpectedly as it was built. It is always described that the wall 'fell', which does not mean that the wall 'fell over', but rather that the government decided people could move freely between East and West Berlin. Its power as a blockage was broken. So how was this **monumental** decision made?

monumental of great importance, significance, extent or size

AMAZING BUT TRUE …

After 38 years of existence, the Berlin Wall had developed into a complex structure that confirmed the division between the East and the West. By the time the Berlin Wall fell, there was a 90-metre no-man's land, an additional inner wall, soldiers patrolling with dogs, a raked ground that showed footprints, anti-vehicle trenches, electric fences, massive light systems, watchtowers, bunkers and minefields.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 12.9** A crane demolishing part of the Berlin Wall, 1989

Communism was weakened throughout Eastern Europe from 1988. Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia had all overthrown their communist governments. East German citizens also wanted revolutionary change, whereas the East German government believed that only moderate changes were needed.

civil unrest disruptions to social order, typically caused by protests in response to political and social problems

After weeks of **civil unrest**, the East German government announced that its citizens would be allowed to visit West Berlin and Germany more freely. East German government official Günter Schabowski stated: 'Permanent relocations can be done through all border checkpoints between the GDR (East Germany) into the FRG (West Germany) or West Berlin.'

After hearing the announcement, the people of East Berlin bravely approached border guards and crossed the death strips to climb the wall on the night of 9 November 1989. The border guards let people cross the border unharmed! Both East and West Berlin burst into emotional scenes of hugging, kissing, cheering, crying and singing as shock was replaced by celebration. Over the next few weeks the wall was torn down by the people chipping away at the wall with hammers and chisels.

▲**Source 12.10** East and West Berliners celebrate after the fall of the wall

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The Berlin Wall was eventually chipped away into smaller pieces, some the size of a coin and others in big slabs. The pieces have become collectibles and are sold to tourists and stored in both homes and museums.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 12.11** A West Berliner chiselling off a section of the wall

Monumental event 2: The reunification of Germany, October 1990

The fall of the iconic Berlin Wall also started the fall of the divided Germany. Germany had been split into East and West Germany, with different governments and ideologies. Members of each government, along with officials from the United States, France, Britain and the Soviet Union, met regularly to explore the logistics of reunifying Germany. On 3 October 1990, less than a year after the wall had fallen, but 45 years since the nation was first divided, the division of Germany into East and West was removed. Germany was reunited, or reunified. Two months later, the first whole-German elections were held. Helmut Kohl was elected as the first Chancellor of a reunified Germany.

▲**Source 12.12** Children wield pickaxes, hammers and stones to participate in the destruction of the Berlin Wall between Potsdamer Platz and the Brandenburg Gate on 10 November 1989.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTION 12.3

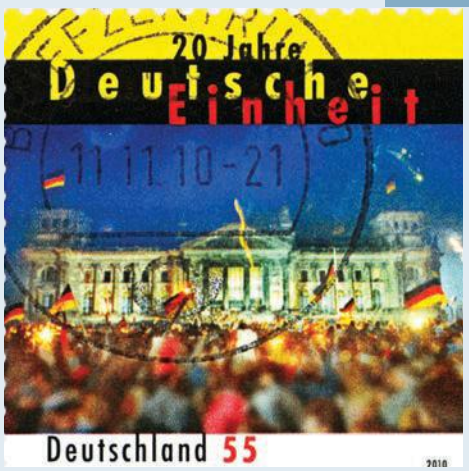
Imagine you had been living in Germany during the years it was divided and you were there when the Berlin Wall was torn down. Write a diary entry about your thoughts and feelings.

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

October 3 1990 was called 'Unity Day' to mark when Germany was reunified.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.1

1 Explain the reasoning behind the colours used on the stamp depicted in Source 12.13.
2 Identify the monument that can be seen on the stamp.
3 Describe the purpose of the stamp and suggest what it may have meant to the German population.



▲**Source 12.13** A stamp produced to celebrate the reunification of Germany, reading 'German Unity'

Monumental event 3: The collapse of the Soviet Union, 1991

conjunction two (or more) events occurring at the same point in time

In March 1990, Gorbachev overturned Lenin's 1922 prohibition of any political parties other than the Communist Party. This radical move by Gorbachev energised pre-existing movements for self-government by the national minorities within the Soviet Union. Throughout 1990, several states including Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Chechnya and Ukraine declared independence. A fall in industrial and agricultural output, in **conjunction** with these new republics no longer contributing to Gorbachev's government, plunged the Soviet Union into economic crisis.

The establishment of the Soviet regime from 1917 was incredibly momentous; it created a new state that, for the remainder of the century, challenged the West and capitalism for ideological supremacy – until Gorbachev, by necessity, wiped it all away.

Despite surviving an attempted coup in August 1991, Gorbachev lost his political authority within his own party, which hastened the breakdown of the Soviet Union. On 1 January 1992, after 75 years under communist rule, the Soviet Union officially ceased to exist. The death of the Soviet Union influenced the world as significantly as its birth.

The first McDonald's restaurant opened in Moscow in January 1990. Those opposed to *glasnost* and *perestroika* may have seen this moment as more offensive than an armed foreign invasion of Moscow. In fact, it represented the final nail in the coffin of their lifelong ideology. Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see the video.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.2

Watch the footage via the link to the left then answer the following questions:

1 Explain why the lines for McDonald's were so long.
2 Describe the tone of the narration. Explain whether it was positive or negative towards the matter, using examples to support your position.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 12.14** The European frontier of the USSR, which separated back into independent countries between 1989 and 1991, and its European satellite republics. Note that Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia also eventually left and pursued a **market economy**.

Abbreviations: Fed: Federal / GDR: German Democratic Republic (East Germany) / Rep: Republic / SFSR: Soviet Federated Socialist Republic / SSR: Soviet Socialist Republic

market economy a term used to describe an economy that relies on supply and demand to set production and prices; it is based on capitalist principles

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 12.15** Berlin citizens walking around remnants of the wall shortly after its fall

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.3

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below: *Why and how did the Cold War end in the twentieth century?*

- Berlin Wall
- economy
- *glasnost*
- Gorbachev
- nuclear disarmament
- *perestroika*
- Reagan
- reunification
- Soviet Union

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

12.4 Cold winds returning?

> *We must hold back. And not just from the Cold War. We have to continue the course we mapped. We have to ban war once and for all. Most important is to get rid of nuclear weapons. … I am convinced we can stop a new Cold War. I will do everything for this. … Most dangerous would be a return to confrontation, the start of a new arms race. They are already talking about a nuclear war as if this is something entirely acceptable. It is being prepared, scenarios are being discussed.*
>
> Mikhail Gorbachev, November 2018

The Cold War era was characterised by a set of international conditions that laid the foundation for hostility between the superpowers.

An arms race

The nuclear arms race discussed in Chapter 8 was only part of the overall military build-up of the era. Conventional armaments and personnel numbers swelled to financially unsustainable numbers across the globe during this era. It is arguable that the one factor that prevented open warfare was, ironically, the nuclear weapons. As hostilely as each nation behaved or spoke, neither was prepared for mutual assured destruction (MAD).

Breakdown of trade

Capitalist and communist nations, if maintaining an ideologically pure approach, do not trade with each other. This lack of trade means that there is less to lose if hostilities break out. Therefore, strong trade relationships are a security measure against war. The 1991 breakdown of the USSR coincided with the internet becoming publicly available that same year. Since 1991, G20 nations have pursued **free trade** agreements for economic and diplomatic reasons. The combined impact of the internet and the removal of trade barriers over this sustained period has been termed 'globalisation'. This has allowed more open markets and has opened up labour sources for richer nations' companies to 'offshore' their workforce. Consumers have benefitted from cheaper goods and services, but not everyone has enjoyed the benefits, with entire industries collapsing in some Western nations.

free trade a system of trade between nations that reduces barriers such as tariffs and, in some cases, subsidies for home industries

Competing global interests

Failed, manipulated and vested political systems around the globe provided fertile ground for the superpowers to play their 'game of chess', toppling and installing governments seemingly at will. When a civil war was under way, they tended to take a side each. Korea and Vietnam were the most significant examples of wars that were grown and prolonged by superpower involvement.

The cult of personality

Russia (USSR) and China (PRC) were ruled by dictators during the Cold War. Stalin and Khrushchev in Russia and Mao Zedong in China were incredibly powerful individuals who were not required to be accountable to a voting electorate. The United States was a democracy throughout, but leaders would not gain office without a strong stance on national defence. The 'cult of personality', where a leader is elevated to extraordinary levels by the propaganda machine of their government, can narrow the power and decision-making process into fewer hands. This can potentially lead to narrower thinking at critical moments, like the Cuban Missile Crisis. Another example of this type of leader is Adolf Hitler.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▶Source 12.16
The United States, Russia and China are the three most powerful nations of the first part of the twenty-first century. These leaders are in place via a range of systems and not all are democratic. See if you can name other G20 world leaders in this 2019 picture.

A new arms race

The United States and Russia both withdrew from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) in 2019, which had banned the development of nuclear capable missiles with a range of 500–5500 kilometres. This treaty had been signed by US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987. While Reagan has since passed away (2004), Gorbachev, in his frailty, has bemoaned this as a terrible development.

In recent years Russia has been developing a series of new-generation conventional armaments, along with hypersonic missiles that can manoeuvre around missile defence systems. While the United States is also returning to accelerating its technological investment in military hardware, it is likely to be lagging behind its traditional adversary for some time.

▼Source 12.17
Russian President Vladimir Putin visits the National Defense Management Center (Moscow) in 2018 to view a test fire of some of the new-generation missiles.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The new Russian Zircon anti-ship missile has an estimated speed of 9800 kilometres per hour and can carry a conventional or nuclear warhead. At this speed it could travel from Melbourne to Sydney in less than five and a half minutes! Given the radar systems on board even the most modern military vessels, this would allow around 20 seconds from detection to impact. Some analysts believe that even if it were shot down, the broken materials from the missile would still sink the target upon impact.

The United States under President Donald Trump has pressed ahead and deployed a new generation of low-yield nuclear weapons that were proposed before he took office. Concerns have emerged from some analysts that this may dangerously lower the threshold for the decision to use these weapons in conflict. It remains to be seen if these weapons are now considered to be part of conventional warfare tactics, or if they remain the separate and more extreme consideration that they have in the past. The United States also withdrew from the Iran nuclear deal, which was viewed by many as the best way to manage Iran's nuclear ambitions. Trump cited Iran's behaviour as the reason, although he was accused of acting out of spite as it had been something that the previous president, Barack Obama, had orchestrated.

▲**Source 12.18** China's J-20 Stealth Jet in the early stages of breaking the sound barrier. The Chinese have repeatedly attempted to raid the military secrets of Western nations via sophisticated cyberattacks and have significantly closed the technological gap in recent times. A stealth bomber (the H-20) that appears almost identical to the US B-2 is also almost at the stage of being deployed.

▲**Source 12.19** President Trump withdraws the United States from the Iran nuclear deal, citing Iran's alleged breaches of the conditions.

A new breakdown of trade

Since Trump's election in 2016, the United States' relationship with the world has significantly altered on trade. Trump has placed tariffs on imported goods from numerous countries and wound back free-trade arrangements that had been in place. Even neighbouring country and close ally Canada has been hit by the new direction. Trump has particularly singled out China as a trade adversary for what he alleges as their manipulation of currency prices and the theft of corporate and military secrets by state-sponsored cyber units. Some estimates have the annual cost of this

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

cybertheft as high as US$50 billion. This approach to trade and diplomacy has been very popular among his voter base in the United States, as much of the country's traditional manufacturing industry has been rendered unviable in the era of globalisation and access to cheap foreign labour. China has responded with tariffs on US goods. Further retreating from the free-trade paradigm, Trump has bypassed his own congress to commence subsidies for farmers in the United States that have suffered from the trade war. It is indeed no coincidence that Trump relied on the votes of these farming regions to gain office. This is not the only trade-related dispute in the world. Many Western nations placed very heavy trade sanctions on Russia after its internationally illegal annexation of the Ukrainian territory in the Crimea in 2014. Russia vetoed a UN resolution that was brought against it as a result of its actions, pouring further ridicule on the veto powers of the five permanent UN Security Council members.

▲**Source 12.20** Russian President Vladimir Putin signs the final decree completing annexation of Crimea on 21 March 2014 in Moscow, Russia. This completed the legal process of making Crimea part of Russia.

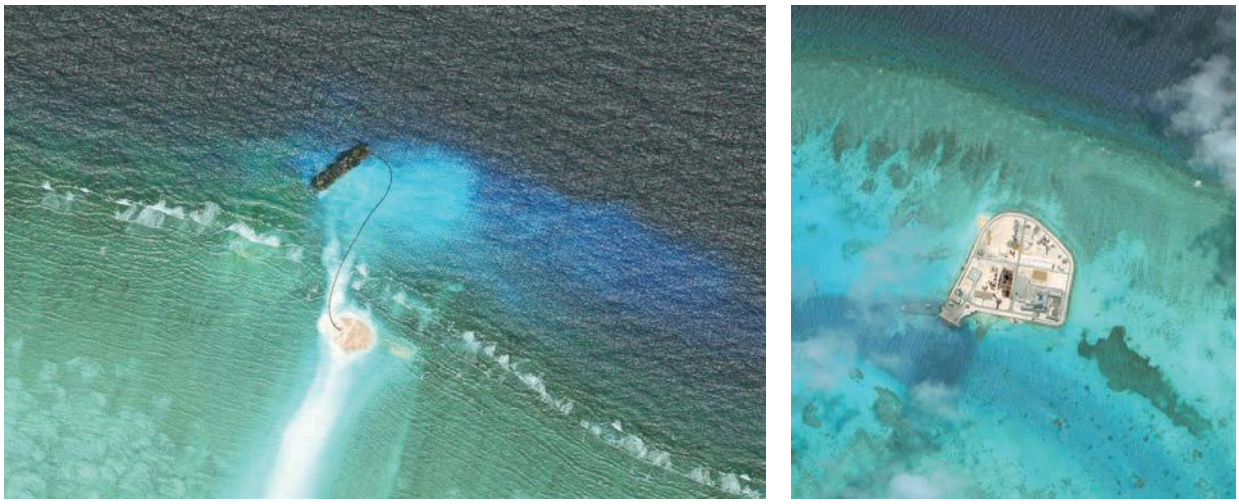
New competing interests

The United States enjoyed a period of virtually complete global domination in the 1990s following the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the new state of Russia retreating into humiliation and an economic depression. However, things changed in the new millennium. The 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center (the 'Twin Towers') dragged the United States back into large-scale military conflicts as it responded to what it described as a new threat to its way of life. Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) were some of the campaigns that resulted, albeit controversially. Further, with Putin taking power in Russia at the start of the millennium and Xi Jinping assuming power in China in 2012, these traditional rivals to the United States have re-emerged as longer-term challengers. Russia and China enjoyed huge economic growth from 2000 to 2008, which consolidated their collective return to superpower status. Their nuclear arsenals mean that direct conflict is very improbable, so proxy wars similar to the Cold War have been seen again. The civil war in Syria is one, where Russia backed the Syrian government, even vetoing 12 UN resolutions about Syria's murder of its own people, including through the use of chemical weapons. The United States backed elements of the resistance, including when Trump ordered cruise missile strikes against the

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

government of Syria in both 2017 and 2018, bringing the superpowers toe to toe again in another nation's territory. When the United States pulled out of Northern Syria in 2019, leaving the Kurds at the mercy of both Turkey and the Syrian government, Russian forces moved into the area almost immediately to 'keep peace'.

China's aggressive expansion into disputed territories in the South China Sea, including the dredging of the seabed to create artificial military islands, also has the potential to bring larger-scale conflict, as the United States supplies military hardware and support to Japan, Taiwan (Chinese Taipei) and the Philippines.



▲**Source 12.21** One example of the artificial islands that China is creating in strategically important sea channels. This one, at Johnson Reef in territory also claimed by the Philippines, grew substantially between 2014 and 2016 as China dredged the seabed, using the spoil to increase the size of the islands, followed by the introduction of buildings, military equipment and personnel.

A cult of personality

While Putin is the longest-serving leader of the three superpowers (first elected in 2000), China's Xi Jinping has also emerged as a long-term ruler (first appointed in 2012). In 2018, the Chinese government changed the laws that required leaders to step down after two terms, or a period of approximately 10 years. Xi Jinping is therefore the first president since Mao Zedong to have an unlimited tenure. With no elections in China, and many of Putin's opposition politicians in exile or prison, these two personalities are likely to be around for some time against the relatively revolving door of US presidents (who serve a maximum of two terms, or eight years). Both Putin and Xi Jinping enjoy the benefits of state-sponsored media and secret police. The combination of carefully orchestrated messages against the backdrop of political intimidation enhance their cult of personality in the eyes of many within their borders and abroad. President Trump has brought his own cult of personality to the role, disrupting the international order and bypassing traditional conventions in favour of action based on his personal views on matters. His disdain for Europe, Mexico, Central America and much of the Middle East was made clear early in his tenure as he prioritised business dealings over traditional international alliances, even selling military equipment to international pariahs like Qatar and Saudi Arabia. This was due to an 'America First' approach, where despite the reputation of the nation state, if it meant jobs and security for Americans at home, then he viewed it as beneficial. Trump's very favourable coverage by Rupert Murdoch's Fox media (News Ltd) and his Republican Party's strategic use of social media platforms have also helped to bolster his cult of personality in the United States. However, Trump's defeat in the 2019 presidential election means that incoming President Joe Biden is likely to re-align the USA's foreign policy settings more closely with its allies.

The combination of resurgent Cold War conditions, combined with the personalities ruling the superpowers, arguably represent a new and genuine threat to peace and prosperity. It is also arguable that the Cold War never completely went away, instead pausing while Russia retreated for a decade and China recovered from devastating internal instability in the 1960s and 1970s.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 12.22** Soldiers of the People's Liberation Army march during a parade to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China at Tiananmen Square on 1 October 2019 in Beijing.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.4

Choose from the following topics and complete an extended response. This should be around one page, include a contention, and should evaluate evidence and perspectives.

1. The Cold War never actually ended. The 1990s were simply a lull.
2. History shows us that nuclear weapons have in fact saved the Earth.
3. Concern about the return of the Cold War is overstated.
4. The big nations eat the small. That is just the reality.

THE STORY SO FAR

- The Cold War ended in the twentieth century without bombs, gunshots, deaths or peace treaties.
- Instead of the bleak nuclear winter many experts had predicted, the Cold War ended extremely peacefully with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the creation of new, yet often economically and socially troubled democracies in Eastern Europe.
- Churchill's Iron Curtain that had divided Europe was victoriously torn down in the political euphoria of 1989–91.
- The post-2000 era of Russian President Vladimir Putin and the resurgence of China has rebalanced the world order away from the West once more.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 Explain what the Iron Curtain was.

2 What was the role of Gorbachev in ending the Cold War?

3 Identify and describe the three monumental events that are seen as comprising the end of the Cold War.

Analysing historical sources as evidence

Anatoly Chernvaev was an assistant to President Gorbachev. This excerpt from his diary was written on 10 November 1989 and praises Gorbachev's visionary role in world politics.

> *The Berlin Wall has collapsed. This entire era in the history of the Socialist system is over. Following the [Polish United Socialist Party] PUWP and the [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] HSWP Honecker has left. Today we received messages about the 'retirement' of [Chinese Communist Party leader] Deng Xiaoping and [Bulgarian leader Todor] Zhivkov. Only our 'best friends' [Cuban leader Fidel] Castro, [Romanian leader Nicolae] Ceausescu, [and North Korean leader] Kim Il Sung are still around – people who hate our guts.*
>
> *But the main thing is the GDR, the Berlin Wall. For it has to do not only with 'socialism' but with the shift in the world balance of forces. This is the end of Yalta … of the Stalinist legacy and the 'defeat of Hitler-ite Germany'.*
>
> *That is what Gorbachev has done. And he has indeed turned out to be a great leader. He has sensed the pace of history and helped history to find a natural channel.*

1 According to the document, what effect has the end of communism had on other world leaders?

2 According to the document, what is the meaning of the destruction of the Berlin Wall?

▲ **Source 12.23** Despite an extremely difficult political career, history now tends to look favourably upon Mikhail Gorbachev's vision and courage.

Constructing historical arguments

1 The Flow of Chapter diagram on page 302 concludes with a box with the text "The Cold War ends?" Explain why events of the past few decades call the end of the Cold War into question.

2 Write a considered response to this statement about the end of the Cold War: *The quiet end of the Cold War was nothing like its dangerous conflicts.*

To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples from all of the Cold War chapters to support your answer.

- To answer this topic you need to have read and understood the beginning and key events of the Cold War – competing ideologies, the Berlin Blockade, the Berlin Wall, the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Vietnam War.
- Look specifically at the key terms in the statement. You will need to be able to describe the 'quiet end' to the Cold War using information from this chapter, plus 'dangerous conflicts' from preceding chapters.
- Form your own argument. Is this statement true? Think about the phrase 'nothing like'.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Unit 2: The changing world order

Area of Study 2

Challenge and change

'All the great things are simple, and may be expressed in a single word: freedom, justice, honour, duty, mercy, hope.'

– WINSTON CHURCHILL, BRITISH PRIME MINISTER

Overview

One beauty of the second half of the twentieth century was its diversity. While the political backdrop was the Cold War conflicts, social revolutions were occurring. The beginnings of social revolutions challenged many existing values and traditions. The civil rights movement, feminism, anti-war activism, environmental movements, peace movements, the youth revolution and pressure for greater personal freedom all led to social changes that would have political and economic implications for society, particularly in the West.

There is constant debate as to whether ideas, leaders or movements are the prime catalyst of change. While popular movements and mass protests do spark social revolutions, it is leaders who harness this 'people power' and create a focused movement. Leaders then use ideas to support their point of view and gain mass support. Social revolutions cannot happen without the power of large groups of people. Nor can they happen as effectively if there are no leaders to inspire and focus the popular movements.

The next two chapters focus on the intertwining of these three factors: the main leaders, their ideas, and how they harnessed the popular discontent of the masses – but in two different contexts. The first historical context is the fight for civil rights in the United States under the influence of Martin Luther King. The second context is the campaign against apartheid in South Africa under the symbolic leadership of Nelson Mandela and other inspiring leaders of the African National Congress. Both topics focus on the theme of social and political movements.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Key concepts

- apartheid
- civil rights
- discrimination
- nationalism
- non-cooperation
- racism
- segregation

Learning goals

After completing this Area of Study, you should be able to answer these questions:

- What caused the challenges to existing political and/or social structures and conditions?
- How did the actions and ideas of popular movements and individuals contribute to continuity and change?
- To what extent did change occur?
- What were the perspectives and experiences of those who demanded or resisted changes?

Outcome 2

On completion of this unit the student should be able to explain the causes of challenges to social, political and/or economic structures of power and evaluate the extent to which continuity and change occurred.

To achieve this outcome the student will draw on key knowledge and key skills outlined in Area of Study 2.

Key knowledge

- This is detailed in Chapters 13–14.

Key skills

- Ask and use a range of historical questions to understand the challenges and changes to structures of power.
- Analyse sources and use as evidence to understand continuities and changes to structures of power.
- Identify the perspectives of people and how perspectives changed over time.
- Identify different historical interpretations of challenges and changes to structures of power.
- Analyse the causes and consequences of challenges to power structures.
- Explain how structures of power changed and/or stayed the same.
- Evaluate the significance of events, ideas, individuals and movements.
- Construct arguments about continuity and change in modern history.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Timeline of key events 1911–1968

Apartheid in South Africa 1911–1994

1911

- Bedrock legislation enacted
- Significant long-lasting laws are passed that separate and discriminate against coloured populations.

1912

- **8 January:** ANC formed
  African National Congress becomes the primary organisation to oppose racial discrimination in South Africa.

1948

- Dr Malan introduces apartheid
  Apartheid is introduced as the official government policy.

1955

- **26 June:** Freedom Charter adopted
  Over 3000 delegates form the Congress of the People to write an idealistic document that outlines the basic rights and freedoms that are denied under apartheid.

1960

- **21 March:** Sharpeville Massacre
  Police shoot people protesting against the discriminatory homelands and passbooks laws.

1961

- **16 December:** Mandela forms *Umkhonto we Sizwe*
- With the ANC banned, Nelson Mandela and other leaders form an underground military organisation to undertake sabotage of government installations.

1963–64

- **30 October–12 June:** Mandela imprisoned at Rivonia Trial
  Mandela and other prominent leaders are sentenced to life imprisonment for terrorism and treason.

1976

- **16 June:** Soweto Riots
  Student protests against discriminatory education laws. International press coverage of the resulting police violence results in major sanctions against South Africa.

1977

- **12 September:** Steve Biko killed
  This radical leader who began the Black Consciousness Movement dies suspiciously in police custody, increasing outrage against the government.

1989

- **6 September:** De Klerk elected president
  He coordinates the movement to end apartheid and the release of Mandela from prison.

1990

- **February:** Apartheid laws removed
- **11 February:** Mandela released from prison
  Discrimination is officially ended, with Mandela symbolising both the horror of the apartheid years and the hope for the future of South Africa.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1993

- Mandela–de Klerk joint Nobel Peace Prize 1993
  They are jointly awarded the prize for their work in ending apartheid and laying the foundations for democracy in South Africa.

1994

- **May:** Mandela elected South African President
  He is South Africa's first black president.

Civil rights in the United States 1887–1968

1887

- Jim Crow laws begin
  Discriminatory laws that segregate races begin to be implemented.

1915

- **4 December:** Ku Klux Klan reborn
  Aggressive white activist groups actively enforce racial discrimination against African Americans, often with the support of local police and law officials.

1955–56

- **1 December:** Montgomery Bus Boycott
  Rosa Parks' arrest and subsequent boycott famously begin the successful civil rights movement.

1957

- **4 September:** Little Rock Nine
  Nine resilient African American students endure harassment to desegregate education.

1960

- **1 February:** Sit-ins begin
  Peaceful student protests successfully desegregate lunch counters and department stores.

1961

- **February:** Freedom Rides
  Northern student activists challenge laws with violent consequences.

1963

- **3 April–10 May:** Birmingham Campaign
- **28 August:** King's 'I have a dream' speech in March on Washington
  Violent police responses to Martin Luther King's peaceful protests are critical in swaying opinion in favour of civil rights. King's inspirational 'I have a dream' speech symbolises a day that swayed the popular sentiment towards integration.

1964

- **2 July:** *Civil Rights Act* passed
  President Lyndon Johnson grants civil rights to African Americans.

1965

- **6 August:** *Voting Rights Act* passed
  Political equality is achieved.

1968

- **4 April:** Martin Luther King assassinated
  King's assassination symbolises that the cultural acceptance of the equality of races is openly contested.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

13 A STUDY OF A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENT: CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS IN THE UNITED STATES

The black revolution is much more than a struggle for the rights of Negroes. It is, rather, forcing America to face all its interrelated flaws: racism, poverty, militarism, and materialism. It is exposing evils that are rooted deeply in the whole structure of our society. It reveals systematic rather than superficial flaws, and it suggests that radical reconstruction of society itself is the real issue to be faced.

– Martin Luther King, 10 May 1967

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

We have made enormous progress in race relations over the course of the past several decades. I've witnessed that in my own life. And to deny that progress, I think is to deny America's capacity for change.

– President Barack Obama, 14 August 2014

Overview

The story of the civil rights movement in the United States is the story of overturning centuries of institutionalised injustice. It is the story of courageous leaders who stood up for equality in the face of severe persecution. It is the story of ordinary people who joined together to form a powerful popular movement for change. Jim Crow laws dominated everyday life for African Americans and were constant reminders of their inferior place in white society. However, no longer was racial segregation of transport, facilities and education acceptable. The movement climaxed in 1963 with Martin Luther King's famous 'I have a dream' speech during the March on Washington.

Refer also to the 'Civil rights in the United States 1887–1968' timeline on p. 327.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- What were the Jim Crow laws?
- Who were the members of the Ku Klux Klan?
- How was transport desegregated?
- How was education desegregated?
- Why was 1963 such a crucial year?
- When were civil rights finally achieved?

Digital resources for this chapter

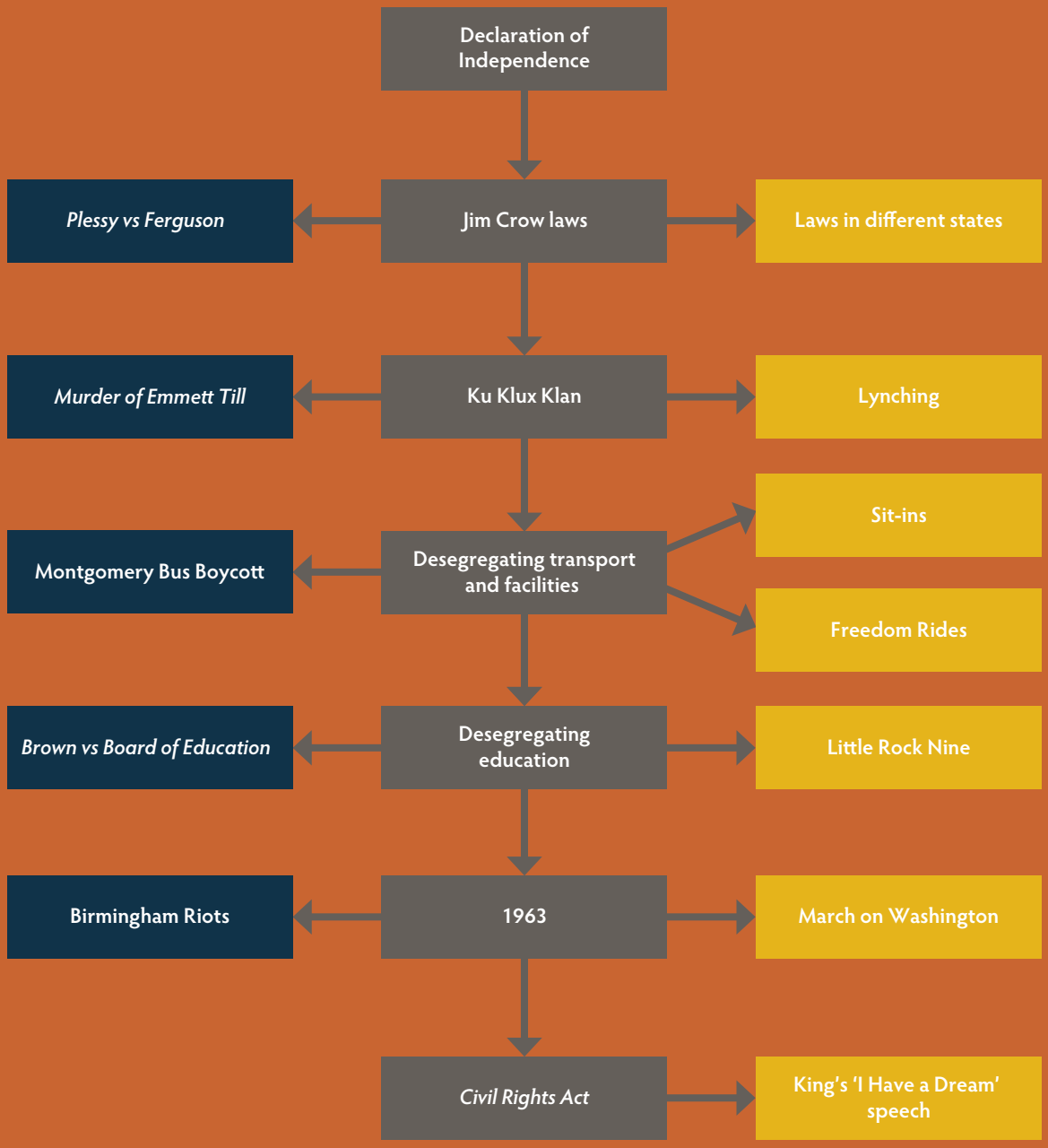
In the *Interactive Textbook*:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◂ **Source 13.0** Martin Luther King waves to participants in the civil rights movement's March on Washington, 28 August 1963.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Timeline of key chapter events

1887
Jim Crow laws begin

1915
4 DECEMBER
Ku Klux Klan reborn

1955–56
1 DECEMBER
Montgomery Bus Boycott

1957
4 SEPTEMBER
Little Rock Nine

1960
1 FEBRUARY
Sit-ins begin

1961
FEBRUARY
Freedom Rides

1963
3 APRIL–10 MAY
Birmingham Campaign

1963
28 AUGUST
King's 'I have a dream' speech in March on Washington

1965
6 AUGUST
Voting Rights Act *passed*

1968
4 APRIL
Martin Luther King assassinated

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

13.1 The United States Constitution and equality

Declaration of Independence, 1776

The Declaration of Independence is one of America's most famous documents and was signed on 4 July 1776 by the original 13 states. This date is still celebrated in the United States today as Independence Day. The Declaration proclaimed:

> *We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.*

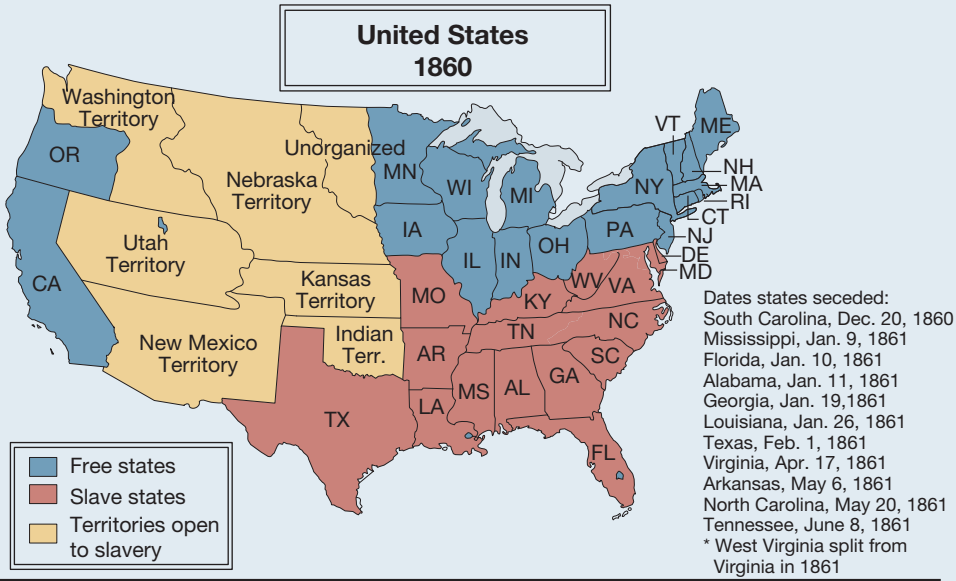
Taken on face value, this extract indicates that African slaves in the United States at that time had rights and freedoms. Yet the Founding Fathers – George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and their allies – did not intend this at all. Instead, they intended these 'unalienable rights' and the 'pursuit of happiness' to apply only to the wealthy, male, white, land-owning, Protestant minority in the new American republic. Women, ethnic groups, Native Americans and African slaves were excluded from this grand declaration. Even so, they had created a blueprint for liberty and equality that the United States struggled for 200 years to fulfil.

▼**Source 13.1** John Trumbull's *Declaration of Independence*, 1819. It represents a narrow gender and racial scope in today's terms.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.1

Examine the map in Source 13.2 and then answer the following questions:



AL Alabama	IL Illinois	MA Massachusetts	NY New York	TN Tennessee
AR Arkansas	IN Indiana	MI Michigan	NC North Carolina	TX Texas
CA California	IA Iowa	MN Minnesota	OH Ohio	VT Vermont
CT Connecticut	KY Kentucky	MS Mississippi	OR Oregon	VA Virginia
DE Delaware	LA Louisiana	MO Missouri	PA Pennsylvania	WV West Virginia
FL Florida	ME Maine	NH New Hampshire	RI Rhode Island	WI Wisconsin
GA Georgia	MD Maryland	NJ New Jersey	SC South Carolina	

▲**Source 13.2** The states in red rebelled against the United States and formed the Confederacy.

1 List the Confederate states (the states in red) at the time of the American Civil War.

2 Of these Confederate states, comment on the location of **Deep South** states (Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Louisiana).

3 Research some of the historical US Electoral College voting patterns on the internet. Which of Republican or Democrat do these Deep South States tend to vote for when it comes to choosing their president?

4 Using the information in this chapter and further research online, locate on the map (Source 13.2) where each of the following events occurred:
- Murder of Emmett Till Montgomery Bus Boycott, Alabama
- Sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina
- Freedom Ride bus bombed in Anniston, Alabama
- King's 'I have a dream' speech in Washington, DC
- Birmingham Riots in Birmingham, Alabama
- Murder of civil rights workers in Mississippi
- Assassination of King in Memphis, Tennessee
- Central High School crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas.

5 Copy and complete the table in Source 13.3. Calculate and write down what percentage of the total population the African American population represented in 1950.

Deep South refers to the states in the South that were deeply conservative about traditional society, which promoted that whites were superior

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

▼**Source 13.3** Population statistics, 1950

State	Total population	African American population	Percentage of total population
Alabama	3 061 743	979 617	
Arkansas	1 909 511	426 639	
Georgia	3 444 578	1 062 762	
Louisiana	2 683 516	882 426	
Mississippi	2 176 914	986 494	
North Carolina	4 061 929	1 047 353	
South Carolina	2 117 027	882 077	
Tennessee	3 291 716	530 603	
Virginia	3 318 680	734 211	
Total of southern states	**26 065 614**	**7 472 182**	
Total of United States	**150 195 000**	**15 045 000**	

Source: Figures taken from J. Salmond and K. Newell (ed.), *The Civil Rights Movement in the American South*, 1945–1968, La Trobe University, 1992, p. 1

FOCUS QUESTIONS 13.1

Use Source 13.3 to answer the following questions:

1 Which state had the largest population of African Americans?
2 Which state had the highest percentage of African Americans?
3 Compare the total percentages of African Americans in the southern states and the United States.

13.2 The reconstruction period: Hate remains but is driven underground

◄ **Source 13.4** Thomas Rice performing as Jim Crow

Race discrimination was part of the foundation of the United States. Ten of the first 12 presidents owned slaves. The defeat and near total destruction of the South in the Civil War required a period of rebuilding both physically and constitutionally. This has been termed the Reconstruction Period by historians. The South may have been defeated militarily and had new laws put in place, but they feverishly worked to undermine every aspect of the North's control over them. Not long after the end of the war, various former Confederate states started to make swaths of laws to exclude, humiliate and devalue African Americans. Beyond that, there were deliberate manipulations of basic societal expectations. Murders of African Americans were often not properly investigated, and many important members of society, including politicians, judges and police, were members of white supremacist groups.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Jim Crow laws

The core issue that led to the civil rights movement was deep-seated social discrimination in the hearts and minds of many people in the southern states. Between 1887 and 1891, laws were created in each of these states that divided society into 'whites' and 'coloureds'. These laws were collectively called the **Jim Crow laws**, named after a travelling white musician and actor called Thomas Dartmouth 'Daddy' Rice who created a black character called Jim Crow in 1828. His performances as Jim Crow mocked African American habits and looks, especially through a song called 'Jump Jim Crow'. Rice's popularity indicated the depth of white prejudice in both the northern and southern states.

Jim Crow laws discriminatory laws that divided society into 'whites' and 'blacks'

Examples of Jim Crow laws

Alabama

- Nurses – white female nurses are not required to work in rooms in which there are Negro men.
- Buses – all passenger stations must have separate waiting rooms and separate ticket windows for the white and coloured races.
- Pool and billiard rooms – it is illegal for a Negro and white person to play together at any game of pool or billiards.

Florida

- Cohabitation – any Negro man and white woman, or any white man and Negro woman, who sleep in the same room at night without being married shall be put in jail for 12 months.

Georgia

- Burial – white and coloured people must be buried in separate parts of the cemetery.
- Barbers – coloured barbers are not allowed to cut the hair of white women or girls.
- Parks – it is illegal for coloured people to visit any park maintained for the use of white persons.
- Baseball – it is illegal for any white amateur baseball team to play within two blocks of a Negro playground.

Louisiana

- Circus tickets – all circuses must provide at least two ticket offices and two entrances that are more than 10 metres apart.
- The blind – there must be separate buildings on separate sites for blind persons of the white and coloured races.

Mississippi

- Promotion of equality – any person who writes or speaks in favour of social equality shall be fined or jailed for a maximum of six months.

North Carolina

- Textbooks – second-hand textbooks cannot be exchanged between races and must continue to be used by the race they were first used by.
- Teaching – any teacher who teaches both coloured and white students in the same room will be fined.
- Telephone booths – companies are required to maintain separate telephone booths for white and coloured patrons.

South Carolina

- Lunch counters – shops are not allowed to serve meals to white and coloured people in the same room, or at the same table, or at the same counter.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.2

Copy the table in Source 13.5 into your workbook, allowing enough space for examples.
Using the list of Jim Crow laws above, work out common headings for those laws. Write that heading in the themes column and then provide some examples of Jim Crow laws that fall into that category. An example has been provided for you.

Themes	Examples
Education	There were separate schools for whites and coloureds. Textbooks could only be used by one race, not shared.

▲**Source 13.5** Themes in the Jim Crow laws

FOCUS QUESTION 13.2

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'What's going on in these Jim Crow laws?'**. The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples. Then swap roles.

'Separate but equal': The *Plessy vs Ferguson* case

In an act of courage, an African American named Homer Plessy exposed the unfairness of the transport system in the South but lost the fight for equality. In 1892, he deliberately challenged the Jim Crow transport law by sitting in the first-class section of a train and, as he hoped, was arrested.

Plessy vs Ferguson was the first trial that challenged the legality of the Jim Crow laws. Plessy argued that the segregation of passengers on trains violated the Constitution, but Judge John H. Ferguson was not convinced and found Plessy guilty. Plessy's appeal to the US Supreme Court also failed. In a landmark decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the segregation laws were not against the Constitution, and declared that it was legal to keep the races 'separate' as long as the facilities were 'equal'. Segregation was therefore strengthened. It would take almost another hundred years (during the civil rights movement) before the leadership and resources were available to challenge this type of injustice on a broad basis at the constitutional level.

▼**Source 13.6** Segregated drinking fountains for 'blacks'

Indeed, legal justice was very difficult for African Americans right from the end of the Civil War in the 1860s. Former Confederate soldiers were often in roles of police officers, judges and politicians. Their bitterness about having lost the Civil War and ongoing resentment over any national laws that would seek to override their state laws meant that active campaigns to ignore or undermine justice were commonplace.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◄ **Source 13.7**
An African American military policeman in front of the 'colored' military police entrance in Columbus, Georgia

◄ **Source 13.8**
Entrance to a segregated movie theatre

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

American author James Q. Whitman published an extensive analysis of Jim Crow laws and Nazism in his book *Hitler's American Model*. He concluded that Hitler's ongoing mention of the laws in his own book *Mein Kampf* indicated that Nazism drew inspiration from the Deep South. The two principal Nuremberg Laws – the Citizenship Law and the Blood Law – were almost identical in their drafting.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

13.3 The Ku Klux Klan

Ku Klux Klan (KKK) a race-based group that actively fought for the supremacy of whites

white supremacist person who believes in the superiority of Caucasians over those of different racial or ethnic backgrounds

The **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)** is a murderous **white supremacist** terrorist organisation that was founded by Confederate soldiers after the US Civil War. Founded in 1865, the KKK rapidly grew from a secret social fraternity to a paramilitary force bent on reversing the federal government's progressive Reconstruction Era activities in the South, especially policies that elevated the rights of the local African American population. There have been three incarnations of the 'Klan', with the second one having as many as six million members around 1925. Astonishingly, based on a population of 116 million at the time, this represented more than 5 per cent of the entire population of the United States.

Its activities varied in its first incarnation (1865–1871), but involved a range of destruction of property, assault, murder and harassment of the first generation of aspiring African American politicians, as well as the African American community in general. It carried an unnerving connection to use of the crucifix and in fact they burnt these in some of their ceremonies and community threats. Ironically, they were also attacking Catholics during their history but claimed to be Christian themselves. However, their vision of Christianity was simply white, Protestant and nationalist for white supremacy. The first incarnation of the KKK dissolved in 1871 following the passage of the *Third Force Act*, popularly known as the Ku Klux Act, through which Congress authorised President Ulysses S. Grant to declare martial law, impose heavy penalties against terrorist organisations, and use military force to suppress the KKK.

It was reborn in 1915 during World War I, and grew more powerful and influential (especially in southern states) after World War II, its third and current incarnation. Its initial aim was to stop African Americans from voting, but the KKK soon developed into a strongly hierarchical organisation that sponsored full violence. Its actions included public humiliation, beatings, kidnappings, killing livestock, burning houses and farms, and murder. A newspaper exposé of 1921 detailed more than 100 acts of Klan-sponsored vigilante violence and led to a Congressional investigation. The ensuing publicity only made the Klan stronger in the Deep South. As its popularity grew, the Klan found more groups to hate. Homosexual people, immigrants, Asians, Mexicans and Jews were all also targeted. Movements such as communism, as well as any efforts to liberate women from conservative views of marriage and morality, were violently opposed.

▼**Source 13.9** KKK members marching down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC. The United States' free speech amendment in the Bill of Rights provides constitutional protection to groups like this, which is likely to be an unintended consequence of the law.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The KKK's membership has declined in the twenty-first century and was believed to be as low as 3000–5000 in 2015. It remains to be seen if this is a permanent structural decline and whether this relates to changing attitudes in the United States or if racism and hate is diversifying and becoming more mainstream. It is also possible that young people are less willing to be associated with the extreme imagery of the KKK but seek to retain the associated attitudes. It is arguable that it is no longer necessary to hide behind a hood when one can hide behind a keyboard.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

'Ku Klux' came from the Greek word for 'circle'. Since circles are complete and have no start or end point; perhaps the name signalled the group's intention to create a perfect society, or to return society to where it believed it should always have been.

Does free speech facilitate hate speech?

▲**Source 13.10** Former President of the United States Donald J. Trump

In 2019 then-President Donald Trump tweeted across three posts that four non-white US Congresswomen who had criticised him should go back to the 'broken and crime infested' nations from where they had come. In fact, three of these Congresswomen were born in the United States and the other is now an US citizen. Pertinently, the First Lady, Melania Trump, has an identical experience of naturalising and becoming an US citizen after being born overseas, pointing to race being the key distinction in Trump's communication. The Democrat-controlled House of Representatives voted to condemn the president for remarks that were concluded to be racist.

> *So interesting to see 'Progressive' Democrat Congresswomen, who originally came from countries whose governments are a complete and total catastrophe, the worst, most corrupt and inept anywhere in the world (if they even have a functioning government at all), now loudly …*
>
> *… and viciously telling the people of the United States, the greatest and most powerful Nation on Earth, how our government is to be run. Why don't they go back and help fix the totally broken and crime infested places from which they came. Then come back and show us how …*
>
> *… it is done. These places need your help badly, you can't leave fast enough. I'm sure that Nancy Pelosi would be very happy to quickly work out free travel arrangements!*

FOCUS QUESTIONS 13.3

1. Research the term 'dog whistling' and explain how it relates to President Trump's tweets.
2. In a short paragraph, evaluate the pros and cons of the First Amendment.
3. When Trump describes people born in the United States as originally coming from other countries, what is he attempting to achieve?

In 2019 members of the Honorable Sacred Knights, an Indiana-based KKK group, petitioned to hold a rally in central Dayton, Ohio, prompting a counter protest by hundreds of people, including members of the Nation of Islam, the Dayton Chapter of the Black Panthers, the Huey P. Newton Gun Club, American Indian Movement, and the Antifa anti-fascist group. Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video of the verbal conflict that ensued.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 13.11** Ku Klux Klan members holding signs that display the KKK's endorsement of Barry Goldwater, a 1964 presidential nominee who sparked the resurgence of the American conservative political movement in the 1960s

RESEARCH QUESTIONS 13.1

To learn more about the power of the Ku Klux Klan in 1964, watch the award-winning film *Mississippi Burning* (1989).

1 Describe which rights of African Americans are violated in *Mississippi Burning*.
2 Explain the difference between a murder charge and a civil rights violation charge.

▶**Source 13.12** Film poster for *Mississippi Burning*

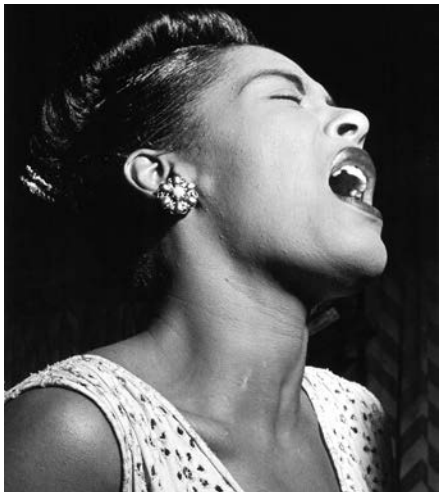
Lynching

Lynching, one of the most callous actions of the Ku Klux Klan, involved kidnapping African American men, killing them (often by hanging, but not always), tying a rope around their neck, and leaving hanging them from a tree as a warning to others not to protest. Mob violence and murder were meant to punish and intimidate African Americans.

'Strange Fruit', 1939

This haunting song was written by a Jewish schoolteacher in the Bronx, Abel Meeropol, who wrote under the name of Lewis Allen. He originally wrote it as a poem, but later put music to it. The 'strange fruit' referred to in the song are the bodies of two African American men, Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, hanged during a lynching in 1930. The lyrics contrast the pastoral scenes of the South with the ugliness of racist violence.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲**Source 13.13** US jazz singer Billie Holiday, who famously sang the controversial and haunting song 'Strange Fruit' about the lynching murder of two African American men in 1930

The owner of Café Society, an integrated nightclub in New York, approached African American jazz singer Billie Holiday to perform the song. She hesitantly agreed because it reminded her of her own father's death. The lyrics were so chilling that Holiday later said:

> *The first time I sang it, I thought it was a mistake. There wasn't even a patter of applause when I finished. Then a lone person began to clap nervously. Then suddenly everyone was clapping.*

The dark imagery of 'Strange Fruit' struck a chord with listeners, and perhaps planted one of the first seeds in what became the civil rights movement 15 years later. Despite the popularity of the song, the lyrics were so controversial that all mainstream record companies refused to record it.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 13.4

Search online for the lyrics to 'Strange Fruit' and then listen to Billie Holiday's powerful recording. Consider the use of symbolism describing the horrific event.

1 How does the song describe the 'strange fruit' and the trees that bear it?
2 Contrast the tree with its surrounding landscape.

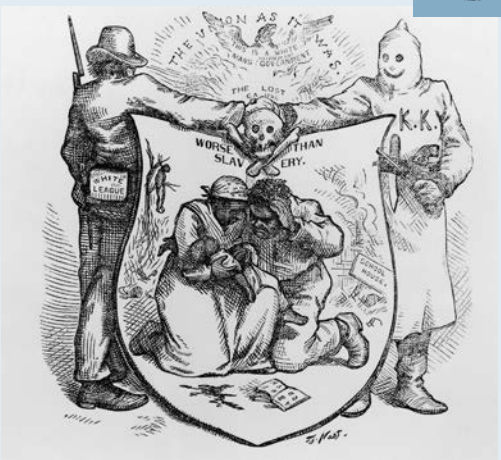
FOCUS QUESTION 13.5

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'Would this song have been controversial?'** The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.3

1 List two features of the image in Source 13.14 that show the strength of the Ku Klux Klan.
2 List three other features of this image that show the poor treatment of African Americans.
3 Use your own knowledge from this chapter to explain how this system of discrimination developed.
4 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of the image's point of view.



▲**Source 13.14** An 1874 cartoon showing the Ku Klux Klan and the White League dominating African Americans

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Emmett Till (1941–55)

In 1955, the lynching murder of a 14-year-old African American boy, Emmett Till, and subsequent farcical trial shone a light on the rotten Jim Crow Deep South culture and its complicit legal system for all of the United States to see. Unlike the vast majority of the thousands of African American victims of lynchings in the years after the Civil War, Till was visiting from a northern state. This meant that not only his murder but also the trial itself came under unprecedented scrutiny in the national media. It is perhaps an underrated catalyst for the civil rights movement, with Montgomery bus hero Rosa Parks later writing that 'the news of Emmett's death caused me ... to participate in the cry for justice and equal rights'. Parks is covered later in this chapter.

Till was visiting family in a small town in northern Mississippi called Money. The town's slogan was proudly displayed on a sign that read: 'A good place to raise a boy'. This was an irony not lost on the numerous national and international reporters covering the case. His mother had put him on a train to travel down there from Chicago for two weeks. While buying sweets from the local shop, Till struck up a conversation with the young lady working at the cash register, Carolyn Bryant. It is believed that he spoke with a brashness and confidence that might have passed in his home state, implying that he found the lady attractive. Some reports indicated that he might have whistled suggestively at her.

The following day, the husband of Carolyn, Roy Bryant, together with his half-brother, John Milam, settled on the idea of finding Emmett Till and 'teaching him a lesson'. After kidnapping or assaulting several African Americans, they finally found him in the house of his relatives, dragging him out of bed and to Milam's barn. There, Till was tortured in undeniably symbolic ways involving his tongue, ears and eyes. Once the decision was made to actually end the boy's life, his body was dumped in the Tallahatchie River, many miles away.

The court trial drew significant national attention, in part because it was a rare insight into the Jim Crow South. It also drew significant attention because Till's mother, Mamie, had elected against all advice to hold an open casket funeral back in Chicago to show the world what had happened to her boy – 50 000 people filed past his casket.

In a surprising gesture at the time, the local sheriff, H. C. Strider, suggested that the body might not have been Till's due to its apparent age and the unrecognisable nature of it when found. In fact, the torture process had provided a depraved opportunity for a defence case. Despite this, public opinion had not been with Bryant and Millam at the time, and they were widely considered social outliers anyway.

However, this changed when Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the **NAACP**, described Till's killing as a 'lynching', adding that 'the state of Mississippi has decided to maintain white supremacy by murdering children'. It is believed that Jim Crow pride dug in after the entire state had been slandered and the defendants somehow became symbolic of the entire state's dignity. The local people also resented the influx of interstate reporters casting aspersions on their folk. After this, all five of the local lawyers offered their services to defend the men free of charge; $10 000 was also raised from local donations to support the men.

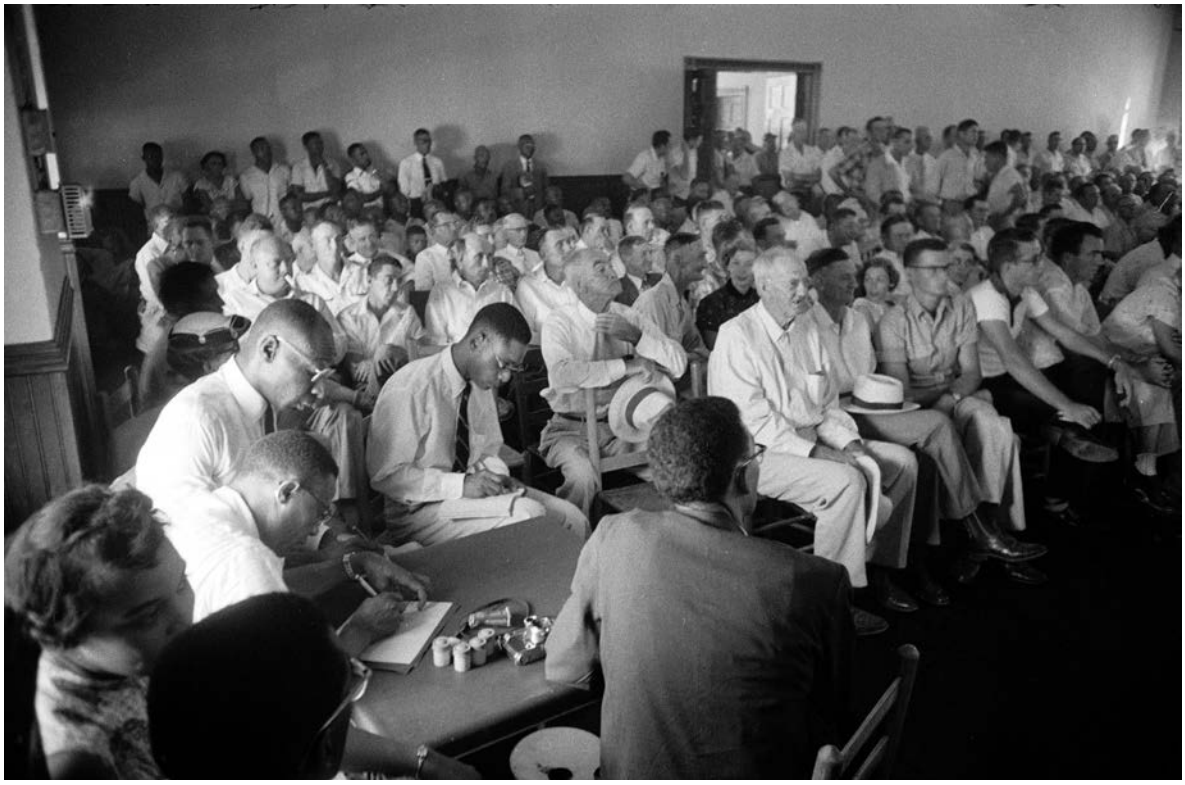
NAACP the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; an organisation whose mission is to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of people of colour

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

When the Detroit Congressman Charles Diggs, an African American, arrived to watch the court case, Sheriff Strider at first refused him entry. However, he was forced to change his approach when the presiding judge told him he had to legally let in a US congressman. Strider sent Diggs to the 'black press table'. Every morning, Strider would pass the group with a cheery, 'Hello, n-----s.'

(This quote has been modified slightly by the author as the term is considered very offensive today.)

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲**Source 13.15** The scene inside the courtroom. Note the segregated seating.

Ultimately, evidence was overwhelmingly in favour of a guilty verdict. Witnesses confirmed the accused in the correct compromising locations at the correct times, with blood on themselves and in their truck, and having told others of their actions. This was despite the sheriff Strider having arrested two key African American witnesses under false pretences and holding them elsewhere at the time they were due to give evidence. Strider also gave his evidence that the body was not Till's in the courtroom later in the trial once the prosecution case had closed and he could let his two captives go. While this was in no way believable to him or any of the jurors, it did provide the excuse of reasonable doubt that they needed. The closing remarks of the defence encouraged the jury that 'every last Anglo-Saxon one of you has the courage to set these men free'.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

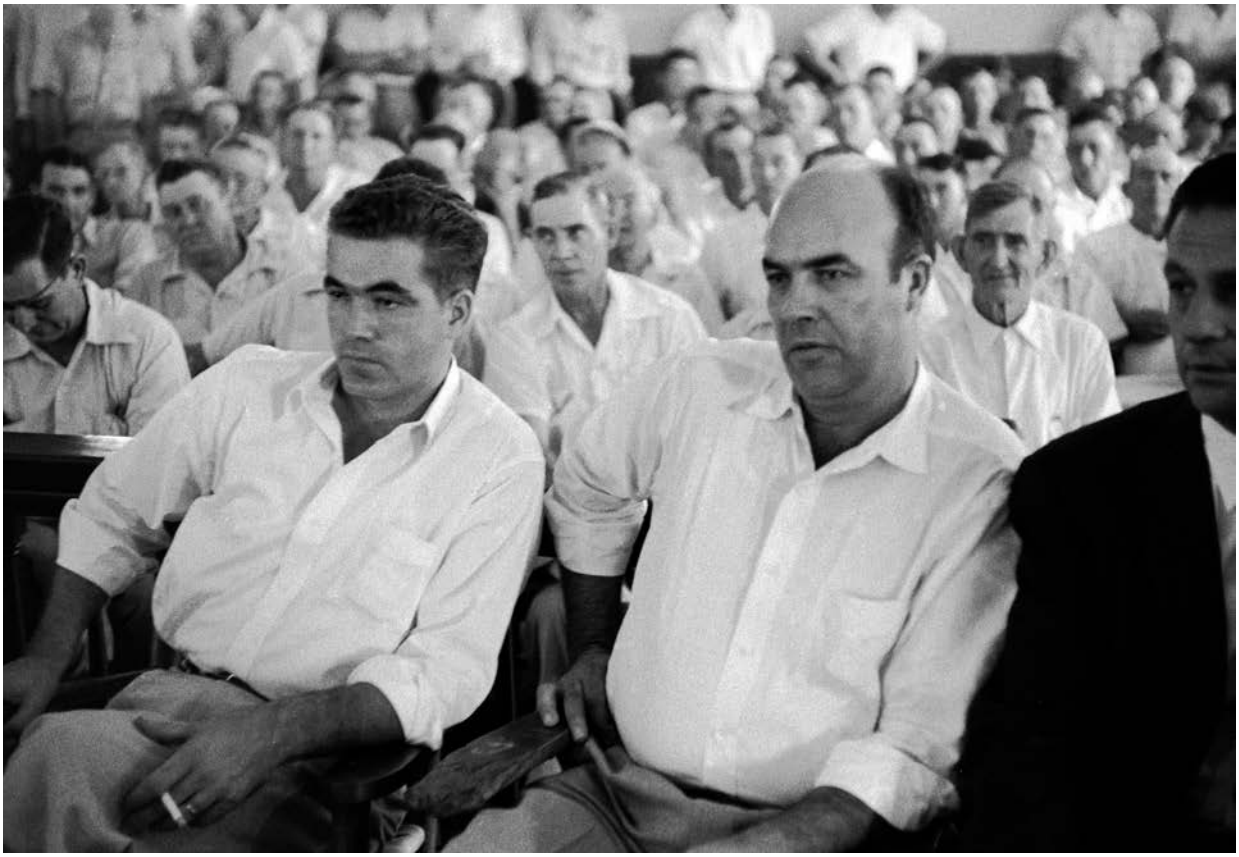
In 1955, the various tactics and legal loopholes in place meant that none of the African American residents of Tallahatchie County were registered voters. This meant that under the jury selection rules back then, no African American was eligible to serve on the jury.

Indeed, the 12-member, all-white and all-male jury unanimously found the defendants *not guilty*. In interviews later, it emerged that they had come to the verdict almost immediately, so ordered some soft-drinks, drank those and chatted to push the time out further to 'make it look good'. It also emerged that during their deliberations they had been visited by the local Citizens' Council – a KKK offshoot – to check that they were going to vote the 'right' way.

Milam and Bryant were protected by double jeopardy laws, meaning that they could not be re-tried. Under this protection, they gave an interview to *Look Magazine* in January 1956 for $4000, confessing in detail to everything they had done. They subsequently became poster boys for the KKK.

The injustice saw African Americans boycott groceries sold by both the Milam and Bryant families. Their shops soon went out of business and they went to Texas to find work before eventually returning to Mississippi. Both men died of cancer – Milam in 1981 and Bryant in 1994. No one ever served any punishment for Emmett Till's murder.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲ **Source 13.16** Milam and Bryant just before their 'not guilty' verdict

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.4

Emmett Till's horrific murder and subsequent farcical trial laid bare the entrenched injustices facing African Americans in the Deep South. The following questions allow you to explore some of the key issues further.

1. What is the significance of Emmett Till being from Chicago?
2. Evaluate the extent to which pride was a higher priority than justice for the people of Money.
3. What offences could Sheriff Strider be charged with if he acted in that manner today?
4. Explain why white people in Money were so interested in this case and its outcome.
5. Research the principles behind the double jeopardy law. Argue in a short paragraph whether it should or should not exist.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

13.4 Desegregating transport

Event 1: Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–56

The boycott of buses in Montgomery, Alabama, sparked the civil rights movement that eventually defeated the Jim Crow laws 10 years later. The civil rights movement was a reaction to the long-term causes of the cruelty and humiliation of the segregation laws. But the fire of protest and mass action was lit by the disobedience of Rosa Parks in the immediate aftermath of the Emmett Till case.

The spark: Rosa Parks sits down

Due to Jim Crow laws, Montgomery buses were divided into different sections: the first four rows for white passengers and the back rows for 'blacks'. The seats in the middle of the bus could be used by 'blacks' until those seats were needed by white passengers.

◀ **Source 13.17** Rosa Parks on a Montgomery bus

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

African Americans had to pay the driver at the front, then leave the bus and re-enter at the back door. Bus drivers had police powers; they legally carried guns to ensure that African Americans entered through the back door and sat at the back of the bus.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 13.18** The booking photo of Rosa Parks after she was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on the bus

Rosa Parks and her husband Raymond were respected members of the African American community and active members of NAACP. Shy and softly spoken, she became the 'Mother of the civil rights movement' when travelling home on the bus on 1 December 1955. She was sitting in the middle section, but as the bus was getting full, driver James Blake told four African Americans to give up their seats for one white passenger and stand at the back of the bus. Rosa Parks refused, as she was tired from a full day at work, and was arrested. But her small fine of $10 had significant consequences.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The bus that Rosa Parks refused to move seats in is now on display in the Henry Ford Museum in Detroit.

The action: A 13-month boycott

News of Parks' arrest spread quickly. NAACP leaders immediately called the new minister of the Dexter Avenue **Baptist** Church, 26-year-old Martin Luther King, and a meeting was held at the church that night to plan a protest.

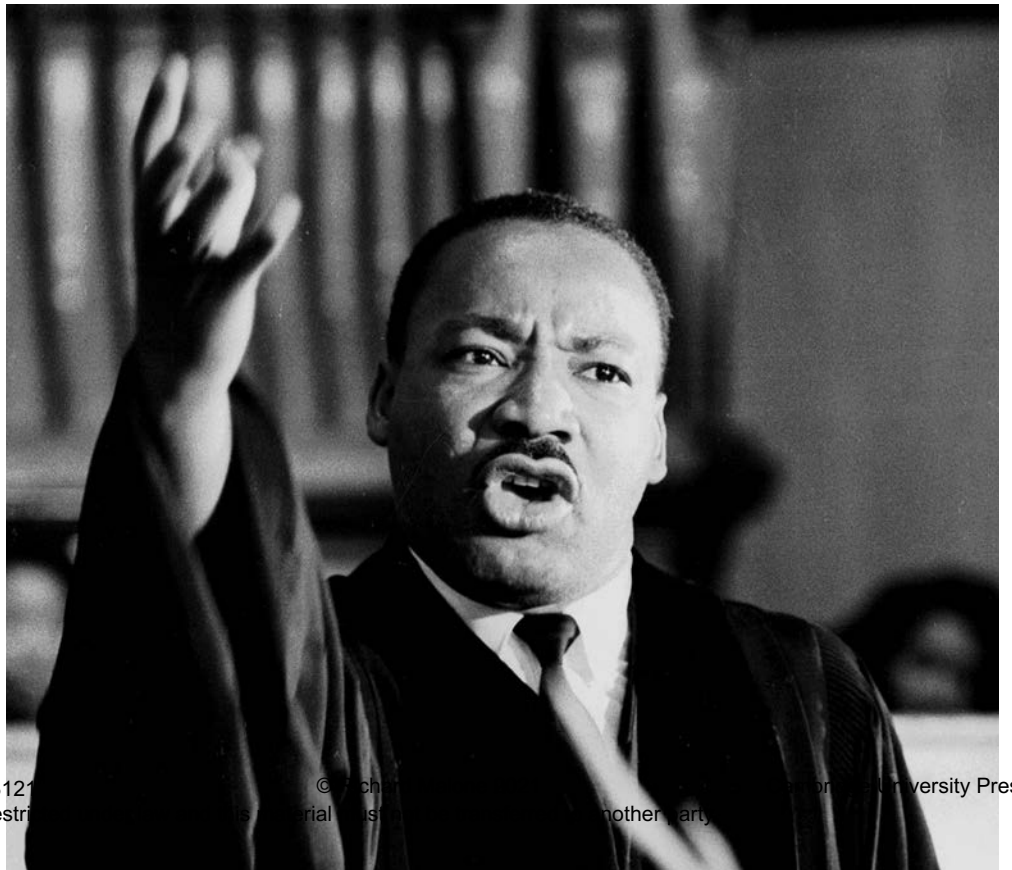
Bus companies needed the fares from African American passengers to stay in business. Given that African Americans made up more than 75 per cent of customers and therefore income for the bus companies, the leaders requested that no one ride on the buses for an entire day. Leaflets were printed and distributed all weekend to promote the Monday boycott. Black taxi drivers agreed to carry boycotters for the cost of a bus fare (10 cents).

The boycott on 5 December was nearly 100 per cent effective. A massive meeting was held in King's church that night, and the **Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)** was formed; King later became its president. At the meeting, King challenged the crowds to continue the boycott, declaring:

> *When the history books are written in future generations the historians will say, 'There lived a great people – a black people – who gave new meaning and dignity to civilization'.*

Baptist Protestant Christian denomination popular in the United States; key beliefs include freedom of conscience, individual thought and adult baptism

Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) a pro-black organisation established during the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955



▶**Source 13.19** Martin Luther King became the most popular leader of the civil rights movement.

ISBN 9781108893121 © [illegible] University Press
Photocopying is restri[illegible]rial [illegible]nother party

The boycott continued. Day after day, African Americans walked to work, school and the shops. Carpool stops were set up, where people could meet to get rides to and from work. Protesters walked in rain and winter cold, sometimes walking to work before sunrise, and many were threatened with losing their jobs. The boycott became known all around the world.

> *I'm not walking for myself. I'm walking for my children and my grandchildren.*
>
> An older African American woman who turned down the offer of a ride

> *I'm gonna walk, just as long as everybody else walks. I'm gonna walk till it's over … My feets is tired but my soul is rested.*
>
> A 72-year-old female boycotter talking to King

▲**Source 13.20** Carpooling during the Montgomery Bus Boycott

FOCUS QUESTION 13.6

An excellent online resource for the boycott can be found via the link to the right. This resource contains the front-page news articles from the *Montgomery Advertiser* and other valuable primary sources. Look it up and select a photo from the 'photo gallery'. Research the story behind this photo and present the story to your class.

Access the Interactive Textbook to view the primary sources.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Reactions to the boycott

Black determination to maintain the boycott was matched by white determination to stop it. Rosa Parks was sacked from her job within a month, and was arrested (along with King and 80 other boycotters) under the charge of 'conspiracy to conduct an illegal boycott'. Four African American churches were bombed, as were the houses of King and Edgar Nixon, a leader of the boycott. Remarkably, standing in the burning remains of his house, King restated his belief in equality and non-violence:

> *We must meet hate with love. Remember, if I am stopped, this movement will not stop, because God is with the movement.*

Victory

In June 1956, the boycotters went to the District Court and then successfully to the Supreme Court to argue that segregated buses were illegal. On 21 December 1956, all the leaders of the boycott rode integrated buses for the first time. After 381 days, the Montgomery Bus Boycott had ended.

RESEARCH QUESTION 13.2

▼**Source 13.21** A scene from *The Long Walk Home*

Watch the film *The Long Walk Home* (1990), which focuses on the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Discuss how this event helped end racial segregation in the United States.

Analysis of the Montgomery Bus Boycott

There were several outcomes of the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

1. It highlighted the success of non-violent protests.
2. African Americans realised that mass action worked. If they worked together, they were powerful.
3. King became an important leader and spokesperson in the civil rights movement.
4. Massive media coverage highlighted the issues of civil rights throughout America.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.5

Martin Luther King effectively summarised how important the boycott was to the African American community in a speech in 1956. He said:

> *There comes a time when people get tired of being trampled … by … oppression. There comes a time … when people get tired of being plunged across the abyss of exploitation [and] nagging despair. The story of Montgomery is the story of fifty thousand Negroes who are willing to substitute tired feet for tired souls, and walk until the walls of injustice are crushed by the battering rams of historical necessity.*

1 In King's words, list two things that people were tired of.
2 Explain what you think King meant in your own words.
3 How did King explain the bus boycott?
4 Summarise the boycott in your own words.

FOCUS QUESTION 13.7

Find 'The Ballad of Momma Rosa Parks' by Nick Venet and Buddy Mize (1963) and 'If You Miss Me at the Back of the Bus' by Carver Neblett (1963). Read the lyrics carefully. Describe the different ways each of these songs is effective.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Martin Luther King's story (1929–68)

Social discussions of family background and early years are often overshadowed by interest in political ambition and leadership. Hence, the purpose of this section is to provide an interesting social background to political leaders. To personalise the story, the first name has been used instead of the usual surname.

His early years

The son of a Baptist minister, Martin was born in the southern state of Georgia in 1929. His mother was a schoolteacher and he had an older sister and younger brother. He was originally named Michael, but at the age of 5 his father changed both his and his son's name to honour Martin Luther, the father of the Protestant religion, after a visit to Germany. Like his father, Martin became a Baptist minister. He met Coretta Scott while studying for the ministry and married her in 1953. Together they had four children. By the age of 25, Martin was pastor of a church in Montgomery, Alabama, and became active in the bus boycott. Martin's prominence was thrust upon him rather than his seeking out leadership.

AMAZING BUT TRUE …

Martin skipped both Year 9 and Year 11 and graduated from secondary school at the age of 15.

His beliefs

Martin became passionate about civil rights while in college, and preached about the need to fight against racism and discrimination. In 1959, he travelled to India to visit the family of Mohandas Gandhi (better known as Mahatma Ghandi), who was a major influence on his philosophy. The trip strengthened his commitment to Gandhi's methods of non-violent protest and civil disobedience.

continued …

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Martin was *Time* magazine's Man of the Year in 1963 and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964; he was the youngest recipient of the award until Pakistani activist for female education, Malala Yousafzai, received the award in 2014 at the age of 17.

His opponents

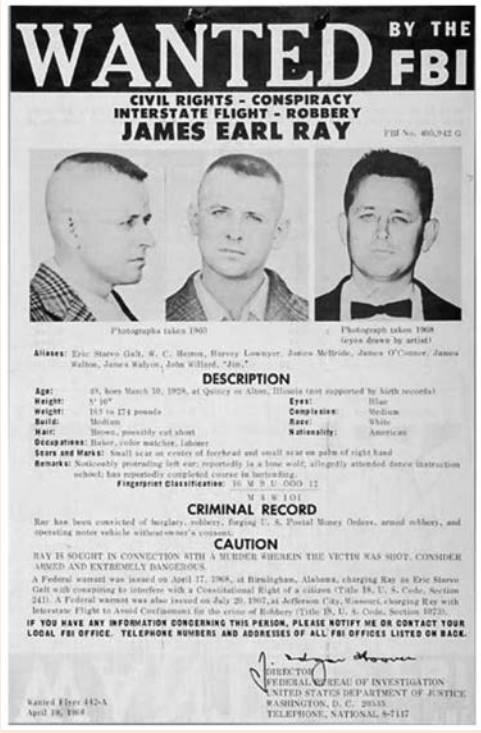
After the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964, the tone of the civil rights movement began to change, becoming more secular and confrontational. There was growing support within the movement for more militant methods of opposing white rule. Martin's message of non-violence, so successful for the previous decade, had lost popularity. When he began focusing on political issues rather than social problems, and speaking against the Vietnam War, public opinion started to turn against him, and he was often accused of being a communist. Malcolm X became the new face of the violent methods of protest.

▲**Source 13.22** Martin with Malcolm X in 1964

His assassination, 4 April 1968

Martin planned marches in Memphis, Tennessee, to protest against poverty and support striking workers. He delivered a prophetic speech, his last ever, called 'I've been to the Mountaintop' where he stated that 'I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you'. The next day Martin, just 39 years old, was shot dead by a sniper's bullet while standing on a hotel balcony in Memphis. The shooter was a former prisoner called James Earl Ray, captured after a two-month man hunt; he died in prison 30 years later. At Martin's funeral, his friend Benjamin Mays delivered the eulogy.

> *Martin Luther King Jr believed in a united America. He believed that the wall of separation brought on by legal and de facto segregation and discrimination based on race and color, could be eradicated. As he said in his Washington Monument address: 'I have a dream'.*


WANTED BY THE FBI

CIVIL RIGHTS - CONSPIRACY
INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ROBBERY
JAMES EARL RAY

DESCRIPTION

CRIMINAL RECORD

CAUTION

RAY IS SOUGHT IN CONNECTION WITH A MURDER WHEREIN THE VICTIM WAS SHOT. CONSIDER ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

IF YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE NOTIFY ME OR CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE. TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117

▶**Source 13.23** An FBI wanted poster for James Earl Ray

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

US President Ronald Reagan declared in 1983 the third Monday every January, close to King's birthday on 15 January, to be a national holiday in America to commemorate King's influence.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Event 2: Student sit-ins, 1960

There are only two languages that the white politicians and the power structure understand. One is the power of the almighty dollar bill. When those cash registers are not ringing, they understand what you're talking about.

Ruby Hurley in a speech in Atlanta, 1961

The Montgomery Bus Boycott victory seemed to signal that the South was entering a new era of racial equality, yet life had not changed by the end of the 1950s. A group of four teenage friends believed in the power of non-violent direct action and decided to protest segregated lunch counters, where whites and African Americans were served from different counters in the same venue.

At 5 p.m. on 1 February 1960, they began their first '**sit-in**' at the whites-only counter at the big Woolworths store in the town of Greensboro, North Carolina; it was a high-profile store in a busy shopping area. The manager refused to serve them, but they stayed at the counter until the store closed. Within four days more than 300 students had joined the protest, which attracted the attention of newspapers and television reporters. Woolworths eventually allowed African Americans to be served at any lunch counter.

sit-in peaceful student protest during the early 1960s to protest against segregation

▲**Source 13.24** First day of the Greensboro Woolworths sit-in

Access the Interactive Textbook to see an excerpt of a documentary that details some of the accounts of people who had first-hand experience of the sit-ins.

The sit-in concept caught the imagination of high school and college students. Sit-ins spread so quickly that over the next year there were 70 000 active protesters involved in 100 cities. The key feature of the sit-ins was that protesters were totally peaceful. Once they were refused service, they just sat there patiently and politely. As with many civil rights protests, though, white opponents were just the opposite. White segregationists would beat the protesters, knock them off their chairs and kick them unconscious, burn them with cigarettes, tip drinks and plates of food on their heads, and cover them with flour and eggs. Importantly, the protesters did not fight back. Police intervened, but astonishingly to arrest the protesters for breaking the law. The police also often turned up well after the violence had come and gone, providing an informal impunity to the actions of the white men. Around 3600 protesting students were arrested through this time, while the violent whites were not challenged.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Sit-ins were so successful that similar protests were held: swim-ins at swimming pools, read-ins at libraries, watch-ins at cinemas, kneel-ins at churches and even shoe-ins at shoe-shining shops! The organisation of the system behind the protesters allowed them to continue. King and his supporters organised assistance to represent the protesters in any resulting legal proceedings. The protesters collectively refused to pay the fines they were issued and therefore overwhelmed the local prison systems, too.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.6

Students involved in sit-ins were carefully trained to remain non-violent and to protect themselves if they were attacked. Protesters were also taught from a list of dos and don'ts and were required to show their ability to hold their nerve under pressure in simulated training drills.

Dos	Don'ts
Do show yourself in a friendly way at all times.	Don't strike back or swear if attacked.
Do sit straight and always face the counter.	Don't laugh out loud.
Do refer all questions to your leader in a polite manner.	Don't hold conversations with other customers.
Do remember the teachings of Jesus Christ, Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King.	Don't leave your seat until your leader has given you permission.
	Don't block entrances or aisles of stores.

▲ **Source 13.25** Dos and don'ts of sit-ins

1 In your own words, summarise what protesters were expected to do during a sit-in.
2 In your own words, summarise what protesters were expected not to do during a sit-in.
3 Explain whether you think the ideas in this list were a good way to fight against segregation.

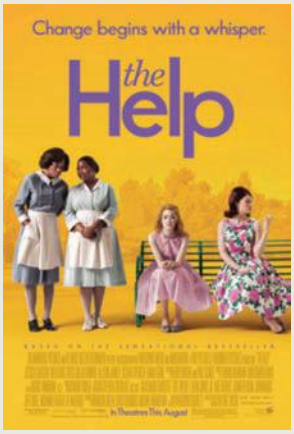
FOCUS QUESTION 13.8

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'What are the problems with this strategy of non-violence?'** A student responds. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

RESEARCH QUESTION 13.3

Watch *The Help* (2011), a film set in the early 1960s about a combined project detailing the experiences of African American maids in Jackson, Mississippi, collated by a white woman. As a class, discuss how racism ruined personal relationships and the contradictions in how the employers treat the 'Help'.



▶ **Source 13.26** Film poster of *The Help*

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.7

Decide whether the following statements are true or false.

1 Sit-ins began because integration was not being introduced in the South.
2 The first sit-in took place on 1 February 1960 in Woolworths.
3 Within four days, over 300 people had joined in sit-ins.
4 Sit-ins were significant because they received mass media coverage.
5 Sit-in protesters were taught to fight back if attacked.
6 Sit-ins were peaceful events.
7 Sit-ins did not work because whites in the South refused to integrate.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.8

This photo was taken during the first 1960 sit-in and was printed in newspapers all over the world. Examine it and then answer the following questions.

▲**Source 13.27** A white student pouring drinks on the heads of peaceful sit-in protesters

1 Describe what is going on in this image.
2 Propose why photos seem to have more impact compared to just a description of an event.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) a civil rights organisation founded in 1942 that played a central part in the civil rights movement

Event 3: Freedom Rides, 1961

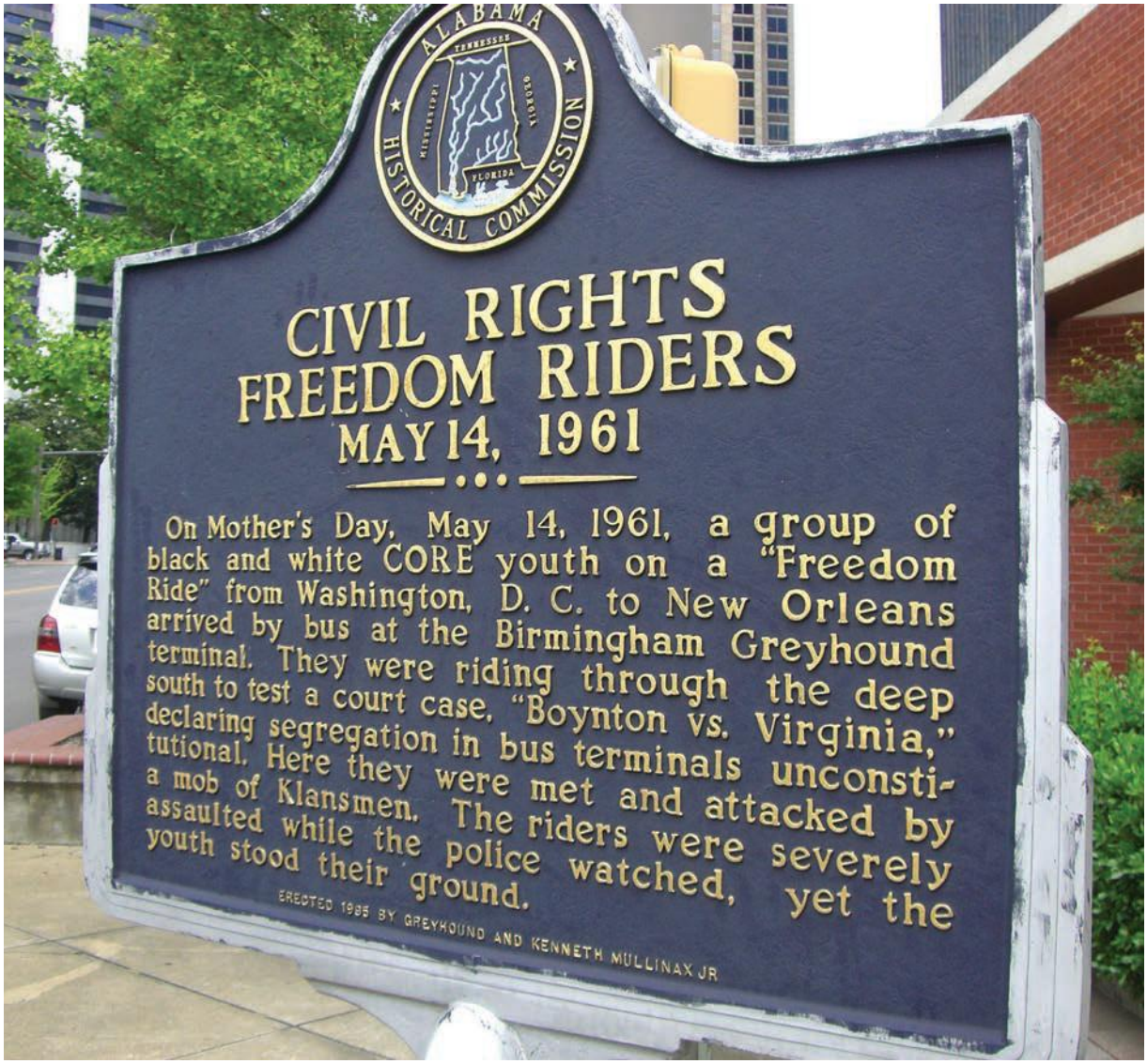
Students identified another way in which they could protest about segregation. Interstate buses travelled through states with different racial laws. For example, in the North passengers could sit anywhere on a bus and use any facilities, but when the bus travelled to the South these same passengers had to use separate facilities.

James Farmer Jr, founder of the group **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**, led a protest to challenge these laws. The plan was for a large group of both African American and white students to travel from Washington, DC in the North to New Orleans in the South in May 1961. Journalists would accompany the group to report the outcomes.

FOCUS QUESTION 13.9

Watch a helpful documentary called *Freedom Riders* (2010) that captures the story through original participants. Describe the significance of the Freedom Rides and outline the dangers involved in this protest.

▼**Source 13.28** The Freedom Rider plaque in central Birmingham



ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Reactions to the Freedom Rides

The response to the Freedom Riders was hostile – more than the protesters could have ever expected: protestors were savagely clubbed and buses attacked with rocks and firebombs, while injured protestors were refused treatment at hospitals and local police made no arrests. However, the attack in Birmingham, Alabama, was the worst. Birmingham was the most segregated city in America, and was controlled by its chief of police, Eugene 'Bull' Connor, who had deliberately not arranged any protection for the Freedom Riders. Waiting at the first bus stop was a mob of angry whites armed with steel bars, bats and chains. Heads were cracked open and many protesters were knocked unconscious. The mob especially targeted the white students involved in the Freedom Rides; Jim Zwerg was beaten so brutally that his teeth were knocked out, his back nearly broken and his face temporarily disfigured.

▲**Source 13.29** One of the buses after being firebombed

In her 1988 book, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63*, Taylor Branch wrote:

> *One of the men grabbed Zwerg's suitcase and smashed him in the face with it. Others slugged him to the ground, and when he was dazed beyond resistance, one man pinned Zwerg's head between his knees so that the others could take turns hitting him. As they steadily knocked out his teeth, and his face and chest were streaming blood, a few adults on the perimeter put their children on their shoulders to view the carnage.*

Zwerg later said:

> *Segregation must be stopped. It must be broken down. Those of us on the Freedom Ride will continue … No matter what happens we are dedicated to this. We will take the beatings. We are willing to accept death. We are going to keep coming until we can ride anywhere in the South.*
>
> Jim Zwerg from his hospital bed in 1961

▶**Source 13.30** Jim Zwerg on the way to recovery after his extensive bashing at the hands of a white supremacist mob

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

In contrast to this furious opposition to the Freedom Rides, times were changing in the White House. While President Dwight Eisenhower had intervened in the case of the Little Rock Nine (discussed later in this chapter), he had been replaced by the young liberal president John F. Kennedy, who immediately desegregated all interstate travel.

The Freedom Rides influenced Australian university students Gary Williams and Charles Perkins to conduct their own Freedom Ride in February 1965. They targeted a swimming pool in the New South Wales town of Moree that would not admit Aboriginal people. After two protest visits, the pool was finally integrated.

►**Source 13.31** Connor, the chief of police in Birmingham, laughs off a directive from Washington in front of his supporters.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to view rare footage of the Australian Freedom Ride.

▲**Source 13.32** The Freedom Rides provoked incredible anger in parts of the United States. This 'hate bus', denouncing 'race mixing', was protected by the First Amendment (Freedom of Speech) of the US Constitution, which permits speech and association of all kinds.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.9

Choose and complete one of the following options.

1 Analytical perspective

Develop an A4 page 'Fact file' explaining the following about either the Montgomery Bus Boycott, sit-ins or Freedom Rides:

- background
- actual events
- significance.

2 Creative perspective

Create your own character to write a personal perspective of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, sit-ins or Freedom Rides. Here are some suggestions of the type of character you could decide to be:

- an African American protester in any of the events
- a white supporter of civil rights action in any of the events
- a white attacker in any of the events.

3 Leadership perspective

Write a biography of one of the leaders involved in these events, exploring their background, motivations and involvement:

- Rosa Parks, whose arrest started the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Edgar Nixon, leader of the NAACP and involved in the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Jo Ann Robinson, President of the African American Women's Group during the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Ralph Abernathy, a leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association during the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Julian Bond, who coordinated sit-ins in Atlanta, Georgia
- John Lewis, who coordinated sit-ins in Nashville, Tennessee
- James Farmer, Executive Director of CORE, who organised the Freedom Rides
- John F. Kennedy, President of the United States from 1960.

4 Alternative perspective – white supporters of the movement

Research and write a summary of the role that white Americans played in supporting the movement. For example:

- Virginia Durr or Juliette Morgan in the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Jim Zwerg in the Freedom Rides.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

13.5 Desegregating education

Event 1: *Brown vs Board of Education*, 1951

The schooling system was one of the most visible areas of discrimination. Thurgood Marshall was a high-profile African American lawyer who worked for the NAACP. He believed that an equal education system was the key to defeating segregation. His goal was to desegregate all education, from kindergartens to universities. In 1951, he got his chance.

Sick of walking six busy blocks and of not being able to enrol his eight-year-old daughter, Linda, in a local white school, Oliver Brown persuaded seven other African American families to sue the Board of Education in 1951 over the practice of segregated education. Instead of arguing that conditions were unequal – for example, that it was unfair to have fewer tables and chairs than white schools – Oliver Brown and Thurgood Marshall attacked the entire existence of segregated schooling. They argued that children could not get an equal education in segregated schools.

To prove their point, they called on psychologist Professor Kenneth Clark, the first African American professor at the City College of New York. He did an experiment on the impact of segregated schooling using two dolls, one pink and the other brown, which he presented to African American children.

▲ **Source 13.33**
Thurgood Marshall

PROFESSOR CLARK: I used these methods which I told you about – the Negro and White dolls – which were identical in every respect save skin color. I presented these dolls to them and I asked them the following questions in the following order: 'Show me the doll that you like best or that you'd like to play with,' 'Show me the doll that is the 'nice' doll,' 'Show me the doll that looks 'bad',' and then the following questions also: 'Give me the doll that looks like a white child,' 'Give me the doll that looks like a colored child,' 'Give me the doll that looks like you.'

JUDGE: 'Like you?'

PROFESSOR CLARK: 'Like you.' I wanted to get the child's free expression of his opinions and feelings before I had him identified with one of these two dolls. I found that of the children between the ages of six and nine whom I tested, which were a total of sixteen in number, that ten of those children chose the white doll as their preference; the doll which they liked best. Ten of them also considered the white doll a 'Nice' doll. And, I think you have to keep in mind that these two dolls are absolutely identical in every respect except skin color. Eleven of these sixteen children chose the brown doll as the doll which looked 'bad.' This is consistent with previous results which we have obtained testing over three hundred children, and we interpret it to mean that the Negro child accepts as early as six, seven or eight the negative stereotypes about his own group … The conclusion which I was forced to reach was that these children in Clarendon County, like other human beings who are subjected to an obviously inferior status in the society in which they live, have been definitely harmed in the development of their personalities; that the signs of instability in their personalities are clear.

Published in G. Beggs, 'Novel expert evidence in federal civil rights litigation', *American University Law Review*, 45, 1995

FOCUS QUESTIONS 13.10

1. In the Professor Clark's extract, what were his main questions to African American children?
2. Describe the results of the experiment.
3. Propose how Professor Clark's conclusions relate to segregated schooling.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Brown and Marshall lost the case in the Kansas District Court, but appealed the decision in the Supreme Court. On 17 May 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren read out the decision. He declared that Professor Clark's doll tests had been an important factor and that all nine judges had reached a unanimous decision that having separate education systems was unequal. African American children were allowed to go to school with white children. Within a year, over 500 school districts all over the United States had desegregated. But the ruling had a negative impact on the employment of well-trained and equally talented African American teachers. It did not create peace and equality; instead, it started a social war.

Event 2: Little Rock Nine, 1957

The Supreme Court ordered all schools to desegregate 'with all deliberate speed'. But many schools in the southern states, furious at the ruling, refused. White Citizens' Councils were formed to oppose integration, and the KKK became more active than ever. Nine intelligent and resilient African American students – known as the Little Rock Nine – were placed in the provocative circumstance of being enrolled in the white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Action 1: Governor Faubus begins the fight

Instead of protecting the African American students, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus called in the Arkansas National Guard to encircle the school and use guns and bayonets to physically stop the African American students from entering. By 7.30 a.m. on 4 September 1957, hundreds of angry white protesters had gathered outside the school.

The mob was chanting 'N-----s go home!' and 'Two, four, six, eight, we ain't gonna integrate!' The famous photo of student Elizabeth Eckford (see Source 13.33) was taken as she walked back to the bus stop after being barred from school. It was published throughout the world as a powerful image representing the whole racial problem in the United States. It was even used by the USSR to point to the United States' terrible social ills.

This quote has been modified slightly by the author as the term is considered very offensive today.

▲**Source 13.34** Elizabeth Eckford, one of the Little Rock Nine. This iconic photograph captures the determination of Elizabeth against the rage of the Jim Crow South.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see videos of Elizabeth Eckford and others reflecting on their experiences in a newsreel not long after the event.

Elizabeth Eckford suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder after the event and could not work for many years. The white girl screaming at Elizabeth was Hazel Massery (nee Bryan). Forty years after the crisis, Hazel apologised to Elizabeth for her hate. Elizabeth graciously accepted the apology. In fact, at the time, Massery stood out the front of the school and was on several occasions quoted by newspapers as she continued what was becoming a personal campaign. She told newsmen on one occasion that had God really wanted whites and blacks to be together, 'he would have made us all the same color'. During this time she started almost immediately receiving letters from people in the north of America, criticising her. While she did not understand why people were criticising her at the time, her parents withdrew her from the school not long afterwards. Massery was a product of her upbringing, pointing to the deep cultural prejudices of the people of Little Rock and hundreds of other towns like it. Her father had been known to refuse to be waited on by African Americans, and would change lines in the bank if he saw an African American person as the teller.

Action 2: President Eisenhower fights back against Governor Faubus

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video of Eisenhower campaigning in Little Rock in 1952. Five years later he would challenge their deep-seated racism by sending in the army.

President Eisenhower was furious with Governor Faubus for acting against the law of the nation's Supreme Court. It was typical of the populism of politicians at the time and in the Deep South where a 'Confederate' stance was taken against federal government intervention in what they viewed as the private affairs of their state. Eisenhower ordered 1000 soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division to Central High to personally escort the students to school in order to uphold the Constitution and stop mob rule. This was an extremely important and brave gesture in a divided nation. Only years earlier, Eisenhower had been welcomed to Little Rock with open arms. For people in the South, this federal intervention was reminiscent of the Civil War and the subsequent loss of their freedom to be racist.

Action 3: Bullies rule

Governor Faubus eventually backed down and allowed the African American students to study at Central High School. The nine students were escorted by armed guards, but were bullied terribly by white students for the whole year. They sat by themselves most lunchtimes and were constantly harassed. The engrained sense of white supremacy that had been delivered through a conservative social and educational system for generations was on show in the actions of individuals. Affronted by this new situation, the whites took the law into their own hands as far as they could get away with it. Their political leaders only encouraged it with populist speeches that spoke to the heart of their latent Confederate resentment.

Action 4: Faubus fights back – the 'lost year'

Once the 1957–58 school year ended, Governor Faubus took drastic action. Rather than integrate as ordered, he closed down all white schools in the Little Rock district. Instead, Faubus established 'private' schools that could make up their own rules, one of which was that African American students were not welcome. Several of the legal frameworks for these schools were challenged in federal courts and defeated in rolling legal battles throughout the year.

Action 5: The system collapses and limited desegregation wins

The absurdity of the closed schools eventually led to political pressure coming to bear on Governor Faubus. Sackings of teachers and white students missing their education, against the backdrop of President Eisenhower's refusal to back down and ongoing legal battles that were exhausting the town's public purse, led to voters in Little Rock finally moving reluctantly towards limited desegregation.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 13.35** The Little Rock Nine with counsellor Daisy Bates (back, second from right)

AMAZING BUT TRUE . . .

Governor Faubus' decision to close all Little Rock public schools for a year not only locked 3665 white and African American students from their classrooms. Absurdly, due to contractual obligations, 177 teachers and administrators turned up every day as usual to teach in empty classrooms and administer no students.

▼**Source 13.36** Testimonies from the Little Rock Nine

Student	Result	Quote
Minnijean Brown	Expelled from Central High in 1958	'If we knew what it was going to be, we would have been too scared to go.'
Elizabeth Eckford	Moved to St Louis, Missouri, after Central High was closed, studied by correspondence, and went on to complete a BA in History	'I'm the only one who says I wouldn't do it again.'
Ernest Green	The first African American ever to graduate from Central Rock High in May 1958; barely anyone in the audience of 4500 clapped at his graduation	'I knew that once I received that diploma, I had cracked the wall … I had accomplished what I had come there for.'
Melba Pattillo Beals	Left Central High when it closed and finished her final year in Montgomery; wrote two books about her experiences	'To this day, all of the Little Rock Nine have residual effects from the stress of it. But the experience is also a core of steel in my spine. It made me unafraid and unaffected by what people might call me.'

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

Student	Result	Quote
Jefferson Thomas	Graduated from Central High in 1960	'If Little Rock taught us nothing more, it taught us that problems can make us better. Much better.'
Thelma Mothershed	Finished high school by correspondence in 1958	'I think it helped me because I'm able to accept people for whoever they are, whatever they look like.'
Terrence Roberts	Moved to Los Angeles after only one year at Central High	Describing the white mob: 'They ranged in age from very young to very old. Every visage was twisted, grotesque. And the words that came from their mouths were shocking. They really wanted to kill us.'
Carlotta Walls	Left Central High after one year, but returned in 1959 and graduated in 1960	'I had to have that sheet of paper. It was an achievement. I helped change the educational system.'
Gloria Ray Karlmark	Left Central High when it was closed and, ironically, completed her education at a newly integrated school, also called Central High School, in Missouri	'At the beginning of the day, we were nine. At the end of the day, we would check to see that we were still nine.'

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to watch footage of the Little Rock Nine and their attempts to attend school while escorted by the army.

FOCUS QUESTION 13.11

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Was the personal sacrifice for these nine students too high?'** A student responds. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

▶**Source 13.37** *Testament*, a sculpture of the Little Rock Nine in the Arkansas State Capitol grounds

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Images of the Little Rock Nine were placed on postage stamps in 2005, and statues of them were erected on the Arkansas State Capitol grounds. They were awarded the Congressional Gold Medal in 1999.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

13.6 How did whites argue against integration?

Not all whites were violent or hated the African American population. However, African Americans were taught that they were inferior; similarly, whites were taught that they were superior. These perceptions were reinforced daily for both groups. Theoretical stereotypes retain their power unless they are broken down by personal experiences. Since many whites did not have personal friendships with African Americans, there were arguments used by many white leaders that were genuinely believed by the majority of white citizens.

- *Argument 1* – There was a good working relationship between the two races that could be harmed by integration.
- *Argument 2* – 'Outside agitators' were ruining this good relationship and promoting division.
- *Argument 3* – Many people who supported integration were communists or communist sympathisers. (These labels provoked many fearful reactions from American citizens, given that these events occurred during the Cold War.)
- *Argument 4* – African Americans themselves did not want integration.

FOCUS QUESTION 13.12

Talk the thought – the four Cs

This thinking routine provides a structure for rich discussion. In small groups, each person shares their response to the first 'C': 'Connections' in relation to the text about how white people argued against integration. Then each member shares a 'Challenge', and so on.

- **Connections** – What connections do you draw between the text and your own life and/or other learning?
- **Challenge** – What ideas, perspectives or assumptions do you want to challenge or argue with?
- **Concepts** – What key concepts do you think are important and worth holding on to from the text?
- **Changes** – What changes in attitudes, thinking or action are suggested by the text?

13.7 The pivotal year, 1963

No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come.

Victor Hugo

The Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 had sparked something unique for the United States – a popular revolution. While there had been civil rights activism over the past century, it was after 1955 that the African American population realised the power of collective action. The year 1963 marked the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 that ended slavery. It was a pivotal year due to major marches that were supported by a range of protesters, attracted significant media attention and cemented the reputation of Martin Luther King as the face of the civil rights leadership. The year 1963 signalled that the time for equality and integration had finally arrived in America.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Event 1: The Birmingham Riots

We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering.

Martin Luther King, 1963

Background

On 3 April 1963, King arrived in Birmingham, 'the most segregated city in America', for a series of protest marches that signalled his intention to begin a heavyweight fight with Police Chief Eugene Connor, an outright enemy of civil rights. In fact, Connor warned King that 'blood would run in the streets of Birmingham' before he would agree to changing the Jim Crow laws. King preached to an Atlanta congregation that:

If we can crack Birmingham, I am convinced we can crack the south. Birmingham is a symbol of segregation for the entire south.

Martin Luther King, 1963

King's philosophy of fighting was based on Gandhi's concept of *satyagraha*, which Gandhi had used in India to achieve independence from Britain. The core elements of *satyagraha* were identifying unjust laws, breaking them to provoke a response and then accepting the consequences. When it came to Birmingham and Connor, brutal and vicious consequences were inevitable, but while marching was extremely dangerous, a future of segregation was seen to be even more dangerous.

A timeline of the main events is listed in Source 13.38.

3–6 April	Sit-in demonstrators are arrested.
6–9 April	Marchers are arrested.
10 April	Connor obtains a court injunction making all street marches illegal.
12 April	King and many others are arrested by Connor for marching and thrown into jail. King is placed in solitary confinement.
20 April	King is released from jail and continues marching.
11 June	John F. Kennedy delivers his famous civil rights speech in response to the Birmingham events (which he had initially been reluctant to support), five months before his own death.

▲**Source 13.38** Main events in Birmingham, 1963

Response to the marches

The whole point of the Birmingham protests was to provoke a response, highlighting the need for equality – and Connor did not disappoint, ordering two brutal attacks on the marchers. First, he used high-pressure fire hoses that literally blasted the protesters along the streets and into buildings, resulting in severe grazes and injuries. Second, he ordered police dogs to attack the protesters, tearing at their arms and legs. When the protesters tried to protect themselves, they were beaten by the police. Crucially, television cameras and photographers captured these vivid images and broadcast them around the world, highlighting the horrible face of US racism.

In a scene of madness, Connor actually rode through the streets in an armoured tank, yelling violent and racist remarks through a megaphone.

Two days later, thousands of marchers took to the streets again, only to be confronted by waiting firemen and police dogs. This time, the protesters knelt down in front of their attackers and prayed. Connor ordered his men to attack the kneeling protesters – but they disobeyed. Instead, in an amazing act of respect, the firemen and police allowed the protesters to continue marching down the main street. Non-violence had won.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 13.39** This photograph by Associated Press photographer Bill Hudson of a high school student being attacked by dogs was published on the front page of the *New York Times* on 4 May 1963.

End of the crisis

By mid-May, city officials and businesses had agreed to integrate Birmingham and to create more jobs for African Americans. Connor stepped down from office.

On 11 June 1963, JFK delivered his now famous speech in response to the Birmingham events. Despite having been somewhat reluctant initially to support the protests, the overwhelming nature of the march, and King's 'I have a dream' speech (discussed later this chapter) earlier that day swayed both public opinion and that of the president.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.10

Write a paragraph on the extent to which you believe the following statement is true. You may agree or disagree, and you must use at least two pieces of evidence: *President Kennedy only supported the civil rights movement when he realised it was popular.*

FOCUS QUESTION 13.13

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Why were the Birmingham marches so successful?'** A student responds. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to hear JFK deliver a powerful speech on civil rights during which he explains the plight of African Americans and his decision to deploy the army in the 'Deep South' to allow nine African American students to attend school, as was their right.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.11

While Martin Luther King was in jail from 12 April, a letter in a local newspaper, written by eight white ministers from Alabama, criticised him as an outsider and condemned his protests in Birmingham for 'spreading hatred between the races'. King's lawyers smuggled a pen into the jail, and King wrote a long reply on toilet paper and in the margins of newspapers. His response to these white church leaders was also published, and became one of the most famous documents in the history of the civil rights movement. Here is a short extract:

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham … Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States …

We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and the national community … We began a series of workshops on non-violence, and we repeatedly asked ourselves: 'Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?' 'Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?' We decided to schedule our direct action program for the Easter season, realizing that except for Christmas, this is the main shopping period of the year …

You may well ask: 'Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?' You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored …

The purpose of our direct action program is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. I therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

FOCUS QUESTION 13.14

Talk the thought – the four Cs

This thinking routine provides a structure for rich discussion. In small groups, each person shares their response to the first 'C': 'Connections' in relation to King's response to the white church leaders. Then each member shares a 'Challenge', and so on.

- **Connections** – What connections do you draw between the text and your own life and/or other learning?
- **Challenge** – What ideas, perspectives or assumptions do you want to challenge or argue with?
- **Concepts** – What key concepts do you think are important and worth holding on to from the text?
- **Changes** – What changes in attitudes, thinking or action are suggested by the text?

Event 2: Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech, 28 August 1963

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

Given the media exposure of the Birmingham campaign, activist A. Philip Randolph advocated a massive march to put pressure on politicians to pass the Civil Rights Bill. The march was organised for Washington, DC, where the United States Congress meets. President Kennedy was initially against the march, telling the organisers:

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Some of these people are looking for an excuse to be against us. I don't want to give any of them a chance to say, 'Yes I'm for the Bill, but I'm damned if I will vote for it at the point of a gun.'

President Kennedy

The planning for the march went ahead anyway and received Kennedy's reluctant support. The organisers expected 100 000 protesters, but were amazed when 250 000 black and white Americans turned out to show their support.

The heart of the American Negro was revealed today. This was an unforgettable demonstration. It was dignified, extraordinarily disciplined and intensely patriotic.

Senator Jacob Javits

The march was a tremendous success because the stereotype that African Americans were illiterate and violent was shattered due to the intelligent, organised and patriotic flavour of the day's events.

▲**Source 13.40** The march in front of the Washington Monument, 28 August 1963

Great speeches

Ideas only matter because human beings have them. Great speeches need both strong content and engaging delivery to win over an audience. Source 13.41 lists some characteristics of a strong speaker.

Style	Content
• Charisma – must have the power to inspire and attract others • Passion – must use strong emotion and totally believe in their topic • Sincerity – must be honest and genuine • Language – must have a confident vocabulary • Voice – raising and lowering the voice, increasing and decreasing speed and even pauses are powerful	• Authoritative – must have a convincing knowledge of their topic • Relevance – the topic must link the life experiences of the audience • Stories – must connect the audience with the meaning of the message • Solutions – must provide answers to problems in order to create hope • Symbols – imagery is more memorable than analysis • Inclusive – words like 'we', 'you' and 'us' make everyone feel involved

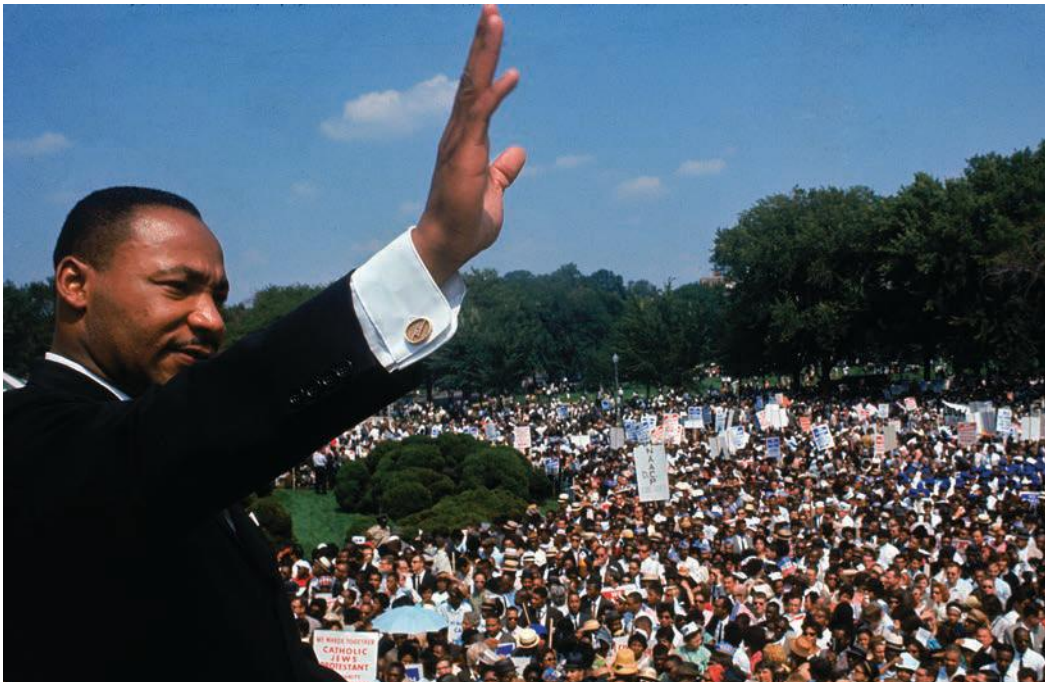
▲**Source 13.41** Characteristics of a strong speech

RESEARCH QUESTION 13.4

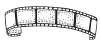
Research some other famous speeches. Which of these elements did they contain?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

It was King's 'I have a dream' speech that was the most memorable event of the march. Delivered on the steps at the Lincoln Memorial, this speech included many of the elements described in Source 13.40 and was voted the most inspiring speech of the twentieth century. When King had nearly finished his prepared speech, a fellow activist called out from the crowd: 'Tell us your dream, Martin. Tell us your dream.' King looked up and began an impromptu speech, sharing with the crowd his dream for a more equal American society. It was full of powerful imagery and repetition to help convince people of the need for integration.



▲ **Source 13.42** Martin Luther King during his 'I have a dream' speech, 28 August 1963



Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to listen to an excerpt from King's speech.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.12

Listen to the excerpt of King's 'I have a dream' speech using the QR code and answer the following questions.

1 What do you notice about King's volume, intonation and physical gestures during the speech? How has this enhanced his effectiveness?
2 Which 'great American' was King referring to in his speech?
3 King was a Baptist minister. How does he link the concept of righteousness towards the end of this excerpt?

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.13

King's speech lasted 17 minutes and was believed to have been drafted firstly in New York, and then finished in Washington in the hours before it was delivered there. Below is a further excerpt for analysis.

> *There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the colored citizen is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges … We cannot be satisfied as long as the colored person's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one … We cannot be satisfied as long as a colored person in Mississippi cannot vote and a colored person in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote.*

continued…

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

…continued

Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by storms of persecutions and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive …

I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed …

I have a dream that one day out in the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification; that one day right down in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

1 How might King's reference to ghettos in his 1963 speech have carried additional innuendo?
2 When King referenced the American dream and 'the meaning of its creed', what was he attempting to emphasise?
3 Explain why King singled out the particular states that he did in this speech.
4 Is there any particular part or parts of this speech that might have singled King out as an assassination target? Explain your choices.

AMAZING BUT TRUE …

Less than a month after King's dream of peace and unity, four young girls were killed in a bomb attack on a Birmingham church. This would lead to further demonstrations as the movement grew exponentially.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS 13.5

1 Create a timeline outlining the events that led to King's famous speech.
2 Describe the events that followed this speech. Was King's dream realised?

FOCUS QUESTION 13.15

Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model (see Chapter 1, p. 12) in reference to King's 'I have a dream' speech.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

13.8 The *Civil Rights Act* passed, 1964

The Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964

The crowning act of the civil rights movement was the passing of the Civil Rights Bill in 1964. One year later, in what is considered to be one of his best speeches, President Lyndon Johnson introduced the idea of a Voting Rights Act to Congress:

▲**Source 13.43** President Johnson meets with Martin Luther King, Whitney Young (National Urban League) and James Farmer (Congress of Racial Equality) in the Oval Office of the White House in January 1964 to discuss the details of the *Civil Rights Act*.

> *Rarely are we met with a challenge … to the values and the purposes and the meaning of our beloved Nation. The issue of equal rights for American Negroes is such as an issue.*
>
> *… the command of the Constitution is plain. It is wrong – deadly wrong – to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country.*
>
> President Lyndon Johnson

The Act came into effect in 1965. The impact of this Act was dramatic. In the longer term, far more African Americans were elected into public office, and in 2008 the first African American President, Barack Obama, was elected and served two terms. As King had correctly argued, demonstrations served a good purpose, but real change would only come through the power of the government.

◄**Source 13.44** President Johnson signs the *Civil Rights Act* in the White House. Martin Luther King is standing just behind Johnson.

ISBN 9781108403121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 13.45** President Johnson after signing the *Voting Rights Act* in 1965 with Martin Luther King (centre) and Rosa Parks (right)

▲**Source 13.46** US President Barack Obama and first lady Michelle Obama help paint a mural depicting Martin Luther King at the Jobs Have Priority Naylor Road Family Shelter, 16 January 2017, in Washington on Martin Luther King Day.

Access the Interactive Textbook to listen to President Barack Obama's speech on 18 January 2010 to a small group of African American seniors and their grandchildren about the impact and legacy of the civil rights movement.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.14

Copy and complete this graphic organiser. Add explanations under each of the main events listed.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.15

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below: *What is the system of discrimination that developed in the United States?*

- constitution
- Jim Crow laws
- Ku Klux Klan
- lynching
- Plessy
- segregation
- 'Strange Fruit'

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.16

Even today, race relations remain tense in the United States, as you will see over the next few pages of the text. Incidents of conflict between African Americans and police or judicial authorities evoke resentments about the terrible historical injustices in the country. For example, on 3 March 1991 Rodney King, a 26-year-old African American construction worker, was violently beaten by four Los Angeles police officers after a high-speed car pursuit. The incident was captured on film by a civilian from his balcony and resulted in charges of using excessive force being laid against the officers. In the subsequent court case, three of the officers were acquitted and the jury failed to reach a verdict on the fourth. The verdicts sparked the LA riots, which lasted six days and resulted in 63 deaths and 2383 injuries.

Watch a CNN report on this episode via the link to the left and then answer the following questions.

1 How important to the unrest that followed were the following factors?
   - That Rodney King was African American and the accused police officers were white.
   - The racial composition of the trial jury.
   - The opportunism of the general population to participate in looting.
2 Do Rodney King's personal and criminal issues in his life after the trials impact your view of the issue? Use evidence to explain your answer.
3 In an extended response (one page maximum), explain the extent to which the 1955 Emmett Till murder trial and the 1991 Rodney King assault trial were similar in the way they were carried out and the results that transpired. Use evidence to explain your response.

Access the Interactive Textbook to view the original video of the Rodney King beating and the subsequent CNN report on the trial of the police officers.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.17

View responses to the Rodney King verdicts by people in Washington, DC, the city of Martin Luther King's speech, via the link to the right and then answer the following question.

1 Despite living about 4000 km away, explain how the people interviewed in this clip feel a connection with the Rodney King matter with respect to their own ongoing circumstances.

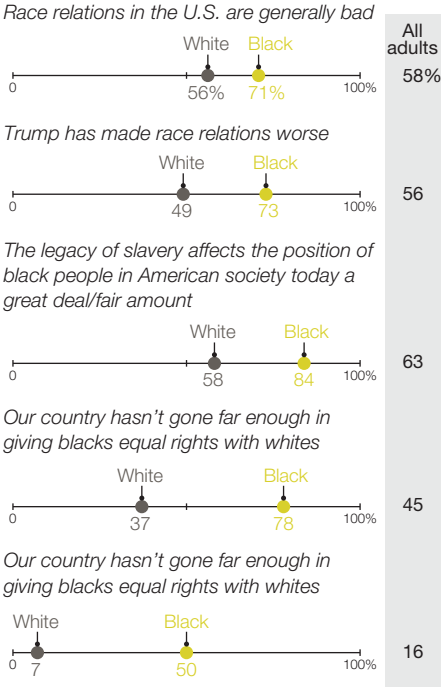
Access the Interactive Textbook to see a video of people's responses to the Rodney King verdicts.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.18

Use the statistics in Source 13.47 and your knowledge of this chapter to answer the following questions.

Most black adults have negative views about the country's racial progress

% saying ...

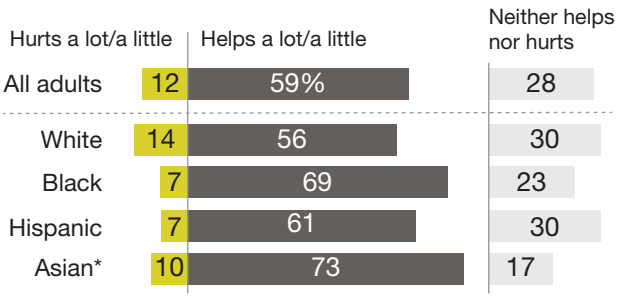


Note: Whites and blacks include those who report being only one race and are non-Hispanic.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 22-Feb 5, 2019. 'Race in America 2019'

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Nonwhites are more likely to see advantages in being white

% saying that, when it comes to a person's ability to get ahead in our country these days, being white ...



*Asians were interviewed in English only.
Note: Share of respondents who didn't offer an answer not shown. Whites, blacks and Asians include those who report being only one race and are non-Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 22–Feb 5, 2019. 'Race in America 2019'

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

▲**Source 13.47** The results of a 2019 survey on race relations in the United States by the Pew Research Center, which studies social trends. The results are based on 6637 adults' answers.

1 How do the statistics demonstrate concerns about the present but hope for the future?

2 Which racial demographic has the most pessimistic view of fairness in American society? Use the statistics to explain your answer.

3 How does this survey indicate that the segregation and slavery periods still have their impact on modern American society?

4 How can such clear differences in viewpoints be a reality based on the respondent's race?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

13.9 Flash forward: the monumental events of 2020

The Black Lives Matter movement

▲**Source 13.48** Amid the catastrophic COVID-19 pandemic, a new and fervent civil rights movement grew in the USA and around the world after a spark set off the tinderbox of underlying racism in societies.

In 2020, amid the extensive and global disruption of COVID-19, a new wave of civil rights protests erupted that was centred on endemic racism in the world. While the protests originated and were most intense in the USA, parallel movements inspired by a combination of local events and outrage at the situation in the USA broke out.

In history we often focus on the catalyst, or 'spark' that sets events off. In this particular case, it was the death of citizen George Floyd while in police custody in Minneapolis. Indeed, much of the outrage and empathy arising from this incident was made possible by the fact it was videoed and shared on social media. Some additional outrage was derived from the perception that the officers were only investigated because the circumstances around Floyd's death were made public, meaning the Minneapolis Police Department had no choice but to act. It was thus two and a half months later that charges were brought against the officers.

While much of the attention in the early stages of the protests was centred on the specific tragedy of Floyd's death, the evolution into a broader protest, globally, against the treatment of disadvantaged and minority groups was a compelling argument that these matters are far from settled. Further acts of violence against African Americans by either the police, or white Americans taking the law into their own hands, were highlighted during this period. These types of killings were undoubtedly occurring during the years prior but took centre-stage in a period of acute focus on the issue. Poignant questions therefore present themselves; how did the reform and momentum of the civil rights movement erode to this extent? Alternatively, was the work of the civil rights movement unfinished?

One theory is that a tough policing policy that began in the 1980s in the USA, based on the 'broken windows' criminological theory, has disproportionately targeted particular groups in society. The theory calls for strict enforcement of even the most basic crimes such as fare evasion, graffitiing, public drinking, loitering and even jaywalking, so that disorderly behaviour is not normalised in society, leading to a slow growth into worse crimes.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

This has had the effect of placing people into the criminal justice system for minor offences on a repeated basis, making employment prospects and general societal integration difficult due to criminal records. The irony of 'white collar' crime's relatively lenient treatment, using highly paid legal defence teams, when the impact of embezzlement and fraud can be in the multi-millions of dollars, is not lost on the BLM movement. Roger Stone's commuted sentence (by President Trump) in 2020 for lying to Congress is one example of this. Furthermore, under many states' laws, people convicted of offences or those unable to pay their fines are excluded from voting in state and federal elections.

Another important consideration is the role of the media. In a nation as bitterly divided as the USA, the media system is no different and competing outlets in fact seek to maintain their readership or ratings by reinforcing the already ingrained views of their customers. While some networks such as CNN are reputed for being either pragmatic or slightly socialist in their viewpoint, Rupert Murdoch's Fox network is firmly in the 'right-wing' camp. Presently, it is a dogmatic and renowned pro-Trump, pro-Republican system of information, where it closely controls not only the tone, but the content of what its subsidiaries report.

During the 2020 protests, for example, CNN reported the people as part of a social movement, whereas Fox depicted them as trouble-making rioters. Anchors such as Sean Hannity, Tucker Carlson, Laura Ingraham and Shannon Bream push this right-wing agenda in their popular programs. In the land of free speech, Carlson has been able to describe immigration as 'dirtying' America and maintained his audience through this sort of narrative. Other techniques include a narrative that supports the 'dog-whistling' of the President. Terms such as 'All lives matter' are used to present what is on the surface a logical and fair comment, but in fact is intended to undermine the BLM movement in a 'nod' towards their supporters. In the year of the 2020 election the average age of their viewers was around 66 and around 94% were white.

Trump's walk to St John's Church amid the BLM protests was made acceptable to some through the selective reporting of parts of the conservative media. At the time he was tweeting 'Law and Order' and certain media outlets were showing images of rioting people instead of the peaceful aspects of the protests. Selective filming and commentary on Fox News and other right-wing outlets of Trump's decision to have police attack a BLM protest with tear gas and shock grenades helped cement the impression among conservative audiences that peaceful protesters against police brutality were in fact riotous and disorderly. The subtle message intended was that protest against the existing social structures in the USA would be met with force by the institutions of the state.

▲**Source 13.49** President Trump was criticised for ordering, through his Attorney General William Barr, that peaceful BLM protesters be teargassed and hit with shock grenades to clear a path so he could walk from the Whitehouse with many of his advisors to pose in front of this church with a Bible.

Members of the St John congregation were not happy at all that their church had been used for the photo opportunity. Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to watch the video.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

As the earlier part of this chapter contends, the suffering of African Americans is indelibly printed into the historical and cultural fabric of the USA. Through the period of slavery, to the Civil War and Jim Crow Laws, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, the LA Riots and then the Black Lives Matter (BLM) uprisings, it is clear that the social thirst for the advancement of the rights of African Americans and other groups remains unmet. Conversely, there remains entrenched racism in societies all over the world, including the USA, where people of colour and social minorities struggle for equal rights.

> *'When people – when people proudly have their Confederate flags, they're not talking about racism. They love their flag, it represents the south, they like the south. People right now like the south. I'd say it's freedom of, of, of many things, but it's freedom of speech.'*
>
> –President Donald Trump, July 2020

◄ **Source 13.50** After years of controversy, Nascar decided to ban the Confederate flag in their audiences. Its links to slavery are in its very DNA and many feel its continued use is well overdue for national debate. Around the time of this Nascar ban, the team of Bubba Wallace, the only African American Nascar driver, found a noose in their garage.

Despite the terrible events of 2020, including the politicisation of race by elected officials and the media, the decentralisation of the control of information through social media has had a marked effect on this new phase of civil rights protest. The BLM protest movement grew exponentially in 2020 and traditional media outlets were less able than ever to seize and control the narrative. Politicians fared little better. These days, anyone with a mobile phone can be a reporter, author and distributor of information. While this presents enormous new challenges in terms of misinformation, and the more recently coined disinformation, there is no doubt that citizen voice has the potential to challenge normalised injustice in ways never seen in societies of the past.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.19

1. Was the Black Lives Matter movement new in 2020? Use a paragraph to outline its history.
2. Evaluate the reasons why President Trump was unable or unwilling to speak against the Confederate flag or other Confederate institutions, or conversely for the BLM movement in 2020.
3. Research the specific details of President Trump's walk to St John's Church. Explain what his purpose was and also evaluate if it represented an abuse of power.
4. The BLM protest movement was not just limited to the USA. Choose an event from around the world that reflected the same values of BLM at the time and explain its particular context in a presentation to the class.
5. Extended-response question: Does the widespread BLM protest movement of 2020 indicate that the work of the 1950s and '60s civil rights movement and Martin Luther King was unsuccessful? Explain your answer in approximately a page of evidence-based argument.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

US Election 2020: Is the United States more divided than ever?

The 2020 US Election has again exposed a deep rift in the society so often held up as the global example of freedom and opportunity. This rift is not as simple as the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, or even the LA Riots of the early 1990s. More than ever, the social and political landscape is shaped by polarised ideology that seems to have emerged alongside race as the key driver in people's fears, aspirations, judgements and ultimately voting decisions. We are thus reminded that the US is a republic. It is a federation of states, each of which carry substantially independent cultures and priorities. As we know, the past in no way guarantees the future. It is a nation that has fought a civil war in its past, and as with all history, this fact does not guarantee the absence of internal conflict of that nature in the future.

It is impossible to understand the politics of the US between 2015 and 2020 without a focus on Donald Trump. It is also narrow and premature to dismiss his election loss in 2020 as the end of him, or more specifically, the end of 'Trumpism'. What carried Trump to power in 2016 and continued to define his conduct as a president was only named Trumpism once he was in office. It was in fact an ongoing phenomenon that developed steadily in the years prior to 2016. A mix of nationalism (often tied directly to loyalty to Trump), protectionism, religious conservatism and resentment against 'establishment' politics managed to gather an enormously diverse group of voters under the Trump banner. Although many analysts and academics are still trying to define Trumpism, how he managed to meet the needs of so many conflicting groups points to his ability to meet people's first priority, allowing them to ignore whether he met less important measures of approval, or even if his other behaviours are offensive to them. The term 'holding their nose and voting for Trump' was thus used frequently in analyses of his 2016 win.

'Ethics and oversight are what you eliminate when you want absolute power.'

– DaShanne Stokes

How does Trump's populism defy expectations around voter decisions?

More established political commentators have remained perplexed as to why opinion polls around Trump are seemingly always wrong and why his supporters remained so loyal despite a string of events that would have brought down any of his predecessors. Richard Nixon resigned before he was removed from office by both the Democrats and his own Republican Party for the Watergate scandal, which was arguably minor by comparison to aspects of the Trump administration's tenure in the White House. Therefore, the question remains as to what Trump does represent that goes beyond the scandal that makes his supporters such hardened advocates. The following factors point to his enduring popularity, including why his own Republican Party blocked any attempts to hold him accountable, as well as why millions of people from racial minorities remain enamoured with Trump.

America First

Trump's trade and foreign policy agendas were framed by the popular tenet of 'America First'. He promised to withdraw the US from 'endless overseas wars', which is why he withdrew troops from Syria and left US Kurdish allies at the mercy of Turkey's military. Nonetheless, he kept his promise. It is also why he reduced funding for NATO, citing that the other European nations had never properly contributed their fair share. 'America First' is why he promised to build a wall on the Mexican border. It is also why he intervened to threaten a ban on the Chinese-owned Tik-Tok, citing spying potential. 'America First' is why Trump attacked China's government-sponsored intellectual property cyber-theft and started a tariff war with that country. It is, however, also why he did little to intervene when China effectively took the South China Sea for itself during his presidency and also why he was reluctant to increase Obama-era pressure on Russia for its annexation of the Crimea from the Ukraine. It is why the slogan 'Make America Great Again' (MAGA) is so appealing.

Like so many historical leaders that have relied on populism, Trump has pushed the halcyon image of reclaiming an era of American greatness that has supposedly been lost under the 'elitist' guidance of the political establishment. This appeals to patriotic supporters who are vehemently against any form of socialism and are fed up with tax revenue being allocated to support other nations while they appear to be missing out on basic services at home. It also appeals to a broad social demographic and allows rural people who have seen their manufacturing jobs head overseas under globalisation to believe that a white, male, city billionaire understands their plight and offers hope. This might explain why Trump managed to increase the number of African American and Hispanic votes despite the BLM movement and his racist rhetoric around the 'Wall'.

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Waller 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 13.16

1 Define populism.

2 Identify two leaders from history who appealed to their nation's priorities at the time but carried other less palatable behaviours.

Conservative faith

Religious conservatism is a substantial and reliable voter bloc for the Republican Party in the US, particularly since the Nixon years. Under the 'holding the nose' theory, one can explain why someone that had such a potentially poor standing with the Christian right would still be their resolute voting choice. To this end, by 2020, Trump had 26 independent accusations of sexual assault by women as well as other rumours of extra-marital affairs. He was also repeatedly unable to quote a single passage from the Bible, avoiding questions by saying it was a 'deeply personal matter'. Yet, white evangelical Christians did not desert him in the 2020 election. Trump's appointments of three relatively young (appointments are for life or until retirement), highly conservative Supreme Court Justices during his 2016–20 tenure was a very important gesture towards this voting base due to their desire to outlaw abortion in the US. 'The Lord works in mysterious ways,' was a common reply from religious conservatives when challenged on their decision to vote for Trump.

◀ **Source 13.51** Conservative Christians often see their 'higher power' not as government, but God. Their right to own guns under the 2nd Amendment provides a crucial sense of personal freedom and independence from reliance on government. Large swathes of American society are deeply suspicious of government and see any attempts to curb their rights as an existential threat.

Anti-establishmentism

Like most populists in history, Trump liked to present himself as against elitism, despite the clear irony of this image. It was part of his 'anti-establishment' approach to running for office. He was keen to present himself as an unconventional candidate, despite the telling demographics of his gender, age, race and wealth status. His original slogan 'Drain the Swamp!' was a reference to removing political elites from Washington and supposedly returning power to common people. Trump's voters felt that their empowerment had been progressively eroded by powerful institutions based in coastal population centres like California in the west and north-eastern cities such as New York. Trump's attacks on those institutions, his incitement of armed support and the sense that his supporters were locked in a fight for the survival of their democracy and values, linked to his maintenance of power, was a carefully crafted image. It was able to be built through a new and decentralised social-media landscape where social media like Twitter gave the White House direct access to voters, instead of being filtered through the established media system, which Trump felt was distorting or undermining his message.

It was inconceivable for many academics and analysts that Trump could have in fact conducted himself in the 'unpresidential' manner he did and remain in any sort of contention for re-election. To make the mistakes he did with foreign policy (Syria and the Kurds, China's geopolitical expansion), trade (China) and also the disastrous response to the COVID-19 pandemic (almost 250 000 US deaths at the time of the election), yet still increase the

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

number of Americans who voted for him is baffling to an outsider. The confusion about how he would actually increase his raw voting numbers points to assumptions that a president needs to act in certain predictable and palatable ways, including that they should come from the political establishment. Trump's refusal to moderate his behaviour, including his apparent immunity from the obligations of acceptance of accountability for anything, his blurred lines between personal and national benefit are all 'anti-establishment' behaviours. The fact that he remained bold, unrepentant and defiant, even in the face of basic facts like an election loss, are attributable reasons that he remained popular with his 'base'.

◄ **Source 13.52** Anti-political correctness gestures such as the ones depicted on this Trump supporter's t-shirt point to the rebuke of many Americans about what they see as their personal freedoms being steadily eroded by political correctness, 'the left', and intellectual elitism. The group rallying here was called the 'Loud Majority'. This is an adaption of the term 'The Silent Majority', which Trump and his associates used regularly. The 'Silent Majority' implies that the dominant culture and racial hierarchy of America has been under threat from diversification and political correctness. It paints white, middle-class America as a demographic that are victims of their own success, increasingly seeing themselves as marginalised in policy decisions.

'Alternative facts'

'Alternative facts' was a term first used by US Presidential adviser, Kellyanne Conway, while she was under pressure during an interview in early 2017. She was defending Trump's Press Secretary, Sean Spicer, for a proven lie about how many people attended Trump's inauguration. Indeed, Spicer had lied both verbally and by ordering photos to be altered in order to back up Trump's lie of it being the 'best attended inauguration ever'. She described his lie as simply a matter of 'alternative facts'. This set the tone for the years to come.

Access the Interactive Textbook to watch Kellyanne's Conway's 'alternative facts' comment.

Trump's dismissal of any negative coverage as 'fake news', including his labelling of an entire segment of the media landscape as 'the fake news media' also bolstered his cause, especially with the support of Rupert Murdoch's media empire (owning multiple news and cable TV channels, as well as major slices of the newspaper market) as it provided an entirely alternative viewpoint on which Trump heavily relied. His refusal to use conventional communication channels, instead relying on Twitter, also pointed to his 'anti-establishment' approach. As journalist and author Masha Gessen names it, Trump used the 'power lie'. This is a lie that he is allowed to say under the tenets of 'freedom'. He was exercising his rights to say what he wanted to, and therefore to challenge others to shut down his 'free speech'. Gessen, having fled Putin's Russia earlier in her life, cites the 'Trumpian lie' as one that redefines language in 'a battle of realities'.* This 'battle of realities' moved dangerously into the refusal to concede defeat after the 2020 election, including William Barr's partisan behaviour as Attorney-General in attempting to overturn democratic outcomes in the courts. It is also why Trump so vehemently attacked the Murdoch media empire when it called the election for Biden.

Such is the landscape of truth as perception, blurred lines between support of a political perspective and nationalism, and mis- or disinformation, it is difficult to predict people's reactions and behaviours. Both sides of American politics saw the attempted staging of a coup after the election. Democrats decried Trump's refusal to concede and his legal efforts to invalidate the election, while Trump supporters (much more publicly than Republican politicians) protested that the election had been 'rigged' despite evidence quoted from senior public servants that in fact it had been the most secure election in recent history. Indeed, just over two weeks after the 2020 election, Trump fired Christopher Krebs, the Head of the Cyber & Infrastructure Security Agency for confirming that the election was secure and accurate.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to watch the Mayor of Philidelphia tell President Trump to 'put his big boy pants on'.

* https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-11-15/trump-no-despot-nor-first-president-power-lie-america/12876516

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.20

Class discussion: 'Trumpism' is a curious phenomenon that is still being analysed by various segments of the media and academia in order to better understand its broad and diverse appeal.

- Why were his supporters so loyal despite a string of events, including scandals that would have brought down any of his predecessors? Research and name some of these before discussing.
- What does Trump represent ideologically that goes beyond the scandal, poor management of the COVID-19 pandemic and disruption that makes his supporters such hardened advocates?
- Why are the opinion polls always so wrong on Trump?
- Why, even after the events of the 'Mexican Wall' and the BLM protests, did some African American and Hispanic voters move towards Trump?
- How did Trump's protectionist trade approach relate to working class America's views on Globalisation?
- Does shutting down lies constitute shutting down free speech?

▲**Source 13.53** President Joe Biden and Vice-President Sen. Kamala Harris celebrate with their spouses on 7 November, 2020, as some key Electoral College states start falling their way. Harris is the first female Vice President and also carries African American and Indian cultural background.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

RESEARCH QUESTION 13.6

Why is Kamala Harris' race such a big deal?

Kamala Harris has had a career as Attorney-General for California and was also a Democrat senator at the time of her nomination as the Vice-Presidential candidate alongside Joe Biden. She also has South Asian (Indian) and African American cultural heritage. In a nation so adhered to race as identity as the US, her election is not an insignificant historical moment. It also exposed significant issues in America, as people struggled to understand her background, as it is multiracial.

Research some of the commentary about Kamala Harris in the lead up to the 2020 US Election and prepare an extended paragraph response to the following prompt.

'Kamala Harris' cultural heritage is an important consideration for American voters.'

RESEARCH QUESTION 13.7

Leadership, policy and societal direction

A new administration almost certainly brings new direction, especially when one political party replaces the other. Against many predictions related to Trump's deep popularity in the USA, the Democrats actually won the Senate in the 2020 election, meaning that much of Biden's agenda would be able to be passed through both Houses of Congress. Recreate and then populate the following table on your devices or workbooks with the results of your research on how the Trump administration approached or legislated around the listed topics. Then repeat the exercise for the Biden administration in order to create a comparison or contrast.

Political position	Trump	Biden
Immigration		
COVID-19 response		
Primary industry (oil, forestry, mining)		
Economic management		
Climate		
Law and order		
Foreign policy		

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 13.21

Human progress is neither automatic nor inevitable … Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.

Martin Luther King, February 1961

In essay form, evaluate the success of the civil rights movement in the United States between the years of 1776 and the present.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

THE STORY SO FAR

- *Jim Crow laws:* This series of laws divided and discriminated against African Americans, from where people could sit on a bus to whom they could love.
- *Legal injustices:* Two white half-brothers were acquitted of the horrific torture and murder of an African American child, Emmett Till, despite overwhelming evidence of their guilt. The trial drew widespread attention in the northern states as Till was from Chicago.
- *Desegregating transport:* The Montgomery Bus Boycott sparked the civil rights movement from 1955 and was followed by the non-violent protests of the sit-ins and Freedom Rides.
- *Desegregating education:* Oliver Brown successfully sued the Board of Education and then nine brave students faced mob violence in Little Rock in a successful attempt to integrate education in practice.
- *1963:* This was a critical breakthrough year due to Eugene Connor's ugly violence in Birmingham and the subsequent March on Washington, including Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech. Both hastened the acceptance of desegregation.
- *The Civil Rights Bill:* This was passed in 1964 by President Lyndon B. Johnson, having recently taken over from the assassinated John F. Kennedy.
- *Martin Luther King's assassination:* King was shot by James Earl Ray in Memphis, Tennessee on 4 April 1968.
- *Civil rights still being contested:* The 1991–92 LA Riots and the re-emergence of white supremacist rhetoric in mainstream politics – and passive responses from some parts of the media in the post-2010 era – has thrust the gains of the civil rights movement back into the spotlight for re-evaluation, especially considering the advent of the Black Lives Matter movement.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 Identify the Jim Crow laws.

2 Who were the members of the Ku Klux Klan?

3 Describe how transport was desegregated.

4 Describe how education was desegregated.

5 Explain why 1963 was such a crucial year.

6 Propose when and how civil rights was finally achieved.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Analysing historical sources as evidence

American politician, Senator Wayne Morse, gave a speech in the Senate after the March on Washington, on 29 August 1963.

> *There is much at stake in this historic battle. Time is wasting. We do not have much time. Speaker after speaker this afternoon did not hesitate to use the ugly word and say that a revolution is on in America – a peaceful revolution. But we never know the ultimate course of revolutions, if people who are revolting believe their rights are constantly faced with one setback after another. I shall continue to pray that this revolution may be resolved quickly, to remove the danger of any threat to the Republic, and that it may be done within our constitutional process of government by law. But that is up to us, the politicians. We shall have much to answer for if we start to water down, to duck and hedge, weave and equivocate, in respect to the rightful demands of the colored people of America.*

1 List two phrases Morse uses to describe the civil rights movement.

2 List two actions Morse warns the Senators not to do when debating the Civil Rights Bill.

3 Is Morse for or against the Civil Rights Bill? How do you know that from his speech?

4 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the aim, content and impact of the March on Washington.

5 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Senator Morse's point of view.

Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement: *Changing laws is difficult. Changing hearts and minds is impossible.*

To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer.

- Starting thinking – is it difficult to change laws? Is this because it requires ideas to be voted in by politicians in order to become a new law? Think about how long it took to vote in new civil rights laws and voting laws for African Americans.
- Think about how difficult it is to change people's hearts and minds. This is hard because our ideas are formed through our parents, social/economic/religious backgrounds, life experiences and environment. We all do the best we know how to. So to change these deep feelings and thinking means changing our whole understanding of life.
- After considering these two issues, to what *extent* do you agree with the topic? Maybe it is easy to change laws once the difficulty of changing hearts is achieved. Maybe it is never possible to change everybody, but changing enough people, and people who matter, is enough.
- Use examples to support your ideas. Jim Crow laws, the Ku Klux Klan, lynching and *Plessy vs Ferguson* are all examples of attitudes against integration. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Little Rock Nine, the sit-ins, the Freedom Rides and the Birmingham Riots are all examples of attempts to change the hearts and minds of the white population in the United States. The March on Washington in 1963, with 250 000 people in attendance, shows that many whites had changed their attitudes by this stage. Only then were the 1964 and 1965 laws changed by President Johnson.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

14 A STUDY OF A REGIONAL CONFLICT: THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

There may be times when we are powerless to prevent injustice, but there must never be a time when we fail to protest.

– ELIE WIESEL

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Overview

Apartheid is an Afrikaans word meaning 'apartness' or 'separateness'. It implied the separation, in all aspects, of South Africa's white settlers from 'coloured' immigrants and black indigenous inhabitants. This system was introduced in South Africa by the Malan government in 1948 and endured until 1990, despite internal and international opposition. This chapter explores the titanic struggle against both government policies and popular attitudes to gain racial freedom and equality.

Learning goals

After completing this chapter, you should be able to answer these questions:

- What was the daily impact of apartheid?
- How did people renounce apartheid in South Africa?
- Why did apartheid collapse?

Digital resources for this chapter

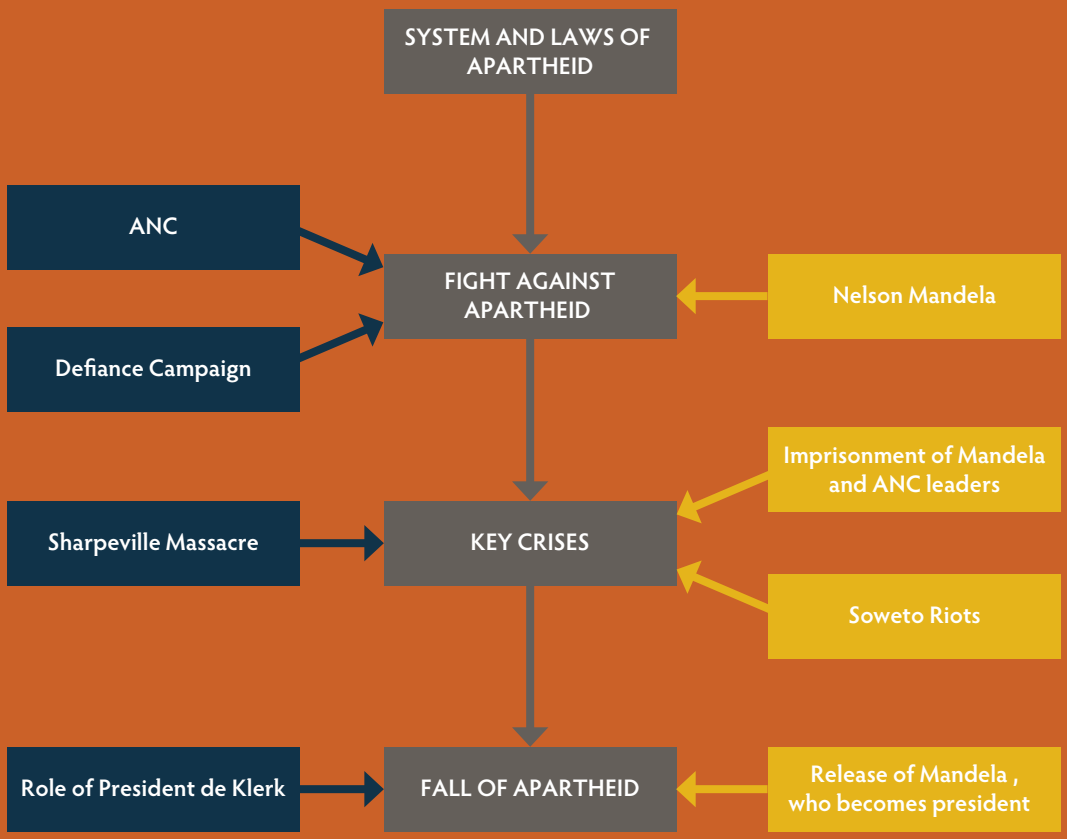
In the *Interactive Textbook*:

- Video and audio sources and questions
- Digital activities
- Downloadable activity worksheets

◂ **Source 14.0** Nelson Mandela attends a concert in the UK to celebrate his release from prison, 16 April 1990.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Flow of chapter



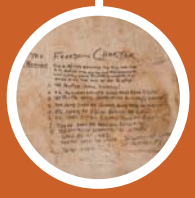
Timeline of key chapter events

1911
Bedrock legislation

1912
8 JANUARY
African National Congress (ANC) formed

1948
The National Party government, under the leadership of Dr Malan, introduces apartheid

1955
26 JUNE
Freedom Charter adopted



1960
21 MARCH
Sharpeville Massacre

1963–64
30 OCTOBER–12 JUNE
Rivonia Trial, leading to Mandela's imprisonment

1976
16 JUNE
Soweto Riots

1990
FEBRUARY
Apartheid laws removed and Mandela released from prison

1994
MAY
Mandela elected South African President

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◄ **Source 14.1** South Africa is the most southerly country in Africa.

14.1 The system of apartheid

White colonists from the Netherlands first came to South Africa in 1652 and bitter battles ensued between them and the original indigenous kingdoms, such as the Xhosa and Zulu. The British army arrived in 1806 and, through the use of modern rifles and cannon, took control of the African kingdoms by 1900 after conflicts now called the 'Boer Wars'. Political power was then handed from the British in 1910 to the white colonists, who formed a government that recognised only the rights of white people and denied rights to the blacks.

apartheid a system that discriminates or persecutes on the basis of race and separates races from one another

A series of laws that were passed between 1911 and 1936, are often referred to as the 'bedrock legislation' (see Source 14.2). These laws paved the way and became the framework for the more extreme policies of **apartheid** in 1948–56, which more closely reflected Hitler's Nuremburg Laws.

Mines and Works Act, 1911	→	Introduced a nationwide system of employment of whites on railroads and in the mines
Defence Act, 1912	→	Established a White Citizen force
Natives Land Act, 1913	→	Limited indigenous land ownership to the reserves – nine million hectares (22 million acres) or 7 per cent of South Africa's territory
Native Affairs Act, 1920	→	Created a separate and segregated system of law and administration for indigenous reserves
Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923	→	Restricted indigenous access to white urban areas
Native Administration Act, 1927	→	Granted the government complete control over indigenous populations outside Cape Province; British Governor-General was paramount chief of all indigenous people
Native Trust & Land Act, 1936	→	Extended indigenous land ownership in the indigenous reserves to 13.3 per cent, primarily in the eastern half of the country
Representation of Natives Act, 1936	→	Removed Cape Province indigenous populations from the electoral rolls

▲ **Source 14.2** Summary of the bedrock legislation

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

African National Congress (ANC) formed in 1912 and still in existence today as a major political party in South Africa

militant person or group prepared to engage in aggressive or physical conflict for a cause

ANC Women's League formed in 1943 to facilitate the involvement of black women in the work of the ANC

ANC Youth League formed in 1944 by Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo as a response to the conservative approach of the leaders of the ANC itself

African National Congress: The ANC

The **African National Congress (ANC)** was formed in 1912. Chiefs, representatives of people's and church organisations and other prominent individuals met to form the ANC. Their aim was to bring all Africans together as one people to defend their rights and freedoms. The ANC website today states:

> *The ANC is a national liberation movement. It was formed in 1912 to unite the African people and spearhead the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change.*
>
> *The ANC's key objective is the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.*
>
> *This means the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor.*
>
> *African National Congress website*

By the 1940s, years of racist government legislation had sent a clear message to the leaders and members of the ANC that there would be no real social change to match their agenda of equality. The older and more experienced leaders of the ANC favoured moderate, gradual and non-confrontational change.

Nelson Mandela joined the ANC in 1942, but quickly became disenchanted with its conservative leadership and policies. In 1944 he, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu felt that more **militant** action was needed, and they formed the **ANC Women's League** in 1943 and **ANC Youth League** in 1944. The Youth League members favoured a more militant approach, but not so militant that the government would be forced into violent confrontation with them.

▲**Source 14.3** The ANC was formed to bring together all African people and defend their rights and freedoms. Pictured is a young South African boy celebrating the ANC's landmark election win in 1994.

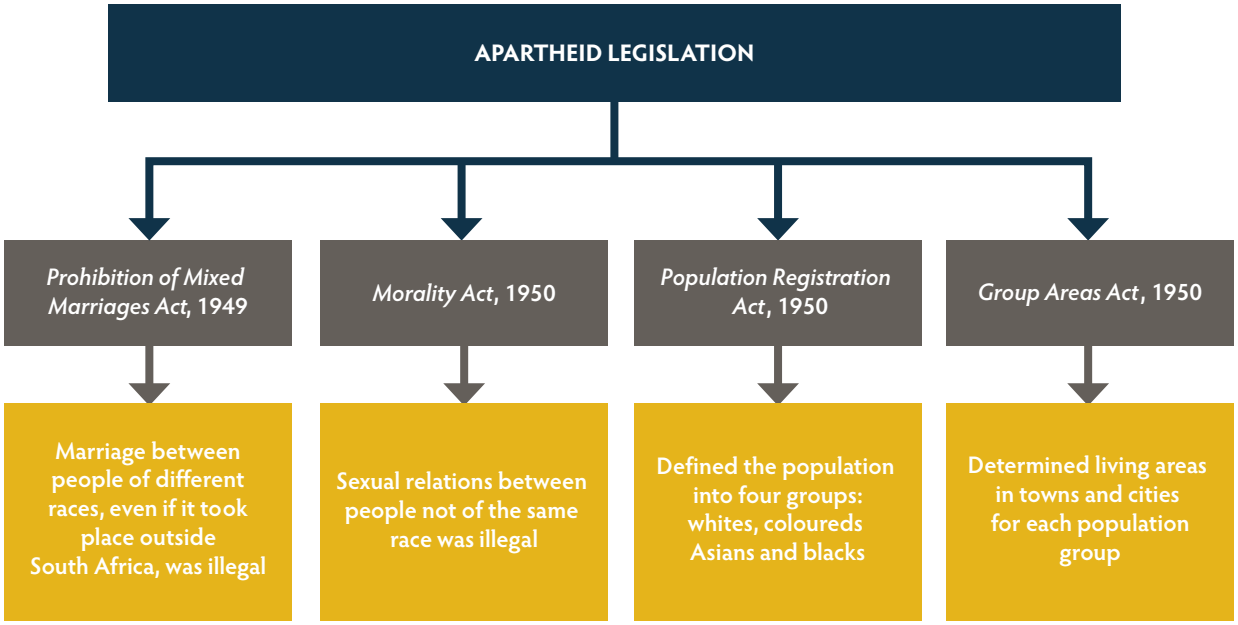
Mandela was acutely aware that while it was fine to be educated in the mould of an Englishman, the white South African government had no intention of sharing power with the indigenous black majority. This became obvious with the parliamentary elections in 1948.

Access the Interactive Textbook to view two helpful websites that explain the African National Congress and the history of South Africa

Prime Minister Malan introduces apartheid, 1948

Dr D.F. Malan and the National Party, the new government, announced the introduction of apartheid (separateness) after winning the 1948 national elections. In parliament, Malan raised the spectre of the *swart gevaar* (the black peril), antagonising even the most conservative members of black society. Prime Minister Malan used propaganda slogans such as '*Eie volk, eie taal, eie land*' ('Our own people, our own language, our own land') to promote his views. The Dutch Reformed Church and an influential secret society called the Broederbond (Band of Brothers) underwrote the propaganda campaign. A whole wave of racist legislation followed (outlined in Source 14.4).

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.



▲ **Source 14.4** Apartheid legislation in South Africa. This had striking similarities to Hitler's Nuremburg Laws in the early days of Nazi rule.

Under apartheid, the population of South Africa was classified into four groups: whites, coloureds, Asians and blacks (the indigenous population). Blacks were stripped of all rights as citizens, despite having had the right to vote before 1948. They lost the right to own land, other than that designated for black use only, which was usually unproductive land not wanted by whites.

The apartheid legislation passed by the Malan government and the National Party in 1949–50 was a real test of its strength of the laws. Introducing bills into a divided parliament and enacting them was one thing; policing those acts once they were passed was another task entirely.

Mandela and the ANC Youth League urged the ANC proper to mobilise the masses through a non-violent, political campaign similar to that used by Mohandas Gandhi in India. ANC leaders were reluctant to follow this path, so the ANC Youth League organised a coup. They ousted conservative ANC president Alfred Bitimi Xuma and replaced him with Dr J.S. Moroka, who was more sympathetic to their views. Subsequently, a program of strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience and non-cooperation took place from 1950 to 1952.

▶ **Source 14.5** Dr D.F. Malan

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Nelson Mandela's story (1918–2013)

Social discussions of family background and early years are often overshadowed by interest in political ambition and leadership. Hence, the purpose of this section is to provide an interesting social background to political leaders. To personalise the story, the first name has been used instead of the usual surname.

His childhood

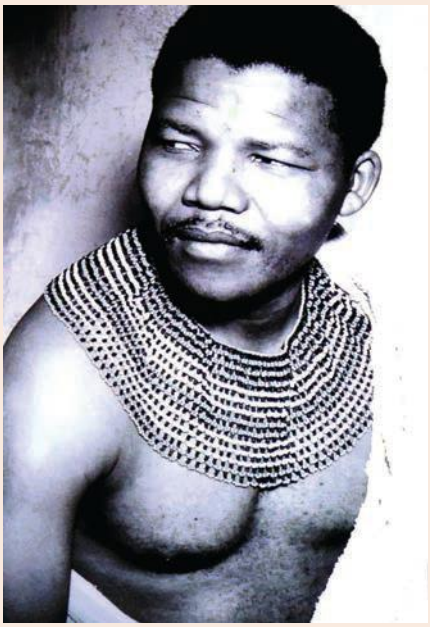
Rolihlahla Mandela was born in the Transkei Territory of South Africa in July 1918. Ironically, he was born in the same year that peace was declared to end World War I, and he spent his life trying to bring peace to South Africans. Born in the Xhosa tribe, he was destined to be a tribal royal adviser, just as his father, Gadla Henry Mphakanyiswa, had been. Gadla had four wives; Nelson's mother, Nonqaphi, was her husband's third wife, and Nelson was the youngest of 13 children (four boys, nine girls) in the family.

continued ...

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

... continued

Nelson's life changed dramatically in 1930 when his father died. Tribal Chief Jongintaba Dalindyebo took him in and raised him to manhood. Nelson was introduced to luxury, wealth, an excellent education and the world of politics. He attended tribal meetings and learnt how to give counsel to a tribal chief. It was during such meetings that he first learnt how the indigenous people of South Africa were losing the power to rule their own lands.



▲ **Source 14.6** Nelson Mandela, 1949

His education

Nelson completed his secondary schooling at a prestigious school, but soon realised that while he could receive an English education, he would never be an Englishman. He went on to study law at Fort Hare University, South Africa's first all-black university. He took part in a boycott against university policies and refused to change his stance despite the threat of expulsion. When he learnt of Nelson's decision to sacrifice his education and be expelled from university, Chief Dalindyebo was furious. He demanded that Nelson marry a young woman in an arranged marriage. Instead, Nelson fled his homeland and headed for Johannesburg, where he encountered deep racial divisions. Nelson completed his law studies by correspondence, through the University of South Africa in Johannesburg, while he was working as a law clerk in Alexandra. He also befriended Walter Sisulu, a prominent trade union activist, who had a profound influence on his future thinking that African nationalism was worth fighting for. Nelson's future political role in South Africa's history is covered in detail throughout this chapter.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 14.1

In 1961 Nelson Mandela was forced into hiding. During this time he gave an interview discussing the ANC's campaign of resistance. Watch the interview via the 'Additional content' link on this page and then answer the following questions.

1 How does Mandela attempt to allay white fears about his campaign in this interview?
2 How does Mandela deal with the question about whether there are educated black people in South Africa?
3 Why was this question asked with reference to the right to vote?
4 What can you gather about Mandela's stages of resistance from his response to the question about potential violence by black South Africans?

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see Mandela's interview.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Rolihlahla literally means 'pulling the branch of a tree', and more colloquially translates as 'troublemaker'. Mandela was given the name 'Nelson' by his teacher on his first day at school.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

14.2 The Defiance Campaign

The ANC attempted to appease the Youth League by approving its proposed Defiance Campaign of 1952, due to take place on 6 April 1952 on the 300th anniversary of white settlement at Cape Town. The Defiance Campaign was based on non-cooperation with the white government and its unjust laws; it was non-violent, but more confrontational than usual for the ANC. The campaign culminated in a National Day of Protest in June. The ANC hoped that the government would change its policies as a result. Instead, roughly 8500 demonstrators were arrested after the day of protest, including Nelson Mandela.

▲**Source 14.7** Protesters take part in the civil disobedience campaign, on June 1952 in Johannesburg, by occupying places reserved for white people.

Undeterred, the ANC joined forces with a number of other opposition groups to form the **Congress Alliance**, and to develop a master plan for challenging the government. The Congress Alliance sent delegates to a meeting called the Congress of the People in 1955. Over 3000 delegates met at Kliptown, near Johannesburg, to draft a document called the **Freedom Charter** on 26 June. The Charter was a statement of the Alliance's principles and political aims; its lists of basic rights and freedoms were borrowed from similar documents from the United States, Britain and Europe. Here is a summary of the requests of the Charter.

1. Every man and woman shall have the right to vote.
2. No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial.
3. The law shall guarantee to all the right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.
4. All shall be free to form trade unions.
5. Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.

Congress Alliance a combination of several groups, including the ANC, that opposed the South African government

Freedom Charter idealistic list of rights drawn up by the Congress Alliance in 1955

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTION 14.1

Talk the thought – the four Cs

This thinking routine provides a structure for rich discussion. In small groups, each person shares their response to the first 'C': 'Connections' in relation to the Freedom Charter. Then each member shares a 'Challenge', and so on.

- **Connections** – What connections do you draw between the requests of the Freedom Charter and your own life and/or other learning?
- **Challenge** – What ideas, perspectives or assumptions do you want to challenge or argue with?
- **Concepts** – What key concepts do you think are important and worth holding on to from the Freedom Charter?
- **Changes** – What changes in attitudes, thinking or action are suggested by the text?

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

The Freedom Charter was confiscated by police as soon as it was published. In addition, 156 members of the group were arrested and put on trial, but none were convicted.

Bantustan homeland; under apartheid law in South Africa people were relegated to separate homelands

14.3 The Sharpeville Massacre

Rather than quieten indigenous communities as the government had hoped, the arrest of the major ANC leaders provoked anger. On 21 March 1960 protesters demonstrated against the 'pass laws', which regulated the movements of indigenous Africans into white urban areas. As part of these laws, 10 **Bantustans** (homelands) had been created decades earlier for indigenous communities, amounting to about 13 per cent of the area of South Africa.

▼**Source 14.8** Dead and wounded rioters lying in the streets of Sharpeville, South Africa, following an anti-apartheid demonstration organised by the Pan-Africanist Congress, which called upon Africans to leave their passes at home

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

The protests at Sharpeville, an indigenous township outside Johannesburg, were inspired by the Defiance Campaign of the early 1950s, but organised by a group called the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). Between 5000 and 7000 indigenous workers converged on the local police station, demanding to be arrested for not carrying their passbooks. The mood of the protesters was positive, almost festive, because they faced only about 20 police and expected little retaliation.

Threatened by the huge number of protesters, the police made a show of force to try to intimidate the crowd. First, they ordered jet aircraft to fly low over the crowd; they then confronted the crowd with armoured cars. At 1.15 p.m., the police opened fire on the crowd. Sixty-nine people were killed (including eight women and 10 children) and 180 were injured (including 31 women and 19 children).

The immediate aftermath of Sharpeville

The following week saw outbreaks of indigenous violence right across South Africa. The government declared a **state of emergency** on 30 March, which continued until August. Police and military arrested almost 20 000 people, and the PAC and ANC were banned under the *Unlawful Organizations Act* (1960). The South African government immediately passed the *Indemnity Act* (1961) to protect the government and its leaders from any lawsuits arising out of the incident.

state of emergency a situation in which the government suspends normal procedures due to danger or disaster

The United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 134 in response to complaints put to it by 29 member countries. This began the international isolation of the South African government, which was followed by South Africa's expulsion from the British Commonwealth in 1961. The government responded by holding a referendum to become a republic, allowing it to withdraw from the Commonwealth on its own terms and save face.

Extract from United Nations Security Council Resolution 134

The Security Council …

1. *Recognizes that the situation in the Union of South Africa is one that has led to international friction and if continued might endanger international peace and security;*
2. *Deplores that the recent disturbances in the Union of South Africa should have led to the loss of life of so many Africans and extends to the families of the victims its deepest sympathies;*
3. *Deplores the policies and actions of the Government of the Union of South Africa which have given rise to the present situation;*
4. *Calls upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the present situation does not continue or recur, and to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination;*
5. *Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Government of the Union of South Africa, to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter and to report to the Security Council whenever necessary and appropriate.*

FOCUS QUESTION 14.2

Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model (see Chapter 1, p. 12) in reference to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 134.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

In 1966, the United Nations declared the anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Since 1994, 21 March has been a public holiday in South Africa and designated Human Rights Day in memory of those killed at Sharpeville in 1960.

▲**Source 14.9** South African marines control black people in Nyanga, near Cape Town, 2 April 1960. Despite the state of emergency, black protestors tried to march to Cape Town to demand the release of black leaders arrested after the Sharpeville Massacre.

FOCUS QUESTION 14.3

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. The first person asks, **'What's going on in this image?'** (see Source 14.9). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

14.4 *Umkhonto we Sizwe*: Mandela's 'Spear of the Nation'

The tactics of non-violent resistance and civil disobedience had little impact on a government that used arrests, bans and repressive laws against protesters. Divisions appeared in the ranks of those opposed to apartheid: some favoured peaceful protest, while others were moving towards greater radicalism and violence.

With the ANC banned as a political organisation and the leaders tangled in the **Treason Trials**, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others formed an underground military organisation in 1961 called ***Umkhonto we Sizwe***, or the 'Spear of the Nation' (also referred to as 'MK'). Mandela was appointed as Chief-of-Staff, and planned a sabotage campaign. MK's first violent act was in December 1961, and over the next three years it was responsible for over 200 attacks on power lines, post offices, jails and other government installations. But these bombings were meant to be symbolic, not deadly, and nobody was to be hurt or killed in the explosions. Plans were also considered for a guerrilla war, should the sabotage campaign fail to remove apartheid.

Treason Trials a government response to the Freedom Charter of 1955 where ANC leaders were tried under the *Suppression of Communism Act* of 1950, which outlawed the South African Communist Party (SACP)

Umkhonto we Sizwe formed in 1961 as a response to the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960; the military wing of the ANC, led by Nelson Mandela

▲ **Source 14.10** Nelson Mandela in London in 1961. The ANC responded to the government's banning by endorsing an 'armed struggle'. Mandela escaped South Africa and travelled through both Africa and Europe, studying guerrilla warfare and building support for the ANC.

FOCUS QUESTION 14.4

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Was it acceptable for the ANC to violently attack the government?'** A student responds briefly. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each brief student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Rivonia Trial, 1963–64

For the government, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* had proved itself to be a terrorist organisation, and it was treated as such. Mandela was arrested on 5 August 1963, and along with 10 other leaders was sentenced in 1964 to life in prison for sabotage and attempting to overthrow the state. The trials became known as the **Rivonia Trial**. Mandela spent 27 years in prison for his opposition to the government's policy of apartheid.

Rivonia Trial the collection of Treason Trials of 1963–64 in Rivonia where the leaders of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, Mandela among them, were tried and sentenced to life imprisonment

▲ **Source 14.11** Eight men, among them anti-apartheid leader and African National Congress (ANC) member Nelson Mandela, leave the Palace of Justice in Pretoria on 12 June 1964 with their fists raised in defiance after being sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mandela refused offers of legal representation and instead represented himself. At the trial he said to the judge:

> *During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die …*

AMAZING BUT TRUE …

Mandela repeatedly avoided capture by the police and was given the nickname 'The Black Pimpernel'. He was eventually captured in July 1963.

AMAZING BUT TRUE …

Nelson Mandela's prison number was 46664 – he was the 466th prisoner on Robben Island in 1964. In 2008, to celebrate his 90th birthday, a series of concerts was held as fundraisers for Mandela's charities. Organisers hoped to sell 46,664 seats for each concert.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲ **Source 14.12** Nelson Mandela with Walter Sisulu on Robben Island in 1966

14.5 The Soweto Riots, 1976

Background

Others continued the fight against apartheid and the South African Government while Mandela was in prison. One prominent leader to emerge in his absence was Steve Biko, who established the **South African Students Organisation (SASO)** and the **Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)** in the 1960s. Mandela was troubled by the radicalism of Biko and the BCM, arguing that they should be more inclusive and join with white activists.

Soweto is a settlement on the southwestern edge of Johannesburg. Its name comes from the acronym for '*So*uth-*We*st *To*wnships', used by the Johannesburg City Council. Riots broke out in Soweto in 1976 when indigenous students protested about the government's ruling that many school subjects had to be taught in **Afrikaans**. Most indigenous people were prepared to be educated in English, but they associated Afrikaans with the ruling National Party and the Dutch Reformed Church. Desmond Tutu, then the Dean of the Anglican Church in Johannesburg, called Afrikaans the 'language of the oppressors', and indigenous teachers complained that they were not fluent in Afrikaans.

The event

On 16 June 1976, a student protest march left Naledi High School. The protest was intended to be peaceful, following Steve Biko's 'black consciousness'; the school's principal had even wished the students good luck as they left. They were joined by students from other schools, and before long there were 8000–10 000 students in the march.

South African Students Organization (SASO) an organisation comprising students who resisted apartheid through political means; formed in 1968

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) an anti-apartheid activist group formed in the mid-1960s after the crackdown on earlier black political movements in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre

Afrikaans Dutch-derived creole that developed in South Africa

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▶**Source 14.13**
Soweto student protest, 21 June 1976

By 9 a.m. the march came to a halt because the police were blocking the protestors' intended path. One student leader, Tsietsi Mashinini, climbed up on a tractor to address the crowd:

> *We have just received a report that the police are coming. Don't taunt them, don't do anything to them. Be cool and calm. We are not fighting.*

But before 9.30 a.m., some students were shot dead and panic had set in among the rest. It is still not clear how the violence started; some onlookers claimed that students threw rocks or attacked police officers who were attempting to disperse them with dogs and tear gas. But eventually shots were fired, students were killed and the violence escalated. Buildings were set alight, bottle shops were looted and burned, and more students were shot. One white government official was dragged from his car and stoned to death.

The situation became worse when nearby schools were closed early, and thousands more students were on the streets by noon. By 9 p.m., police in armoured cars were everywhere. Official reports said 23 people were dead, but other reports suggested up to 200 were killed.

▶**Source 14.14**
Soweto student protest, 21 June 1976

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

FOCUS QUESTION 14.5

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks, **'What's going on in this image?'** (see Source 14.14). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

By the next morning, the situation was one of complete chaos, and anger was high.

By the evening of 17 June, most government buildings in and around Soweto were torched, along with buses, cars and three schools. More than 1500 police were placed throughout the town. More protesters were shot. Workers refused to go to work, so industry ground to a halt. Hundreds of white students from Witwatersrand University protested in Johannesburg against the deaths of the Soweto students, and were joined by striking workers. Marches and protests sprang up in nearby towns, most of them peaceful – but some became violent, and more students were shot there as well.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 14.2

There are many models and ways to analyse images. The CCF model (see Chapter 1, p. 12) is one possible process.

▲ **Source 14.15** The aftermath of the Sharpeville protest against the pass system. Images like these shocked the world.

▲ **Source 14.16** Hector Pieterson being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubo after being shot by South African police during the Soweto uprising. His sister, Antoinette Sithole, runs beside them.

1 Use the CCF model to analyse the images in Source 14.15 and Source 14.16.

2 What are the similarities between these images?

3 Which one do you think is more effective?

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Outcome

In the end, the police force won the battle, and the riots died down after 17 June. Had simultaneous, full-scale revolts occurred nationwide, the impact of the Soweto Riots might have been greater. However, international press coverage of the riots led to international economic, military and sporting sanctions against South Africa. These sanctions had the greater impact over time. South Africa was banned from the Olympics until 1992, and South African cricket and rugby tours to Australia were banned between 1971 and the early 1990s.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video and assess the tone of white concerns through the period.

FOCUS QUESTIONS 14.6

Watch the footage via the link to the left and then answer the following questions.

1 What are the concerns expressed in this video about the state of society?
2 Which racial groups does the video consider to be important in unifying under a concept of South African nationalism?

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

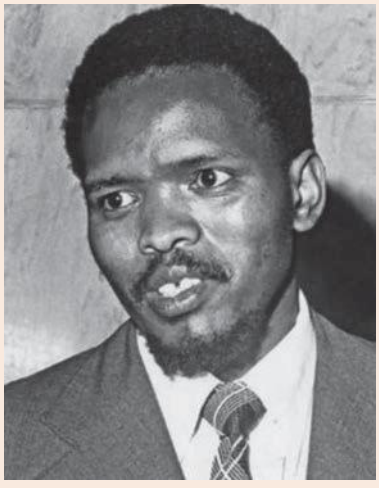
Steve (Bantu) Biko's story (1946–77)

Social discussions of family background and early years are often overshadowed by interest in political ambition and leadership. Hence, the purpose of this section is to provide an interesting social background to political leaders. To personalise the story, the first name has been used instead of the usual surname.

Steve was a South African political activist, founder and leader of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in the mid-1960s. Born in King William's Town, Cape Province, he was expelled from his first school, Lovedale, for 'anti-establishment behaviour' and became involved in politics while studying medicine at Natal University.

He was the co-founder and first president of the all-black South African Students Organisation (SASO) in 1969. SASO was involved in providing legal aid and medical clinics, and developing cottage industries in communities. Steve also helped to establish the Black People's Convention (BPC) in 1972, a coalition of over 70 organisations, and was expelled from Natal University as a result. He was served with a banning order in 1973, severely restricting his movements and freedom of speech and association; restrictions increased in 1975.

Steve died in custody in August 1977, allegedly as a result of a beating from the police.



◄ **Source 14.17** Steve Biko

◄ **Source 14.18** Denzel Washington as Steve Biko in a scene from the film *Cry Freedom*

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

RESEARCH QUESTION 13.1

Watch the film on Steve Biko's life and death, *Cry Freedom* (1987). Summarise the main themes of this film. Explain how the police and the justice system are portrayed in the film.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Steve Biko was famous for his slogan: 'Black is beautiful ... begin to look upon yourself as a human being.' This simple slogan was an attempt to empower his people under the racial oppression of the South African government.

14.6 Apartheid in the 1980s

By the mid-1980s, clear cracks were appearing in the apartheid system. Laws banning multi-racial political parties, interracial sex and marriage were gradually repealed, as well as segregation in restaurants, hotels, transportation and public facilities. However, the repeal of a few laws did not remove the anger and resentment of the population.

Internationally, US President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher could not control anti-apartheid opinion within their own nations. University campuses organised multiple protests and pickets of South African embassies, often leading to large numbers of arrests. The United States Congress passed the *Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act* in 1986, overriding Reagan's attempt to veto the legislation. Hundreds of American businesses with manufacturing plants in South Africa withdrew their facilities, thus contributing to increased unemployment in South Africa.

By the late 1980s, apartheid was being battered by both internal and external factors. The number of whites in the population had dropped to just 15 per cent in 1985. At the same time, the economy was deteriorating due to rapid inflation, rising unemployment and foreign divestment. The result was a society bitterly divided about its future.

Despite this, elements in the apartheid movement hardened as the system was crumbling. Eugene de Kock was a colonel in the South African Police who acted as the commander of a counter-insurgency group located on the outskirts of the city of Pretoria. De Kock commanded the now infamous C1 Unit, which did not have regular police duties and in fact acted as a para-military death squad. It executed anti-apartheid activists or tortured them to force them to give up activism against the regime.

It was ultimately time for reform, though. Argument remains as to whether this reform was prompted by the collective moral conscience of the whites or by the crippling economic and social effects of South Africa's international isolation. It was in this context that government officials and business leaders began secretly meeting with ANC members. Meetings also took place with Nelson Mandela. In 1989, on separate occasions, he met with both President P.W. Botha and his successor, F.W. de Klerk. The president served Mandela tea and was particularly gracious to him. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was present at the meeting, later remarked:

> *[You] could say it is the outgoing president meeting someone who is going to succeed him.*

The president tried to persuade Mandela to renounce violence and guarantee the future rights of the white minority. Mandela rejected these terms for his release:

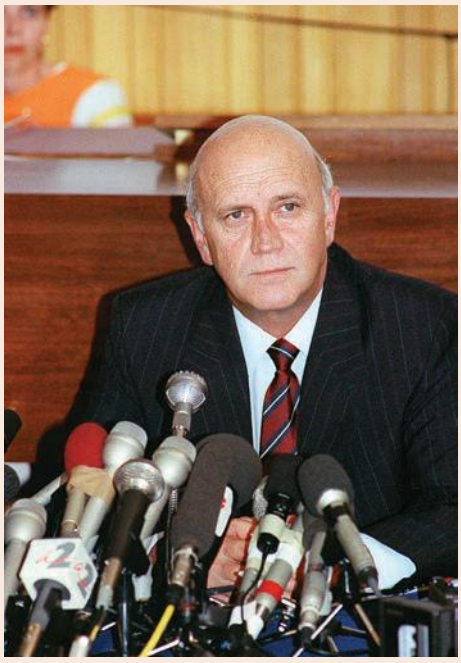
> *What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people remains banned? Only free men can negotiate. A prisoner cannot enter into contracts.*

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

In 1984, British group the Special AKA released a musical tribute to Nelson Mandela called 'Free Nelson Mandela'. The song was re-recorded in 1988 with Elvis Costello on vocals to commemorate Mandela's 70th birthday, and Amy Winehouse covered it in 2008 at Mandela's 90th birthday tribute concert in London's Hyde Park. In London in 1988, 72 000 people attended a rock concert called Freedomfest – Nelson Mandela's 70th Birthday Celebration, which was broadcast to over 60 countries around the world.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL



▲ **Source 14.19** Frederik Willem de Klerk was a key figure in the abolition of apartheid.

Frederik Willem (F.W.) de Klerk's story (1936–)

Social discussions of family background and early years are often overshadowed by interest in political ambition and leadership. Hence, the purpose of this section is to provide an interesting social background to political leaders. To personalise the story, the first name has been used instead of the usual surname.

F.W. was a South African politician and President of South Africa. Born into a political family in Johannesburg, he studied arts and law at Potchefstroom University from 1954, and was actively involved in student politics. He entered parliament in 1972, joined the Cabinet in 1978 and held several ministries between 1978 and 1994. F.W. was head of the National Party from 1989 to 1997, President of South Africa from 1989 to 1994 and Vice-President (with Thabo Mbeki) under Nelson Mandela from 1994 to 1997). He left parliament in 1997.

F.W. is best known for negotiating Nelson Mandela's release from jail in 1990 and working with him to dismantle apartheid in South Africa. F.W. and Mandela shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993.

De Klerk gives up South Africa's nuclear arsenal

In response to South Africa's increasing international isolation during the apartheid era, the 1970s saw them secretly develop a nuclear weapons program.

De Klerk indicated years later that this was done because without any allies, the nation felt it needed to have the weapons in case the country came under threat. Recent interviews by De Klerk demonstrated that he still holds out hope that incentive, rather than punishment, can bring North Korea in from isolation whereby they also dismantle their nuclear armaments. One of De Klerk's last acts as president was to reveal that South Africa had built this small arsenal of six nuclear weapons, with a seventh half-built. He signed the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and ordered their dismantling as apartheid was ending and international re-integration was under way.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a newsreel in Britain at the time that South Africa admitted possession of nuclear weapons and the intention to dismantle them.

AMAZING BUT TRUE ...

Shortly before sunrise on 22 September 1979, a US surveillance satellite known as Vela 6911 recorded an unusual double flash as it orbited the Earth above the South Atlantic. It was unmistakably a nuclear explosion. This event was later known as the Vela Incident. It remains a mystery, as NATO intelligence at the time did not rate the initial suspect, South Africa, as capable of a blast of that level. This led to another possibility – Israel. Middle East tensions at the time and the United States' ongoing support of Israel meant that they then tried to bury the story urgently.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

14.7 Apartheid collapses

Apartheid ends and Mandela is released

On 13 December 1989, F.W. de Klerk met with Nelson Mandela in prison for three hours to discuss Mandela's release and the future of South Africa. When Parliament resumed on 2 February 1990, de Klerk stunned the world by announcing the formal end of apartheid and admitting its failure. He finished his opening address with these words:

> *History has placed a tremendous responsibility on the shoulders of this country's leadership, namely the responsibility of moving our country away from the current course of conflict and confrontation … The hope of millions of South Africans is fixed on us. The future of southern Africa depends on us. We dare not waver or fall.*

▲ **Source 14.20** Nelson Mandela's cell in the prison on Robben Island

Between February and June 1990, all aspects of the bedrock legislation (enacted from 1911 to 1936) were removed. In February 1990, President de Klerk reversed the ban on the ANC, and on 11 February Nelson Mandela was released from prison, hand-in-hand with his wife Winnie, to be met by a huge crowd of supporters and international news media. He found himself to be a political figure of international importance. Mandela's fame had increased over his years in prison as he had become a symbol of the fight against apartheid in South Africa. Upon release he spoke of reconciliation and truth, asking both black and white South Africans to evaluate wrongs of the past and how to right them in the future.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

▲**Source 14.21** At his inauguration as South African President in Pretoria, Nelson Mandela shakes hands with former president and now Deputy President F.W. de Klerk (right), as Deputy President Thabo Mbeki (left) looks on.

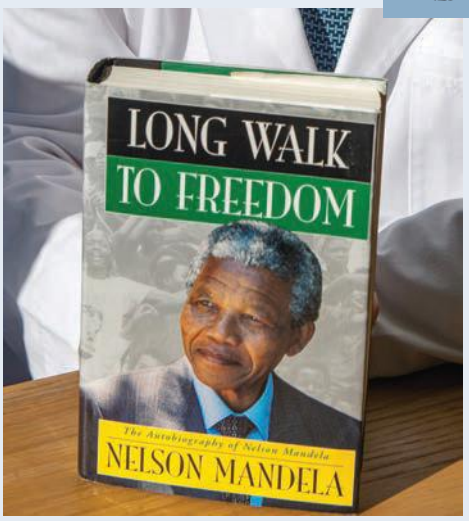
Mandela refused to condemn armed resistance, but said that reconciliation and forgiveness were the best ways forward. This caught many of his supporters off guard, and alienated many younger Africans who only knew him by name and reputation. They had expected criticism of whites, railing against apartheid and talk of vengeance. But that was not Mandela's way.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 14.3

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to see a video in which Mandela discusses the situation in South Africa shortly after his release.

View a video of Mandela via the link to the left and then answer the following questions.

1 Using your knowledge of Mandela's earlier policy standpoints, explain the extent to which Mandela's discussion points in this interview have changed or remained the same.
2 British PM Margaret Thatcher is mentioned in this video. What had she attempted to do as a result of Mandela's release?
3 Describe Mandela's view of de Klerk in this interview.



▲**Source 14.22** Mandela's autobiography is called *Long Walk to Freedom*. A film was made of it in 2013.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Mandela becomes president

The first truly democratic election in South Africa's history was held on 27 April 1994. Mandela and the ANC won the popular vote, and he became President of South Africa. F.W. de Klerk shared the deputy president role with Thabo Mbeki. Mandela made mistakes in the early years of his presidency, including an ineffective response to the country's HIV/AIDS epidemic, but they did not detract from the symbolic power of his presidency – a former 'terrorist' now a powerful international activist for peace, reconciliation and freedom.

▲ **Source 14.23** Mandela being sworn in as president

Forgiving apartheid abuses: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was set up in 1994 to examine human rights violations from the era of apartheid, to prosecute those guilty of crimes and to advance the cause of reconciliation and peace between black and white South Africans. It became a powerful forum for national sorrow, understanding and forgiveness that allowed both black and white South Africa to move forward with a sense of hope and closure.

During the TRC, those involved in political murders were required to testify. Colonel Eugene de Kock's testimonies were heard here, revealing his involvement in more than 100 activist deaths across the ANC and other anti-apartheid organisations. De Kock was accused of many crimes, one of which was attempting to cover up the involvement of the security police in murderous incidents. He applied for amnesty but was denied. On 30 October 1996, de Kock was sentenced to 212 years in prison. The judge described him as a chilling and revolting agent for apartheid. Under the definition of 'terrorist', he would be considered a state-sponsored one. He was released on parole in 2015, less than 20 years into his sentence.

▶ **Source 14.24** Colonel Eugene de Kock, commander of the C1 Unit, swears to tell the truth at a Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearing on 24 May 1999 in Pretoria.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

1966	Prime Minister Verwoerd assassinated
1968	South African Students Organisation (SASO)
1972	Black People's Convention (BPC)
1973	Durban strikes
1974	SASO and BPC banned
1976	Nationwide student riots
1976	Soweto student riots (June)
1977	UN army embargo on SA
1977	Steve Biko arrested (August)
1977	Biko dead (September)
1983	United Democratic Front (UDF) formed
1984	Archbishop Tutu – Nobel Peace Prize
1985	Internal State of Emergency imposed
1985	International sanctions imposed
1986	Internal State of Emergency ended (March)
1986	Reimposed (June)
1987	ANC's London headquarters bombed
1990	De Klerk announces Mandela's release
1990	Mandela's release (February)
1991	De Klerk announces end of apartheid
1992	Referendum on reform (March)
1992	SA at Olympic Games
1992	Mandela–de Klerk Pact (September)
1993	Mandela–de Klerk joint Nobel Peace Prize
1993	New constitution approved (December)
1994	First post-apartheid election (April)
1994	Mandela elected President (May)
1995	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)
1997	Mandela leaves office (July)
1997	Thabo Mbeki takes over as president

▲ **Source 14.25** Apartheid era in South Africa, key events, 1966–97

International reintegration

South Africa quickly reintegrated with the international community after the end of apartheid, leading to a flow of investment and trade. Having been one of the 51 founding members of the United Nations, South Africa was suspended in November 1974 for its policy of apartheid. It was re-admitted in 1994 and now holds the UN centrally in its foreign policy decisions.

Most public has been its reintegration into the international sporting bodies from which it was banned from the 1970s onwards. South Africa hosted the Rugby World Cup in 1995, which it won, with Mandela famously donning the Springbok jersey – a once-potent symbol of the apartheid era – and urging all South Africans to get behind the team. South Africa also hosted the 2003 Cricket World Cup and the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. South Africa's cricket team (the Proteas) has also been relatively successful since reinstatement in 1991, nearly making the World Cup final on two occasions and reaching the number-one test cricket ranking at one stage. The Proteas have a rule that a minimum of six of its twelve players must be of a black background.

South Africa's Springboks again won the Rugby World Cup in 2019, held in Japan. This was the country's third win between 1995 and 2019, including the 2007 triumph in France. Importantly, this was the first Springbok team to have a black captain. Siya Kolisi is an inspirational leader and his story is just as compelling. He grew up in the poorest of areas imaginable and his mother died when he was aged 15. He was then raised by his late grandmother and rose through the rugby ranks to lead his country. He dedicated the 2019 win to working together to overcome South Africa's terrible ongoing problems of inequality.

Use the QR code or access the Interactive Textbook to watch an interview with Matt Damon, who played the role of Springbok captain Francois Pienaar in the 2009 film *Invictus*, which focused on the pride and hope of South Africa as it emerged from apartheid isolation to win the 1995 Rugby World Cup. Morgan Freeman played Mandela.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

◄ **Source 14.26** The Springboks on their victory parade back in South Africa. Note the message they are wearing as a symbol of hope and ongoing reconciliation.

▲ **Source 14.27** Springbok captain Siya Kolisi with partner Rachel, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Springbok Franco Mostert and the 2019 Rugby World Cup trophy. Tutu played a leading role in the anti-apartheid movement, standing up to the introduction of compulsory Afrikaans language programs at great personal risk.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 14.4

Write an extended response on the following topic: *To what extent are South Africa's sporting events and achievements a distraction from the real and important work that is still to be done?*

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Mandela's death, 2013

Nelson Mandela died on 5 December 2013. Three days later a national day of prayer and reflection was held to help South Africans mourn his death. He had previously said: 'I don't think there is much history can say about me. I just want to be remembered as part of that collective.'

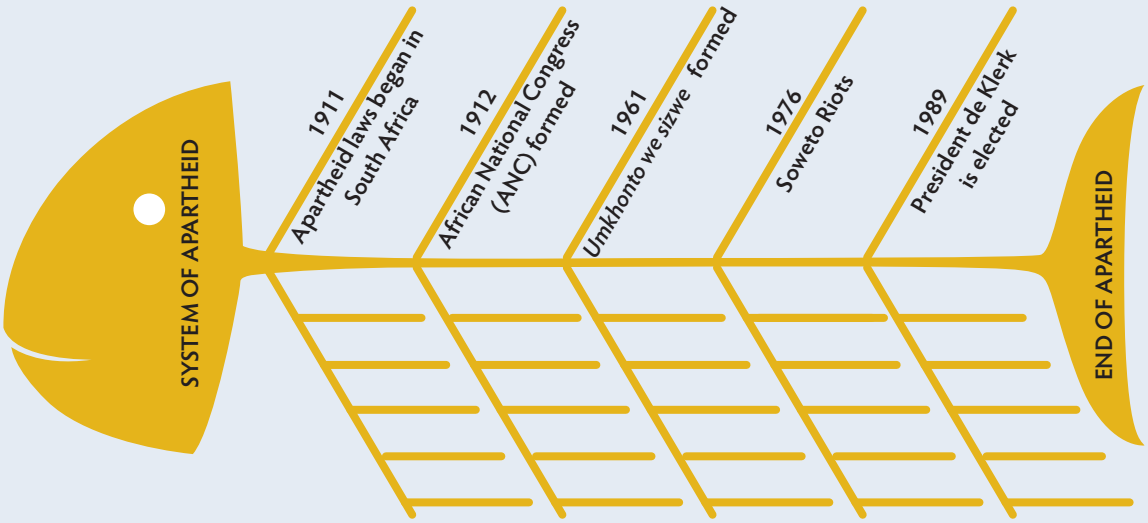
Supporters and admirers have written a lot about Nelson Mandela, but critics have said very little. He is remembered throughout the world as the symbol of resistance to oppression. In addition to the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize he shared with de Klerk, Mandela was awarded 19 honorary degrees from universities around the world and received 47 international awards (including the Freedom of the City of Sydney Award in 1987, while he was still imprisoned).

▼**Source 14.28** A modern statue of Nelson Mandela in front of the Drakenstein Correctional Centre (formerly Victor Verster Prison) near Cape Town, South Africa, from where he was released in 1990

ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 14.5

Copy and complete this graphic organiser. Add explanations under each of the main events listed.



ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 14.6

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words listed below: *What was Mandela's role in the struggle against apartheid?*

- African National Congress
- apartheid
- Defiance Campaign
- sabotage
- Sharpeville Massacre
- Spear of the Nation

THE STORY SO FAR

- Apartheid was introduced to South Africa by Dr Daniel Malan after his victory in the 1948 elections. Citizens were divided into four racial groups, with black South Africans losing the right to vote and being moved to homelands.
- Young militant members of the African National Congress (ANC) favoured direct action against the government, and therefore began the Defiance Campaign. They also released the Freedom Charter, outlining rights that blacks should have. Nelson Mandela was a member of this group.
- The Sharpeville Massacre took place in 1960 during protests over the discrimination of the government's Homelands policy.
- Mandela and other ANC leaders were arrested and convicted to life in prison from 1963.
- Steve Biko and other activists unsuccessfully continued the fight against the government. The Soweto Riots in 1976 brought the world's focus on to the repression of apartheid.
- President de Klerk negotiated the end to apartheid laws in 1990 and the release of Mandela from prison after 27 years. Mandela became the first black president of South Africa in 1994.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Chapter review

Short-answer questions

1 How was apartheid introduced and what were some main laws?

2 How did the African National Congress fight against apartheid in South Africa?

3 Why were the Sharpeville Massacre and Soweto Riots such significant events?

4 Why did apartheid collapse?

Analysing historical sources as evidence

This is an extract from Nelson Mandela's speech at his trial in 1964, explaining the ANC's decision to adopt violent strategies.

> *Four forms of violence are possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism and there is open revolution. We chose to adopt the first method and to exhaust it before taking any other decision.*
>
> *In the light of our political background the choice was a logical one. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Bitterness would be kept to a minimum and, if the policy bore fruit, democratic government could become a reality …*
>
> *The initial plan was based on a careful analysis of the political and economic situation of our country. We believed that South Africa depended to a large extent on foreign capital and foreign trade. We felt that planned destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications would tend to scare away capital from the country, making it more difficult for goods from industrial areas to reach the seaports on schedule, and would in the long run be a drain on the economic life of the country, thus compelling the voters of the country to reconsider their position …*
>
> *This then was the plan.* Umkhonto *was to perform sabotage, and strict instructions were given to members right from the start, that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations.*

1 List the four violent options open to the ANC.

2 According to the document, how did it justify choosing sabotage?

3 According to the document, what was *Umkhonto we Sizwe* hoping that sabotage would achieve?

4 Using your own knowledge, explain how the Sharpeville Massacre motivated the ANC to change its approach to fighting against apartheid.

5 Explain the strengths and weaknesses of Mandela's point of view.

6 Can terrorism ever be justified? Is the phrase 'One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' valid in any way? Explain your answer in the context of the perspectives of the ANC and apartheid.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

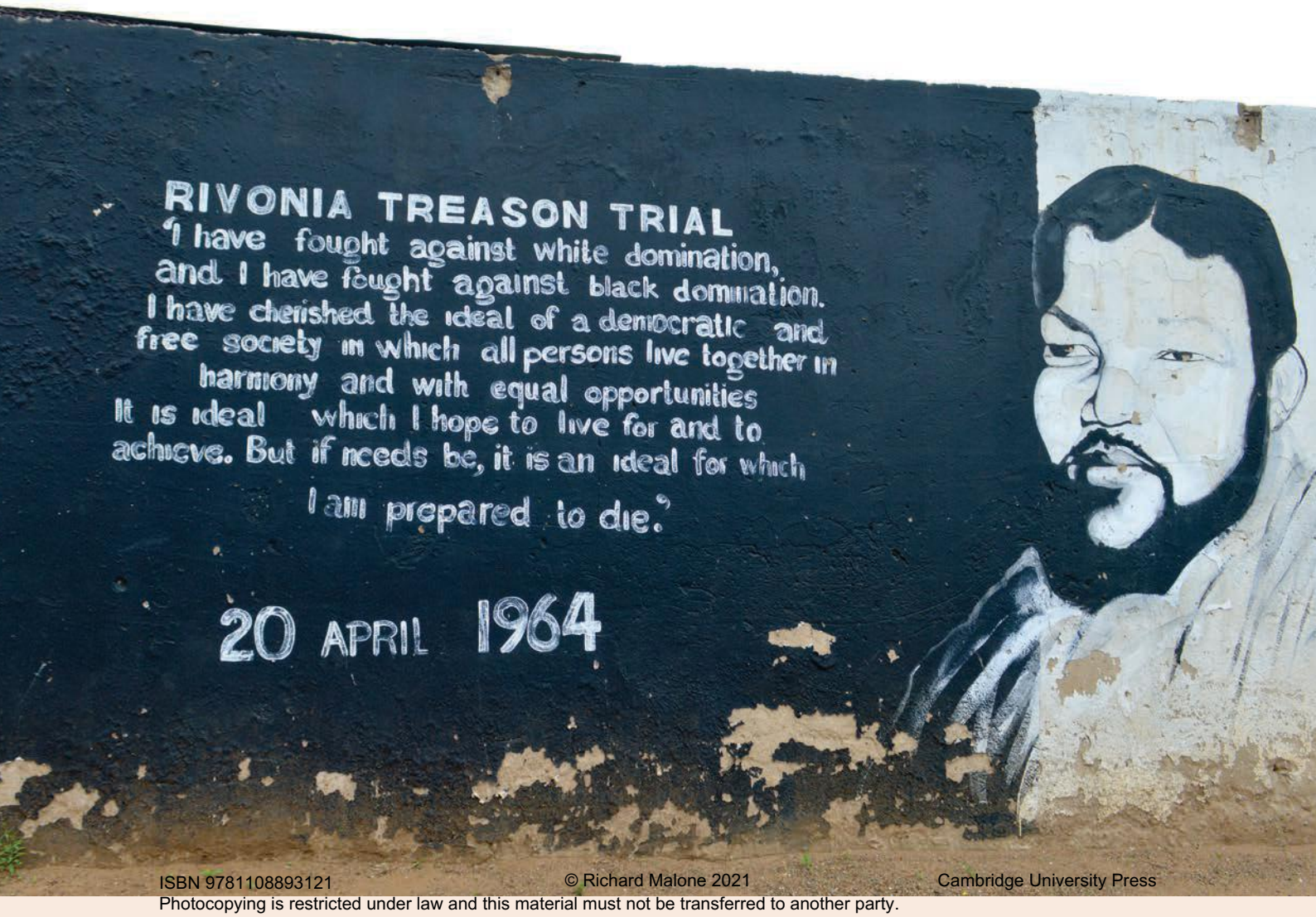
Constructing historical arguments

Write a considered response to this statement about Nelson Mandela: *Mandela was both a symbol of the government's policy of apartheid as well as a symbol of hope.*

To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer.

- To begin this question, you will need to make a list of ways in which the government 'persecuted' the South African population – for example, the apartheid policies themselves. Also consider key events such as the Sharpeville Massacre, the Soweto Riots and Steve Biko's death in custody.
- Ask yourself: how did Mandela attempt to confront apartheid in South Africa? Make a list of his involvement, including the ANC, Freedom Charter, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* and Rivonia Trial.
- Brainstorm what a 'symbol' is. The words 'represents', 'demonstrates' or 'explains' are a helpful starting point. How could Mandela 'symbolise' anything?
- The crucial part is using these lists to answer the question. In what ways did Mandela symbolise government violence?
- And in what ways did he symbolise hope? In what ways did he not do so?

▼**Source 14.29** A modern artwork painted on a wall in Soweto, South Africa, in honour of Nelson Mandela's speech during the Rivonia Treason Trial in 1964



ISBN 9781108893121 © Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Glossary

African National Congress (ANC) formed in 1912 and still in existence today as a major political party in South Africa

Afrikaans Dutch-derived creole that developed in South Africa

alliances legal treaties signed between nations that pledge military involvement together when one enters a war

Allies referring to states that have allied themselves for mutual benefit; in World War I, Britain, France and the United States were known as the Allies

ANC Women's League formed in 1943 to facilitate the involvement of black women in the work of the ANC

ANC Youth League formed in 1944 by Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo as a response to the conservative approach of the leaders of the ANC itself

Anschluss the name given to Germany's overtaking of Austria in 1938

apartheid a system that discriminates or persecutes on the basis of race and separates races from one another

appeasement the failed policy of negotiation adopted by France and Britain to try to avoid full-scale war

armistice an agreement between opposing sides in a war to temporarily cease hostilities

arms race a competitive 'race' where two or more nations engage in a policy of growing and modernising their military capacity to be ready for conflict

Aryan in Nazi ideology a person of a supposedly 'white race' that was meant to be the polar opposite of a perceived 'Jewish race'

attritional military tactics the military approach of sending as many soldiers into the battlefield as possible in the belief that sheer numbers will prevail. This did not work in the trench warfare of World War I where machine guns simply cut down thousands of soldiers at a time

Bantustan homeland; under apartheid law in South Africa people were relegated to separate homelands

Baptist Protestant Christian denomination popular in the United States; key beliefs include freedom of conscience, individual thought and adult baptism

baroque a style of European architecture, music and art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries characterised by its free style and use of classical sculpture

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) an anti-apartheid activist group formed in the mid-1960s after the crackdown on earlier black political movements in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre

Black Shirts armed squads of fascists identified by their black shirts that acted under Mussolini's orders

blockade barriers stopping movement of people or goods for political reasons

blocs groups of nations that unite on certain matters; these can be trade or military

bootlegging the illegal production and sale of liquor

brinksmanship the policy of pushing dangerous events to the brink of active conflict in order to achieve a win. It occurs in business and legal dealings, international politics, foreign policy, industrial relations and military strategy, including the threat of nuclear warfare.

Bundestag the upper house of the first German parliament. Appointed by each German state's leadership and approved by the Kaiser, this house could make laws and manage foreign policy.

capitalism a political and economic system in which production and distribution are privately owned or operated for profit

casualty a person killed or wounded in war

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) the spy agency of the United States during the Cold War

civil unrest disruptions to social order, typically caused by protests in response to political and social problems

communism a theory or system of social organisation in which all property is owned by the community and each person contributes and receives according to their ability and needs

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

concentration camp prison camp where enemies of the Nazi government were 'concentrated' (kept in one place); some were hard labour camps while others were death camps

conformity compliant behaviour, often motivated by fear of rejection or the social consequences that might arise from non-compliance

Congress Alliance a combination of several groups, including the ANC, that opposed the South African government

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) a civil rights organisation founded in 1942 that played a central part in the civil rights movement

conjunction two (or more) events occurring at the same point in time

conscription a ballot system whereby nations force their eligible citizens of a certain age to perform military duty

convention a formal or informal agreement, in the latter case often guiding actions, such as not doing something even though one has the power. Numerous political systems rely on convention for their everyday function.

coup an action by a group, often violent, to remove a country's official government and take over; it is often carried out by a general leading the army against the government or by armed political parties

Cuban Missile Crisis a 13-day standoff between the Soviet Union and United States in October 1962 over the Soviet Union providing missiles to Cuba

cult of personality a powerful following of an individual leader, usually meaning that people will trust them and pursue their agenda, even at personal risk and sacrifice

Dawes Plan a short-lived strategy for the collection of reparations from Germany that tried to limit the hyperinflation the country was suffering

Deep South refers to the states in the South that were deeply conservative about traditional society, which promoted that whites were superior

democratic a system whereby parliament, or part of it, is elected in free and fair secret ballot by eligible citizens. The concept originated in ancient Greece.

détente the label given to the 'thawing out period' of the geopolitical tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States

domino theory United States' belief that if South Vietnam fell to communism, then all other surrounding countries would also fall to communism, like a row of dominoes

Draft Resistance Movement formed in the 1960s to protest against the conscription 'draft'

Enabling Act an emergency decree to allow Hitler total political power for a four-year period

fasces image of power and unity from ancient Rome used as the fascist symbol

fictitious capital a concept used by (19th century philosopher, author and economist) Karl Marx, to describe value, in the form of credit, shares, debt, speculation and various forms of paper money

flappers women who wore the new fashions of the 1920s such as short dresses and bobbed hair

free trade a system of trade between nations that reduces barriers such as tariffs and, in some cases, subsidies for home industries

Freedom Charter idealistic list of rights drawn up by the Congress Alliance in 1955

geopolitics a term used to describe the calculations of competing nations about how to use their finite resources on the global scale to influence international matters. Factors such as demographics, economics, geographical location and military alliances influence a nation's actions. The ultimate goals are those of self-interest, which may involve helping other nations along the way.

Gestapo secret state police whose main role was to enforce obedience to the government through arrests and imprisonment

glasnost a Soviet policy initiated by Gorbachev that attempted to make the government more open and encouraged constructive dialogue with Soviet citizens

Gleichschaltung a policy introduced in Nazi Germany that involved the coordination of all aspects of society

Great Depression the global economic depression that devastated capitalist societies around the world where unemployment rates above 30 per cent were not uncommon

guerrilla unconventional warfare or tactics, where individuals or small groups use raids, ambushes and stealth to attack and destabilise larger and more powerful forces

hegemony the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control others

Holocaust systematic murder of millions of Jews in Europe during World War II

indoctrination the instruction or training of someone to believe and support a particular set of ideas or philosophies, often through highly emotive or persuasive means

isolationism a national policy where a nation stays out of the disputes and affairs of other nations

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Jim Crow laws discriminatory laws that divided society into 'whites' and 'blacks'

Khmer Rouge a murderous group purporting to be communist that controlled Cambodia from 1975 to 1978. Rouge means 'red' in French, and the name is derived from the French colonial past and their allegiance to communist doctrine. They committed genocide on much of their own population. War crimes trials against the perpetrators did not conclude until as late as 2010.

Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (KGB) the spy agency of the Soviet Union during the Cold War; it translates as 'Committee for State Security'

Ku Klux Klan (KKK) a race-based group that actively fought for the supremacy of whites

League of Nations the international organisation established in 1920 with the purpose of preventing war and resolving conflicts between countries

Lebensraum German word meaning 'living space', a policy used to justify expanding borders

liberal a political viewpoint that believes in people's freedom, their right to vote and to speak freely

market economy a term used to describe an economy that relies on supply and demand to set production and prices; it is based on capitalist principles

Marshall Plan US strategy to make capitalism attractive by rebuilding Western Europe after World War II

militant person or group prepared to engage in aggressive or physical conflict for a cause

militarism the belief within a country that it should maintain strong military capability and be willing to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests

mobilised the process of activating a nation's armed forces ready for imminent conflict. In the first half of the twentieth century, this also meant rapidly enlarging the army.

monarchic dictatorship a political system ruled autocratically by a royal family

Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) a pro-black organisation established during the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955

monumental of great importance, significance, extent or size

moonshine illegally made and distributed distilled spirits such as whisky

NAACP the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; an organisation whose mission is to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of people of colour

nationalist a person who acts to further their own nation's interests. This can be in minor, patriotic ways, or violent and aggressive ways.

National Socialism an extreme and exclusionary form of socialism that involved collective responsibility and working together, but within a community that was limited by 'nation' or 'race'

New Deal a series of projects and programs introduced by President Roosevelt from 1933 to stabilise the economy after the Great Depression

normalcy the state of being normal, standard or typical

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) an alliance formed in 1949 between the United States and various European states for the purpose of collective defence against common enemies. As opposed to membership of the UN, this is a military pact designed for immediate response to threats.

Nuremberg Trials held after World War II between 1945 and 1949 to prosecute the main leaders of the Nazi Party for war crimes

Old Empires empires that dominated imperial expansion in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – first Spain and Portugal, and eventually France, Great Britain and Russia

parliamentary democracy a political system that allows eligible voters to elect their representatives to parliament. Some systems have a president as head of state, others a monarchy.

patriotism deep love of one's country

perestroika a Russian term literally meaning 'restructuring', *perestroika* was one of Gorbachev's major reform policies from the late 1980s, designed to reform the Soviet Union's struggling communist economy by introducing capitalistic practices borrowed from the West

persecution any form of undeserved punishment

Prohibition period from 1920 to 1933 when alcohol was banned by the US government

propaganda information provided in a selective way to promote a specific perspective

psychology the mental state or attitude of a person or group

putsch the attempt to overthrow a government illegally or by force; Hitler attempted this in 1923

revanchism Nationalistic desire for revenge and restoration of lost territory after a defeat

rearmament the production of more weapons and military equipment to regain military strength

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

reforms changes or developments to a previous way of doing things

Reichsmusikkammer the Reich Music Chamber, an institution created to promote 'good German music' and suppress 'degenerate' music

Reichstag the lower house of the first German parliament. While it was democratically elected, it had no law-making powers and could not hold any of the upper house members to account.

resistance movement individuals and groups who unite in the common cause of opposing a specific government

revolution an uprising that overthrows the political authority of the day

Rivonia Trial the collection of Treason Trials of 1963–64 in Rivonia where the leaders of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, Mandela among them, were tried and sentenced to life imprisonment

Romanov family dynasty that ruled Russia from 1613 to 1917

self-determination the right of a country to determine its own social, economic and political agendas

sit-in peaceful student protest during the early 1960s to protest against segregation

solitary confinement imprisonment without contact with other prisoners

South African Students Organization (SASO) an organisation comprising students who resisted apartheid through political means; formed in 1968

speakeasies illegal but popular clubs that served alcohol during Prohibition

***Schutzstaffel* (SS)**, or protection squadron – a feared elite personal guard to Hitler

state of emergency a situation in which the government suspends normal procedures due to danger or disaster

***Sturmabteilung* (SA)** the original paramilitary wing of the Nazi Party

Sudetenland the German-speaking area of Czechoslovakia

talkies the term used for the first films with audible dialogue

The Balkans the region of small nation states that lay between Austria-Hungary, the Ottomans and Russia. It had traditionally been a difficult area of conflict as the larger empires attempted to invade and occupy the region. Even Ancient Rome had trouble there.

Third Reich the label given by the Nazis to their government, with the First Reich being the Holy Roman Empire, which ran from the Middle Ages to 1806, and the Second Reich being the German Empire from 1871 to 1918

totalitarian referring to a government that has absolute authority over the public and private lives of its people

Treason Trials a government response to the Freedom Charter of 1955 where ANC leaders were tried under the *Suppression of Communism Act* of 1950, which outlawed the South African Communist Party (SACP)

trench warfare fighting war from trenches, dug in the ground. This meant that warfare was not mobile and that defence prevailed repeatedly, prolonging the war and leading to enormous casualties.

tsar Russian name for 'king'; the tsar was the ruler of Russia

Übermensch the German term for 'superior human' and used by the Nazis to describe Aryans

Umkhonto we Sizwe formed in 1961 as a response to the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960; the military wing of the ANC, led by Nelson Mandela

United Nations the League of Nations eventually developed into the United Nations and it is now the intergovernmental organisation for promoting international cooperation

Untermensch the German term for 'inferior human' and used by the Nazis to describe non-Aryans

uprising an act of resistance or rebellion

veto a power that allows a permanent Security Council nation to cancel any resolution tabled in the UN.

Vietcong Vietnamese soldiers who fought for the communist North Vietnam

Vietnam moratorium a term to describe the anti-war protests, as they demanded a moratorium, or halt, to the existing state of action in Vietnam

Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) a group of Vietnam Veterans giving a voice to disabled and crippled soldiers and working towards exposing the truth about the United States in South-East Asia

Volksgemeinschaft a people's community; this was the Nazis' overall vision for a unified, racially pure Germany

War Crimes Tribunal an independent body set up to investigate and prosecute perpetrators of atrocities during wartime

West and East terms used to describe the ideological divide between the West (capitalism) and the East (communism); the terms are related to western and eastern Europe after World War II ended

white supremacist person who believes in the superiority of Caucasians over those of different racial or ethnic backgrounds

World War II a war fought from 1939 to 1945 between the Axis powers – Germany, Italy and Japan – and the Allies, including France, Britain, and later the Soviet Union and the United States

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Index

abdication 72
absolute authority 192, 206
Abyssinian invasion 92–3
activism 401
Afghanistan 234, 305, 307
Africa 32
African Americans 177, 180–1, 334, 336–8, 340, 343, 345–7, 351–2, 376
African National Congress (ANC) 388
Afrikaans 397, 407
Age of Intolerance/Wonderful Nonsense! 157
Agent Orange 285, 296
aid 219, 246
air force 191, 249, 279
AK-47 assault rifles 280
Albania 205
alcohol prohibition 173–80
Allied forces (Allies)
  continuing tensions 219
  German zones 194, 218
  reasons for not stopping Nazi Germany 107–8
  Stalin's joining with 61
  US weaponry supply 191
allies/alliance 27–8, 33, 43, 50, 157, 216–17, 249, 259
  systems 34–5
Alsace 27–8
  territorial return to France 50
'Alternative Facts' 379
'America First' 377
Americas 32
anarchism 61
ANC Women's League/ANC Youth League 388
Anglo-Russian Agreement 34
annexation 107, 135, 320
Anschluss 52, 101
anti-apartheid movement 387–409
Anti-Establishmentism 378–9
anti-homosexual laws 125
Anti-Saloon League 173
anti-Semitism 69, 75, 91, 125, 134, 136, 148
anti-war movement 287–94
anti-war sentiment 287
apartheid (separateness) 387–409
  in 1980s 401–2
  abuses and TRC forgiveness 405
  collapse 403–9
  introduction 388–9
  key events 386, 406
  legislation 389
  legislative framework 387
  system 387–90, 409
Apollo 11 lunar landing mission 207
APPARTS model 12
appeasement
  examples 107–8
  failure 107–11
architecture 141
argument 7, 11, 13
armaments 89
armed conflict 198
armed forces 47
armies 33, 36, 52, 192
armistice 43
arms race 33–4, 221, 241, 244, 306, 309, 317–19
Armstrong, Louis 167
Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) 273
art 141
art deco 172
artistic styles 172
Aryan ideal 69, 73, 76, 129, 132–3
Asian people 389
assassination 35, 101, 223, 228, 249, 350
atomic bomb 191, 194, 241
attitudes 7
Auschwitz 149
Austria
  post-treaty territorial loss 52
  war with Prussia (1866) 27
  see also Central Powers
Austro-Hungarian Empire 29
authoritarianism 192
authority 206
Autobahns 129–30
autonomy 155
baby boomers 242
Balkans, The 35
ballistic missiles 50, 250–1
bans 129, 155, 157, 243, 249, 400–1

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Bantustans (homelands) 392
baroque style 141
Battle of Ap Bac 274
Battle of Dak To 275
Battle of Dien Bien Phu 267
Battle of Khe Sanh 275–6
battles 25, 267, 274–6, 387
  of the Vietnam War 274–8
  also under specific battle; *see also* Boer Wars
Bauhaus Movement 140
Bay of Pigs invasion 247, 249
  map 248
bedrock legislation (apartheid) 387, 403
Beer Hall Putsch 76
beheading 146
Belgium 47
  reparations to 49
beliefs 7
Berlin 229
  division of 215–34
  economic background 223
  Olympic Games 125–6
Berlin Blockade 218–20
  analysis 220
  background 218
  significance 220
Berlin Wall 224, 230, 305
  construction 228
  importance 234
  migration and escapes 231
  reason for creation 223–9
  responses to 231–3
  significance 234
  statistics and map 229
  tearing down 311–13, 316
'Big Three' 46, 49, 194
Bikini Atoll 243
Biko, Steve (Bantu) 397, 400–1
Birmingham Riots 364–5
  background and march responses 364
  end 365
birth rates 132
'black consciousness' 397
Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) 397, 400
Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement 374–6
Black People's Convention (BPC) 400
Black Shirts 66
blacks (black people) 335–7, 389
  separation from whites 180
    see also African Americans; indigenous peoples
blockade 218–20, 246, 249, 252
blocs 35
body paragraphs 13
Boer Wars 71, 387
Bolshevik Party 60, 202
bombers 281–2, 319
bondage 388
booby traps 282–3
book burnings 144–5
bootlegging 176
Boxer Rebellion 101
boycott 135, 305, 343, 389–90
  13-month 346–8
brainstorming 13
Braun, Eva 71
bribery 148
brinksmanship (the brink) 258, 308
British Army 387
British Commonwealth 393
British Empire 32
Broederbond (Band of Brothers) 388
'broken windows' criminological theory 374–5
Brown vs Board of Education 1951 358–9
Bulgaria 205
  post-treaty territorial loss 52
bullies 360
Bullock, Alan 77
Bundestag 29–30
Bush, George 310–11
business 201
  American business–business 158–9
  booms 177
buy it now 158–9
C1 Unit 401, 405
Cambodia 298–9
capitalism 193, 200, 202, 216, 224, 315
  versus communism 199–202
Capone, Al 177
carpooling 347
Castle Bravo 243
Castro, Fidel 246–7, 249, 259, 262
  reason for Soviet missiles in Cuba 246–51
causes; course; consequences 254–60, 295–8
  analysis 7
  of The Cold War 191–207, 215–34, 241–60, 267–99, 305–22
CCF model 12
censorship 90, 135
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 221, 247, 249
Central Powers 34
change 43–53, 59–82, 89–111, 125–49, 155–81
  challenge and 125–49, 155–81, 332–81, 387–409
  continuity and 7
  economic, political and social 4, 125–35, 155–9, 388
  in political law 94–5
  revolutionary 312
  of world order 191–207, 215–34, 241–60, 267–99, 305–22, 332–81, 387–409
Chaplin, Charlie 167–70
Checkpoint Charlie 232–3
children 132
China 202, 259, 270
  artificial islands 321
Chinese Revolution 202
Christianity 338
chronology 6
Churchill, Winston 205
  argument over Poland 193
  global initiatives 193

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

cinema 145
cities 389
Citizens' Council 343
civil disobedience 389, 391
civil rights 61, 94
Civil Rights Act 1964 350, 370–3
Civil Rights Bill 370
civil rights campaigns
  monumental events (2020) 374–81
  pivotal year 363–9
  US study 332–81
civil rights movement 336, 346, 370
civil unrest 312
Civil War 334, 336, 338
civil war 198, 296, 317
class systems 61
Clemenceau, Georges ('Tiger') 46, 48
Cold War, The 218, 220
  causes, course and consequences 191–207, 215–34, 241–60, 267–99, 305–22
  competing ideologies 199–202
  continuing tensions 193–4, 317–21
  declaration of end and statistics 311
  end? 305–22
  ideology and debates 202
  monumental events 311–16
collective theory 61
colonial rule 267, 293
colonists 47, 387
coloured people 389
communism 47–8, 60–1, 66, 225
  versus capitalism 199–202
  expansion 194, 202, 215–16, 267
  ideology 60–1
  interchangeability with socialism? 61
  'Reds under your bed' 220
  weakened 312
communist government 205
Communist Manifesto, The [pamphlet] 60, 63
Communist Party 80, 269, 314
communists 76
community 60, 392
comparison 6, 10, 14, 201–2, 224
Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act 1986 401
concentration camps 61, 91, 98, 125, 134, 293
conclusion 13
confederation 25
conflict 25–36, 43–53, 59–82, 89–111, 125–49, 155–81, 221
  industrialised 34–6
  international 89
  between nation and races 64
  regional study 387–409
conformity 127
Congress Alliance 391
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) 354
conjunction 314
conscription 35
  resistance to 289
Conservative Faith 378
consumerism 202
content words 13
contrasting and comparing 6
control 90
  of cultural expression 139–45, 173–80
  by government 60, 64
  over land 50, 52
  over populations 387
  territorial 30
convention 30
Coolidge, Calvin 156
cooperation 61, 101, 218
corruption 155–6, 179
counter-revolution 247
coup 67, 246, 305, 314, 389
COVID-19 374, 378
crazies 161
crime 155, 175–6
  see also organised crime
Cuban Missile Crisis 208, 241–60, 317
  Kennedy's response 252–3
  map 245
  outcomes and consequences 254–60
  Soviet weaponry in Cuba 250–1
Cuban–Soviet political relationship 250
cult of personality 33, 67, 317–18, 321
cultural expression
  controlling 173–80
  creating and controlling 139–45
  1920s and 1930s 162–72
culture
  'flapper' 162–4
  national 91
  political 126
currency 219, 319
currency fluctuations 193
cyberattacks 319
cybertheft 320
Dachau 98
daily life 4, 159, 201
DAMMITT U model 11
dance 163, 180
Dawes Plan 50, 73, 107
de Klerk, Frederik Willem 402
de Kock, Eugene 401, 405
death camps 91, 149
Declaration of Independence 332
Deep South 333–4, 337–8
defection 224
defence 217
Defiance Campaign 391
democracy 75, 131, 193, 216
  parliamentary 25, 29
  United States under 155–81
demonstration 288, 392
Denmark, war with Prussia (1864) 27
deportation 61
desegregation 358, 360
détente 234
Deutsche Arbeitsfront (DAF) 130–1
Deutschmark 219
dictatorships 29, 64, 94, 99–100, 105
  establishing 90–1

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

diplomacy 27, 47
disarmament 47, 89, 306–7
Disarmament Conference 89
discrimination 69, 180, 334
discussion 9
Disney, Walt 170–1
Dolchstoßlegende 72
domino theory 268–9
Draft Resistance Movement 289
Dutch Reformed Church 388, 397
Earhart, Amelia 163
East Berlin 231
East Germany 218
Eastern Europe 192
  'east' 267
Eckford, Elizabeth 359–60
economic advances 61
economic boom 224
economic change 129–31, 158–9, 388
economic crisis 79, 314
economic depression 131, 193
economic development 305
economic hardship 51, 66, 160, 216
economic prosperity 158
economic sanctions 50, 400
economic situations 106
economic systems 60
economy 82, 315
  planned 160
Edelweiss Pirates 146
education 126–7, 390–1
  changes 133
  desegregating 358–62
Einstein, Albert 148
Eisenhower, Dwight 268, 356, 360
elections 67, 201, 267
emergency decree 94–5
empires 125
  end as road to WWI 25–36
  also under specific empire
employment 65, 162, 216, 387
Enabling Act 1933 94–5
Engels, Friedrich 60
Enola Gay [air craft] 241
Entente Cordiale 34
equality 61, 162, 332, 363, 388, 391
  separate but equal *see Plessy vs Ferguson* case
  United States Constitution and 332–4
essay writing 7, 13
ethics 7
ethnicity 131–5
Europe
  central 29
  Hitler's advance through 107
  Iron Curtain divisions [map] 205
  rival alliance systems 34
  self-immolation 36
  stability via 14-point plan 47–8
euthanasia 134–5
evaluation 10
evidence 4, 6–7, 13
exclusion 89, 91
  social and economic 180–1
execution 61, 221, 401
exile 61
explanation 9
exploitation 60, 76
extermination 91, 96, 134
facts 7, 13
fair trial 391
fallout 243–4
families 60, 91
farmers 181
fasces 64
Fascio-dicombattimento (Italian League of Combat) 66
fascism 64–7
  characteristics 64
  defining 64
  fascist Italy 66–7, 90–3, 105–6, 110–11
  Germany, Italy and Japan comparison 105–6
  propaganda-promoted benefits 91
Fascist Party 66–7
fashion 163
Faubus, Orval 359–60
February 26th Incident 103
February Revolution (1917) 60
Ferdinand, Franz and Sofia 35
fictitious capital 160
fighter jets 194
film 145, 167–71, 254, 271–2, 306
firebombs 355
fireside chats 157
First Shanghai Incident 102
First Sino-Japanese War 101
Fitzgerald, F. Scott 165
  Jazz Age 167
'flapper' culture/fashion 162–4
Floyd, George 374
food 219
food production 181
food shortages 60
force 75
forced labour 30
foreign divestment 401
14-point plan (Wilson) 47–8
France 36, 107–8
  confrontation with Great Britain 89
  reparations to 49
  revenge-based WWI entry 28
  territorial restoration 48
  war with Prussia (1870) 27
  see also 'Big Three'; Triple Entente
France-Russia Alliance 34
Frank, Anne 149
Frederick III 32–3
Free Nelson Mandela [song] 401
free speech 339
free trade 47
free trade agreements (FTAs) 317
Freedom Charter 391
Freedom Rides 354–6
  reactions 355–6
freedoms 64, 309, 366–7, 388
French Indochina, map 267

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

fuel 219
G20 Summit 318
gambling 175
gangsters 175–6
gassing 134, 375
Geburtenschlacht 132
gender 127, 131–5, 332
  roles 131
Geneva Convention 267
George, David Lloyd 47–8
German Empire 29, 125
German Government 48, 51
German High Seas Fleet 43
German Work Front 130–1
Germany
  Allied call for payment 46–7
  argument over 194
  division of 215–34
  fascism and comparisons 105–6
  forced acceptance of guilt 49
  German responses to treaty and conditions 49–52, 128
  global empire? 30–2
  maps 25, 218
  Nazi ideology in 72–6
  under Nazism *see* Nazi Germany
  non-aggression pact with Russia 61
  post-treaty territorial loss and restrictions 50, 128
  reunification 313–14
  states 25–6
  three Kaisers 32
  unification of 25–8
  unity 1871 29
  zones 194, 218
    see also Central Powers
Gestapo 95, 97
glasnost 309–10
Gleichschaltung 73, 142
global initiatives 193
glove pistols 221
Goebbels, Joseph 125, 145
Goldwater, Barry 340
Gorbachev, Mikhail 307, 310, 314, 318
  initiatives 306–11
  role in Cold War end 306–11
Göring, Hermann 97, 138
government 47–8, 66, 125
  absolute authority 192, 206
  coalition 67
  confidence in 157
  propaganda 91
  systems 60
  also under specific government
government control 60–1, 90, 387
graffiti 146, 230
Great Battle of Leipzig 25
Great Britain 29, 107–8
  confrontation with France 89
  shipping activity 31
    see also 'Big Three'; Triple Entente
Great Depression 160, 167, 200
  see also Wall Street Crash
Great Gatsby, The [book] 165
Group Areas Act 1950 389
groups 7, 90, 126–7, 175–6, 334, 338, 389
guerrilla force 246
Guevara, Che 246
gulags 61
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution 269, 272
Hambach Festival 25
Hanoi 281
hard labour 180
Harding, Warren 155–6
hate/hate speech 334–7, 339
Hausfrau 132
heavy artillery 281
heavyweight boxing 128–9
Hemingway, Ernest 166
Hess, Rudolf 76
Hideki Tojo 105
Himmler, Heinrich 97
'hire-purchase' system 158
Hiroshima 194, 216
historical perspectives 7, 14
historical thinking
  concepts 4–14
  defined 4–5
history, 'good' 4–14
Hitler, Adolf 70–1, 108, 387, 389
  aggression in Nazi Germany 94–101
  breaking Treaty conditions 100
  Chancellor appointment 81
  charismatic oratory–routine, relevance and repetition 76–8
  dictatorship 94, 99–100
  historical interpretation 77–8, 99
  mass support via rally 125
  Mussolini's impact on 93
  non-payment of reparations 107
  prison release 76
  suicide 71
Hitler Youth 126–7
Ho Chi Minh 267, 269
holidays 130–1
Holocaust 96
Holy Roman Empire 25, 125
Hoover, Herbert 157
House of Lords 30
household products 159
'Huey' helicopters 279
human rights 59, 149, 405
Human Rights Day 394
humour 148
Hungary 29, 205
  post-treaty territorial loss 52
    see also Austro-Hungarian Empire; Central Powers
hyperinflation 50, 78, 131
ideology 101, 106
  communist 60–1
  competing 199–202
  conflict and 25–36, 43–53, 59–82, 89–111
  debates 202
  dominant *see* communism
  fascist 66–7
  of interwar period 59–82
  nationalistic 64, 127

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Nazi 72–8
political 59
status quo; radical; moderate 59, 89
illegal alcohol 177–9
Imperial Colours Incident 102
Imperial Rule Assistance Association 104–5
imprisonment 97, 221
Indemnity Act 1961 393
independence 32, 48, 64, 259
Independence Day 332
indigenous peoples 32, 397
removal of voting rights 387
South African 387
individuals 7, 59, 64
Indo-Chinese refugees 298–9
indoctrination 126
Industrial Revolution 169, 203
industrialisation 25, 61
industry 50
inequality 406
inflation 78–9, 401
see also hyperinflation
information
see also source analysis
injustice 336, 343–4
inquiry 4
instructional verbs 13
integration 368
arguments from white leaders 363
white arguments against 363
intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) 194, 198, 241, 253
intermarriage 135
Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) 306, 318
International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 394
International Monetary Fund 193
international policy 27
international situations 107
interpretation 7, 13–14
interwar period 59–82
intimidation 78
introduction 13
invasion 35, 89, 92, 102–3, 108, 234, 298–9, 305, 307
investment 406
Iron Curtain 205
isolationism 108, 155
Italian Parliament 90
Italy
Abyssinian invasion 92
Austrian invasion 27
comparisons against Germany and Japan 105–6
fascist 66–7, 90–3, 105–6, 110–11
government 66–7
nationality-based border adjustments 48
as one-party state 90
see also Central Powers
Japan
aims for WWII involvement 104–5
China invasion 103
fascism and comparisons 105–6
Manchuria invasion 89
militaristic 101–5, 110–11
military aggression 105
jazz 157, 167, 177, 180
Jewish peoples 75–6, 91, 134, 136, 142
discrimination against *see* anti-Semitism
migration 148–9
SS beatings of 125
Jim Crow laws/*examples* 335–6
challenge to 336–7
jobs 366–7
Johnson, Lyndon 269, 272–3, 370
Kaiser Wilhelm (Wilhelm II) 32–3
abdication 43, 72
Kaisers 29, 32
Kennan, George 215
Kennedy, John, F. 199, 224–8, 232, 246, 249, 252–3, 356, 365
assassination 223, 228
Cuban Missile Crisis response 252–3
presidency 225–6
telegrams 254, 257
Kennedy, Robert and Ted 244, 246, 257
Khmer Rouge 298–9
Khrushchev, Nikita 224, 247, 250, 253, 258–9
'border control' 228
telegrams 254–6
Kim Phuc 286
King, Martin Luther 346, 349–50, 364–5, 370–1
'I have a dream' speech 366–9
kingdoms 27
knowledge 7
Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (KGB) 221
Konoe Fumimaro 103
Korean War 221
Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass) 138
Ku Klux Klan (KKK) 180, 338–44, 359
Kwantung army 102
labour 192
land 181, 246
liberation 192
see also territory/territorial claims
land ownership 52, 387, 389
see also territory/territorial claims
landmines 284, 296
language 162, 397, 407
Lateran Accords 90
law 125, 136–7, 337, 387, 389, 392, 401
discriminatory 180
Jim Crow laws 335–6
rights guarantees 391
separate and segregated system of 387
temporary 125
see also anti-Semitism; legislation
leaders/leadership 225, 363
central 64
leading to war 89–111
Mussolini as *Il Duce* 67
political leaders 1920s and 1930s 155–7
rising to power 82

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

League of German Girls (*Bund deutscher Mädel*) 127–8
League of Nations 53, 92, 101, 197
  aims 53, 89
  failure 89, 93
  land control 50, 52
  world peace protection 48
Lebensraum 101
legislation 387, 403
  racist 388–9
Lenin, Vladimir 60–1
Lennon, John 290–1
Levi, Primo 77–8
liberty 25, 332
  see also freedoms
limiting words 13
literature 165–7
Little Rock Nine 358–62
  testimonies 361–2
'long telegram' 215
Lorraine 27–8
  territorial return to France 50
Louis, Joe 128–9
Luther, Martin 26
lynching 340
M-16 assault rifles 280
mafia groups 175–6
'Make America Great Again' (MAGA) 377
Malan, Dr D. F. 388–9
Manchuria invasion/map 89, 102
Mandela, Nelson
  ANC disenchantment 388
  childhood and education 389–90
  death 408
  presidency 405
  release on apartheid end 403–4
  'Spear of the Nation' *see Umkhonto we Sizwe* 395–6
Mao Zedong 202
market economy 315
marriage 96, 135
  interracial 401
  restrictions 389
Marshall Plan 216, 223
martial law 338
Marx, Karl 60, 203
massacre 175–6, 392–4
materialism 156
Matteotti, Giacomo 67
McCone, John A. 249
McNamara, Robert 268
media 125, 157, 201, 287, 375–6, 400
  restrictions 67
  strict censorship 90
Mein Kampf [book] 69, 76, 134
messiah complex 260
Mickey Mouse 170–1
migration 148–9, 224, 231
militant action 388
militarism 27, 33, 101
  militaristic Japan 101–5, 110–11
military
  German post-treaty loss 50
  militaristic aggression in Japan 101–5, 110–11
military advantages 30
military power 64, 108, 191
military sanctions 400
military support 34
military tactics 36
mind maps 5
mining 50
missiles 194, 198, 241, 253, 318, 320–1
  Soviet 246–51
    see also Cuban Missile Crisis
Mississippi Freedom Summer 370–3
Model T Fords 158
Modern Times [film] 169
modernisation 224
modernism 172
modernity 5
monarchic dictatorship 29
monarchs/monarchies 25
Montgomery Bus Boycott 345–6, 363
Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) 346
moon, race to the 221
  see also space race
moonshine 174
moral authority 108
Morality Act 1950 389
Moroka, Dr J.S. 389
motor car industry 158
movements 25–6, 147, 287–94, 332–81, 387–409
  see also campaigns
Mujahideen 305
Munich Agreement 107
Munich Pact 108
murder 67, 101, 342, 405
music 142, 200, 290–1
Mussolini, Benito (*Il Duce*)
  childhood and family 65
  death 66
  fascist Italy 66–7, 90–3, 105–6, 110–11
  impact on Hitler 93
  Versailles reaction 66
mutual assured destruction (MAD) 317
My Lai Massacre 277
mythology 90–1
NAACP 342, 345, 358
Nagasaki 194, 241
Nanking massacre 103–4
napalm 285
Napoleon III 27
Napoleonic Wars 25
National Council of Corporations 90
National Day of Protest 391
National Fascist Party (*Partito Nazionale Fascista*; PNF) 66
National Fascist Party (PNF) 90
National Labour Service 127
National Liberation Front for South Vietnam (NLF) 273
National Mobilisation Law 103
National Party 397

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

National Socialism 69, 78
National Socialist Welfare Organisation 132
nationalism 64, 75, 91, 125, 390
nationalist movements 25–6
nationalists 35
nationality 48
navies 32–3, 36, 43, 191, 252
Nazi Germany 110–11, 125–49
  Hitler's aggression in 94–101
  influential changes 125–35
  reasons for Allies not stopping 107–8
  Stalin's alignment with 61
Nazi Party
  donations 131
  election results 80
  policies 73–6, 96
  political, social, economic and use of force policies 75
Nazism 69–81, 125
  aggression within 94–101
  challenges 146–9
  characteristics 69
  defining 69–72
  Germany under 125–49
  propaganda machine 125
negotiation 46, 48, 52, 107, 254, 307
  stalemate 228
'New Deal' 157, 161
Ngo Dinh Diem 267
Night of the Long Knives 98–9
Nobel Peace Prize 155
nobility/nobles 29–30
non-cooperation 389, 391
normalcy 155
norms 131
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 217, 220, 259
North Sea 36
North Vietnamese army 292, 294
North Vietnamese Army (NVA) 273
North Vietnamese Regulars (NVN) 274
Nuclear Age 241–4
nuclear arms race 241, 244
nuclear attack 242
nuclear disarmament 306–7
Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty 402
nuclear proliferation 242
nuclear testing 243–4
nuclear weaponry 221, 242, 250, 319, 402
  global nuclear warhead inventories 307, 309
Nuremberg Laws 137
Nuremberg rallies 125–9, 137
Nuremberg Trials 77
Nuremburg Laws 125, 136–7, 337, 387, 389
objectivity 14
occupation 192–3, 267
oceans *see* seas
October Revolution 60
oil 93
Oliver Tambo 388
Olympic Games 125–6, 135, 305, 310
  Olympia 126
Operation 34A 269
Operation Anadyr 250
Operation Cyclone 305
Operation Frequent Wind 274, 293–4
Operation Hummingbird 98–9
Operation Mongoose 249
Operation Rolling Thunder 295–6
oppression 202, 224, 408
Oranienburg Concentration Camp 125
oratory 76–8, 82
organised crime 177–9
Osama Bin Laden 305
Oswald, Lee Harvey 223
Ottoman Empire 34
Owens, Jesse 126
ownership 52, 60–1, 387, 389
pact 61, 108, 217, 220, 247
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) 393
papacy 90
para-military death squads 401
Paris Peace Conference 46
Parks, Rosa 342, 345–6, 348
parliamentary democracy 25, 29
pass laws 392–3
passports 232–3
patriotism 28, 72, 287
patterns 7, 30, 220
peace 47–8, 107, 193, 254, 405
  songs for 290–1
peace conferences 46
peace talks 292
peace treaty *see* armistice
Pearl Harbor Attack 191
peasants 133, 246
People's Army of North Vietnam (PAVN) 275
People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) 273
People's Liberation Army 321
Perestroika 309–10
persecution 72, 90, 134
perspectives 201, 258–60
  historical 7, 14
  threat of Germany/Japan to people 112–13
Petrograd 60
pig iron 93
Plessy vs Ferguson case 336–7
Poisonous Mushroom, The [book] 142–4
Poland 205
  argument over 193–4
  as attack corridor 193
  invasion 108
police force 90
policy
  aid *see* Marshall Plan; Truman Doctrine
  anti-Semitic 75
  apartheid 387–409
  containment policy (US) 215–17
  détente 234
  economic 157
  extreme 387
  fascist 90

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

foreign 27
international 27
national 67
Nazi 73–6, 126
political autonomy 155
political campaigns, non-violent 389
political change 125–9, 155–7, 388
political culture 126
political ideology 59
goals and methods components 59
political law 94–5
political movements, study 332–81
political parties 60, 90
dissolution 104–5
made illegal 95
multi-racial 401
opposition abolishment (Italy) 90
political power 387
political sanction 50
political structure 29–30
politics 82
donations 81
revanchism in French 28
spectrum–right, left and centre 59
systems 60
population 52
defined groupings 389
of Germany on unification 29
government control over 90, 387
of Soviet Union 192
Population Registration Act 1950 389
posters 127, 207, 269–70
post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) 297, 360
Potsdam Conference 194
power 31, 76
fears of 220
military 64, 108, 191
political 387
total 64
understanding rises to 82
veto 198, 320
see also superpowers
POWER [acronym] 82
press, the *see* media
Princip, Gavrilo 35
private property 61
pro-American forces 273
pro-communist forces 273
prohibition 173–80
analysis 180
debates 178
end 179
impact and cost 174–9
Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949 389
propaganda 72, 108–9, 125–6, 145, 167, 202, 220, 269, 278, 388
in schools 142
state 91
prostitution 175
protest 25, 261, 288–9, 375, 391, 397
Provisional Government 60
Prussia 25
defining wars with Denmark, Austria and France 27
unity 1871 *see* Germany
see also von Bismarck, Otto
punji sticks 282
Putin, Vladimir 320
question words 6, 9–10
questions 9–10
five whys 81, 108, 148, 180, 203, 262, 352, 362
quotations 14
race 131–5
changed understandings 134–5
conflict between nation and 64
determination 73
inter-race restrictions 389
narrow racial scope 332
racial standing 96
superiority of 64
race discrimination 334
racial division 390
racist legislation 388–9
radar 'blips' 268–9
radiation 243–4
radicalism 397
raid 177
rally 25, 125–9
Rape of Nanking 103
raw materials 30
Ray, James Earl 350
Reagan, Ronald 306–7, 310, 401
rearmament 129–30
Reconstruction Era 338
Reconstruction Period 334
Red Army (Soviet) 192–3, 224
reform 155, 157, 308–9
refugees 298–9
Reich 29, 125
Reichsmusikkammer 142
Reichstag (Parliament) 29–30, 81
fire 94
religion 90, 147–9, 201
reparations 52, 107
treaty-imposed 49
reserves 387
resistance movement 147
resources 192, 220
pillage of 32
revanchism 28
revolt 60, 310
revolution 60, 82, 202–3
versus assassination 35
'Revolutions' 25
Rice, Thomas Dartmouth 'Daddy' 335
Riefenstahl, Leni 126
rights 64
ANC defence of rights and freedoms 388
recognition 387
stripping 389
to vote 25, 137, 155, 387, 391
of workers 90
see also civil rights; human rights
riot 397–400
Rivonia Trial 396
Roaring Twenties 156–7

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Roma 133
Roman Catholicism 90
Romania 205
Romanov family 60
Rome
  greatness 91
  march on 67
  papacy 90
Roosevelt, Franklin D. 157
  argument over Poland 193
  global initiatives 193
  New Deal 157, 161
  prohibition removal 179
rule/rulers 64, 267, 293, 309, 390
  Allied rule of Germany 218
  also detailed under specific ruler
Russia
  communist ideology in 60–1
  freedom of governmental choice 47
  satellite states 305
    see also Triple Entente
Russian Revolution 60, 201–2
Russian–German non-aggression pact 61
Russo-Japanese War 101
sabotage 249
sanctions 50, 93, 400
scandal 156
Schacht, Dr Hjalmar 129–30
Schmeling, Max 128–9
Schutzstaffel (SS) 95–6, 125
search and destroy 277
seas 47–8
Second Italo-Ethiopian war 93
Second Reich 29
Security Council 198
segregation 336–7, 345, 348, 354–6, 358, 387, 401
  desegregating US transport and education 345–62
self-determination 48, 194
sentence stems 14
sequencing chronology 6
Serbia 35–6
  sea outlet 48
17th parallel 267
sex, interracial 401
sexual abuse 136
Shanghai attack 102
sharecroppers 181
shares 160
Sharpeville Massacre 392–4
  immediate aftermath 393
ships/shipping 30, 31, 47
significance 6, 8–9, 220, 234
singing 180
Sisulu, Walter 390, 397
sit-ins 351–2
skills, of historical thinking 4–14
slang 162
slave labour 30
slavery 332, 334, 363
social change 131–5, 159, 388
social connection 177
social experiments 60, 179
social media 376
social movements, study 332–81
social ownership 61
social situations 106
social unrest 60
socialism 61
  with 'human face' 224
  opposing stances considered as socialist 61
Socialist Party 65
societal norms 131
society
  ANC's objective for 388
  divisions 335
  exclusion from 91
  harmonious 90
  Lenin's experimental running of 60
  living 4
  Nazi 126
  roles in 180
solitary confinement 98
sources/source analysis 6, 11–12
  'Three Level Guides' 7
South Africa
  anti-apartheid movement study 387–409
  expulsion from Commonwealth 393
  map 387
  nuclear arsenal dismantling 402
  post-apartheid international reintegration 406–7
  white colonists clashes with Indigenous populations 387
South African Students Organisation (SASO) 397, 400
South Vietnamese army 273, 292
South Vietnamese Regulars (ARVN) 274, 292
Soviet Union 61, 241, 250, 305
  collapse 314–15
  containment response 218–20
  map 315
  military strength and WWII statistics 192
  running out of Cold War steam 305–6
  Soviet missiles in Cuba 246–51
  superpower emergence 191–2
Soweto Riots 397–400
  background 397–9
  event and outcome 397–400
Space Race 194
space race 221
space technology 221
speakeasies 177, 179
speeches 367–8
Spirit of National Socialism 126–7
sport 128–9, 180
sporting sanctions 400
Springboks 406–7
spying/gadgets 221–2, 224, 232
St Valentine's Day Massacre 175–6
Stalin, Joseph 61, 199, 201, 205
  argument over Germany 194
  argument over Poland 193

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

distrust of West 193
a 'fanatic' 215
fears for 'unified' Germany 219
standard of living 224
state of emergency 393
stealth bombers 319
steel 93
stereotypes 363, 365
sterilisation 133–4
stock markets 160
strange fruit' 340–1
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT 1 and 2) 234, 307–8
'Strength through Joy' 130–1
strike action 66, 78, 90, 389, 399
student protest 289
student sit-ins 351–2
Sturmabteilung (SA) 78, 98, 135
submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) 241
Sudetenland 101, 107–8
Suez Canal 30
superiority 64
superpowers 50, 93, 191–3, 198, 220, 243, 309
competing global interests 317, 320–1
hostility between 317
rivalry 201
supremacy 33, 314
white supremacist groups 334
surveillance 252–3
swart gevaar (black peril) 388
swastika 69–70
symbols/symbolism 26, 60, 64, 69–70, 90, 177, 267, 406
synagogues 138
tactics 27, 243, 269
attritional military tactics 36
fear and force 66–7, 75, 78, 90, 94–7, 108
guerrilla 268
Hitler's 125
religion as a tool 90
tactical support 34
'talkies' 167
tanks 232–3, 293
tariffs 156, 319
task words 13
tax 200
tax cuts 156
TCDD 285
teams/teamwork 128
technological advances 27, 241
technology 159, 191, 194, 221, 241, 243
Teltow Canal 231
'*Ten Commandments for the Choice of a Spouse*' [pamphlet] 132
territorial aggression 102
territory/territorial claims 52
aggression 92–3
European colonial claims map 30
expansion 64–5
German post-treaty loss 50, 78, 128
German–French territorial rivalry 27–8
loss/gains 27–8
terrorism 66, 320–1, 338, 396, 405
Tet Offensive/targets 278, 286–7
Thatcher, Margaret 401
theft 30, 175, 320
thinking
concepts and skills 6–7, 9–10
historically 4–14
Third Reich 101, 125, 141
Till, Emmett 342–4
timelines
apartheid 326–7, 386
of changing world order 186–7, 190
civil rights 327, 331
Cold War end 304
Cuban Missile Crisis 240
Germany division 214
of interwar period 58
of Nazism 124
19th century; 1914–39 18–21, 24
of US and German key events 118–21
of US democracy 154
of Vietnam War 266
of WWII road 88, 110–11
'tommy' machine-gun 176–7
torture 221, 401
totalitarian regime 75, 125–9, 206
towns 389
trade 47, 406
breakdown 317, 319–20
trade arrangements 30
trade barriers 317
trade pact 247
trade partners 216
trade unions 90, 95, 130, 391
traitors 67
transportation 216, 223
desegregating 345–56
treason 146
Treaty of Neuilly 52
Treaty of Sevres 52
Treaty of St Germain 52
Treaty of Trianon 52
Treaty of Versailles 46–8, 66, 89, 155
conditions 49–52, 100, 128
responses to 49–52, 72–4, 128
trench warfare 36
trial 193, 391
Triple Alliance 28, 34
Triple Entente 34
troop movements 30
Truman, Harry, S. 201
argument over Germany 194
initiatives 215–17
Truman Doctrine 215
Trump, Donald 319–20, 339, 375, 378–9
populism 377
'Trumpism' 377
Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) 405
'Tsar bomb' 308
Tsar Nicholas II, wars under 60
tsars 60
tunnels 283–4

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Turkey, post-treaty territorial loss 52
turning points 7
see also change
Tutu, Desmond 397, 401, 407
'26th of July Movement' 246
Two-Power Standard 33
Übermensch 73
Ulbricht, Walter 232
Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) 395–6
underground shelters 242
understanding
conceptually 5–7
modernity 5
power 82
of question words 9–10
of race and ethnicity 134–5
unemployment 60, 66–7, 79–80, 129, 401
unification 25–8
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) *see* Soviet Union
United Nations 53, 193, 308, 406
1945 to present 197–8
superpower use and abuse of 198
United Nations Charter 197
United Nations Security Council 243, 320, 393
United States
broken economic ties 246–8
civil rights campaigns 332–81
constitutional equality 332–4
containment policy 215–17
under democracy 155–81
Election 2020 377–9
influential changes 155–9, 162–72
map 333
presidents 155–7
reconstruction period 334–7
strength from wealth–statistics 191
superpower emergence 191–2
see also 'Big Three'
'Unity Day' 314
Unlawful Organizations Act 1960 393
Untermensch 73
uprising 208
urban areas 387
white 387, 392
USS *Maddox* 268
Valentino, Rudolph 170–1
values 7
Vela Incident 402
Versailles, Treaty of 46–8, 72–4, 89, 100, 128, 155
veteran's protests 291
veto 198, 320
Vietcong (VC) 273, 278
Vietcong booby traps 282–3
Vietcong forces 268
Vietnam
life after war 295–7
unified 293
Vietnam moratorium 288
Vietnam veterans 297–8
Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) 291
Vietnam War 267–99
background 267–72
end 287–94
key players and places 273
major battles 274–8
no-win consequence 295–8
people, consequences on 290–1
statistics 295
weaponry 279–85
violence 67, 78, 90, 94, 224, 340, 398–9, 401
vocabulary 14
expressing concepts and skills 8–9
Volksgemeinschaft 73–4
Volkswagen 130
von Bismarck, Otto 27
von Brockdorff-Rantzau, Count Ulrich 51
von Hindenburg, Paul 72
voting rights 25, 137, 155, 391
removal from polls of indigenous peoples 387
Voting Rights Act 371
wages 90, 216
poor 180
Wall Street Crash 79, 157, 160–1
Walter Sisulu 388
war
anti-war movement 287–94
costs of 43–5
direct 'hot' war 220, 320
futility of (Lenin) 60
Great War *see* World War I
interwar period and ideology 59–82
leading to world war 89–111
sport for 128
theatre 268
also under specific war
war crime trial 193
War Crimes Tribunal 194
War Guilt Clause (Versailles) 49, 51, 77
warfare 36, 194, 241, 281
'messy' 297
warheads 307, 309, 319
Warsaw Pact 220
Wartburg Rally 25
wealth 31, 192, 201, 216
weapons/weaponry 194, 221, 280, 387
advanced 27
Soviet 250
US supply 191
Vietnam War weaponry 279–85
see also nuclear weaponry
Weimar Constitution 73
Weimar Republic 51, 72, 75, 130–1
West Germany 218
Western Europe 216
'west' 267
White Citizen force 387
White Rose Resistance 146–7
white settlement 391
white supremacist groups 334, 338
white urban areas 387, 392
whites (white people) 335–6, 389
separation from blacks 180
Wilhelm I 29

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Wilhelm II *see* Kaiser Wilhelm
Wilson, Woodrow 47–8
  war declaration 155
Woman's Christian Temperance Union 173
women
  right to vote 155
  roles 131–3, 162–3, 388
  in space 207
words 6, 8–10, 13
workers 82, 202, 393
  improving work life 130–1
  rights 90
working class 80
World Bank 193
world order, changing 191–207, 215–34, 241–60, 267–99, 305–22, 332–81, 387–409
World Trade Center attack 320
World War I 60
  consequences 43–53
  cost–deaths and casualties 43–5
  end 43–4
  German surrender 43, 193–4
  pathway and timeline 24–36
World War II 53, 101, 192
  aftermath 191–2
writing (strong essays) 13
Xi Jinping 321
Yalta summit 193–4
Young Plan 50
Zwerg, Jim 355

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Acknowledgements

The author and publisher wish to thank the following sources for permission to reproduce material:

Cover: © Getty Images / Culture Club

Images: © Getty Images sedmak, Chapter 1 Opener / Daily Herald Archive, Unit 1 Area of Study 1 Timeline / ivan-96, Ch2 Timeline (1) / Stock Montage, Ch2 Timeline (4) / General Photographic Agency, Ch2 Timeline (5) / Pen and Sword Books, Ch2 Timeline (2) / Fototeca Storica Nazionale, Ch2 Timeline (3) / Thomas-canon, 2.3 / De Agostini, 2.4, 2.5 / Keith Lance, 2.6 / Leemage, 2. 8 / Clu, 2.31 (1) / Downey, 2.13 (4) / Apic, 2.31 (5) / Keystone, 2.13 (3) / W. and D. Downey, 2.13 (2) / sparky55, 2.13 (3) / Hulton Archive, 2.14 / Henry Guttmann Collection, 2.17 / W. and D. Downey, 2.18 / De Agostini / Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2.19 / Phil Quixley, 2.20 / Thomas Coex, Chapter 3 Opener / DEA / A. DAGLI ORTI, Ch3 Timeline (1) / Fototeca Storica Nazionale, Ch3 Timeline (4) / Universal History Archive, Ch3 Timeline (2) / Keystone-France, Ch3 Timeline (5) / Hulton Archive, Ch3 Timeline (3) / Heritage Images, 3.1 / FRANTZ ADAM, 3.2 / Universal History Archive, 3.3 / Universal History Archive, 3.7 / Culture Club, 3.8 / Stock Montage, 3.9 / DE AGOSTINI PICTURE LIBRARY, 3.11 / Bettmann, 3.15 / ullstein bild Dtl, 2.16, 3.17, Ch3 Timeline (1), Ch3 Timeline (2) / David Pollack, Chapter 4 Opener / Hugo Jaeger, Ch3 Timeline (4) / Bettmann, Ch3 Timeline (5) / Roger Viollet, 4.2 (1), 4.9 / Michael Nicholson, 4.2 (2) / Bettmann, 4.4, 4.5, 4.28, Ch5 Timeline (1), Ch6 Timeline (1) / Heritage Images, 4.6 / DEA PICTURE LIBRARY, 4.7 / Historical Picture Archive, 4.8 (right) / Photo 12, 4.10, 4.15 / Miguel Covarrubias, 4.11 / Keystone-France, 4.12 / DEA / G. DAGLI ORTI, 4.14 / Bettmann, 4.16 Klara (left) / Keystone-France, 4.16 Alois (right) / Laski Diffusion, 4.18 / Central Press,4.19/ Print Collector, 4.20 / VW Pics, 4.21 (left) / Universal History Archive, 4.21 (right) / David Levenson, 4.28 / Gianni GIANSANTI, 4.25 / Hulton Archive, 4.26 / UniversalImagesGroup, 4.27 / Galerie Bilderwelt, 4.30 / Time Life Pictures, 4.33 / ullstein bild Dtl, 4.42, Ch5 Timeline (2), 5.12 / Fred Stein Archive, 4.34 / Print Collector, Chapter 5 Opener / Heritage Images, Ch5 Timeline (4) / VW Pics, Ch5 Timeline (5) / George Rinhart, Ch5 Timeline (3) / Universal History Archive, 5.1, 6.36, 7.11 / Culture Club, 5.2 / Universal History Archive, 5.3 / SeM, 5.4 / Print Collector, 5.7 / Hulton Archive, 5.10 / Historical, 5.11 /. Photo 12, 5.13 / Europa Press News, 5.14 / Hulton Deutsch, 5.15 / Photo 12, 5.17 / Print Collector, 5.18 / Universal History Archive, 5.20 / China Photos, 5.21 / Hulton Deutsch, 5.25 / Topical Press Agency, 5.26 / David Pollack, 5.27 / SeM, 5.28 / Universal History Archive, 5.29, 5.30, Chapter 6 Opener, Ch6 Timeline (5), 6.6 / David Pollack, 5.31 / John Bryson, 5.33 / Bettmann, 11.18, 11.11, 11.1, Ch11 Timeline (1), 10.12, 10.7, 10.3, 5.36, Ch7 Tmeline (1), 7.3, 7.22, 9.2, 9.3, 9.7, 9.29, Ch 10 Timeline (2–3, 5) / Heinrich Hoffmann, 5.37 / Hulton Archive, 10.4, Ch6 Timeline (4) / Keystone-France, Keystone-France / Photo 12, Ch6 Timeline (3), 6.20, 6.25 / FPG, 6.1, 6.10, 6.19 / PhotoQuest, 6.2 / Hulton Deutsch, 6.3 / UniversalImagesGroup, 6.7, 7.5 / ullstein bild Dtl, 9.8, 7.37, 7.34 (left), 7.31, 6.8, 6.29 (left), 7.27, Chapter 9 Opener / Hulton Archive, 6.9, 6.23, 7.1, 7.25, 7.36 (left), 8.6 (1) / Popperfoto, 6.11 / Culture Club, 6.12 / Heritage Images, 6.13 / Keystone, 6.14 / Marka, 6.15 / Historical, 6.29 (right) / Keystone, 6.34 / Imagno, 6.30 / Authenticated News, 6.38 / Historical, 6.39 / GraphicaArtis, Chapter 7 Opener, Ch7 Tmeline (2), 7.16, 7.19 / PhotoQuest, Ch7 Tmeline (3) / Icon Communications, Ch7 Tmeline (5) / Imagno, 7.2 / Stock Montage, 7.4 / Underwood Archives, 7.6 / Print Collector, 7.7 / Camerique/ClassicStock, 7.8 / Garretto, 7.12 / Getty Images / Staff 7.14 / Heritage Images, 7.15 / Kirn Vintage Stock 7.17 / Oli Scarff, 7.20 / Lloyd Arnold, 7.21 / Max Munn Autrey, 7.24 / Movie Poster Image Art, 7.26 / LMPC, 7.28 / Found Image Holdings Inc, 7.29 / Sheridan Libraries/Levy/Gado, 7.32 / Buyenlarge 7.33 / Kirn Vintage Stock, 7.34 (right) / Santi Visalli, 7.36 (right) / Underwood And Underwood, 7.38 / Universal History Archive, 7.39, 7.40 / Getty, Chapter 8 Opener / Gabriel Hackett, Ch 8 Timeline (1) / Historical, Ch 8 Timeline (5) / Science & Society Picture Library, Ch 8 Timeline (2) / George Skadding, Ch 8 Timeline (3) / NASA, Ch 8 Timeline (4) / Sovfoto, 8.3 / Keystone-France, 8.4 / PhotoQuest, 8.6 (2) / Photo 12, 8.7 / Mirrorpix, 8.8 / Bettmann / Contributor, 8.10. / JOHANNES EISELE, 8.9 / Johnny Louis, 8.11 (left) / Michael Nicholson, 8.12 (right) / Spencer Platt, 8.13 / Mirrorpix, 8.14 / Michael Nicholson, 8.17 / Space Frontiers, 8.19 / David Pollack, 8.20 / LMPC, 8.21 / Régis BOSSU, 8.22 / MPI, 8.23, Ch9 Timeline (4) / Jung, Ch9 Timeline (1) / Keystone-France, Ch9 Timeline (2) / Universal History Archive, 10.1, Chapter 10 Opener / Time Life Pictures, 11.20, 10.14, Ch 10 Timeline (1) / Walter Sanders, Ch9 Timeline (5) / Keystone-France, Ch9 Timeline (3) / UniversalImagesGroup, 9.18 / John van Hasselt – Corbis, 10.2 / Harry Kerr, 9.21 / Shepard Sherbell, Ch 10 Timeline (4) / Keystone-France, 10.8, 10.9 / Mirrorpix, 10.10 / Historical, 10.16 / Terry Fincher, 11.12 / Ronald L. Haeberle, 11.13 / Sunset Boulevard, 11.15 / John Scott, Ch11 Timeline (4) / Paul Schutzer, Ch11 Timeline (3) / Hulton Deutsch, Ch11 Timeline (2) / PhotoQuest, Ch11 Timeline (5) / SeM, 11.3 / Photo12, 11.4, 11.6 / swim ink 2 llc, 11.5 / Universal History Archive, 11.8 / Hulton Deutsch, 11.19 / Bill Ray, 11.21 / VW Pics, 11.23 / tim page, 11.24 / Giles Clarke, 11.25 / CBS Photo Archive, 11.32, 11.32 / Ivan Keeman, 11.34 / Stephen Shugerman, 11.34 (2) / Dirck Halstead, 11.36 / Bettmann, 14.13, 13.24, 13.29, 13.32, 13.17, 11.37, Chapter 13 Opener, Ch13 Timeline (2, 3) / nik wheeler, 11.38 / Francoise De Mulder, 11.39 / TANG CHHIN SOTHY, 11.45 / JEROME DELAY, Chapter 12 Opener / Manoukian pascal, Ch12 Timeline (3) / Wojtek Laski, Ch12 Timeline (1) / Langevin Jacques, Ch12 Timeline (2) / AFP, Ch12 Timeline (5) / Universal History Archive, 12.8, Ch12 Timeline (2) / ALEXANDER NEMENOV, 12.6 / Langevin Jacques, 12.2 / Anadolu Agency, 12.6 / Mikhail Klimentyev 12.7 / The Washington Post, 12.19 / Sasha

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021
Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.

Mordovets, 12.20 / DigitalGlobe/ScapeWare3d, 12.21 / Andrea Verdelli, 12.22 / Bryn Colton, 12.23 / Michael Ochs Archives, Ch13 Timeline (1) / Agence France Presse, Ch13 Timeline (4) / Joseph Louw, Ch13 Timeline (5) / Topical Press Agency, 13.9 / Chris Graythen, 13.10 / Donaldson Collection, 13.19, 13.11 / Fotosearch, 13.14 / Ed Clark, 13.15, 13.16 / Robert Abbott Sengstacke, 13.20 / Don Cravens, 13.21 / Stock Montage, 13.33 / Stan Wayman, 13.35 / Rex Lisman, 13.37 / Paul Schutzer, 13.39 / Francis Miller, 13.42 / Photo 12, 13.45 / Pool, 13.45, 13.53 / BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI AAP, 13.49 / Todd Warshaw, 13.50 / Andrew Lichtenstein, 13.51, 13.52 / Georges De Keerle, Chapter 14 Opener / Keystone, Ch14 Timeline (2) / Louise Gubb, Ch14 Timeline (3) / Hart Preston, Ch14 Timeline (1) / Foto24, Ch14 Timeline (4) / AFP, 14.28, 14.19, Ch14 Timeline (5), 14.11, 14.7, 14.9 / Dave Hogan, 14.20 / ALEXANDER JOE, 14.21 / MediaNews Group/ Orange County, 14.22 / WALTER DHLADHLA, 14.3 / Topical Press Agency, 14.5 / Universal History Archive, 14.6 / Central Press, 14.8 / API, 14.20 / Hulton Deutsch, 14.15 / Louise Gubb, 14.23 / YOAV LEMMER, 14.24 / Gallo Images, 14.26, 14.27 / Mary Evans Picture Library, 3.10, 3.14; The News Press, 5.34; © Dr. Seuss/Alamy, 5.35; © Glasshouse Images/ Alamy, 6.5; © Everett Collection Inc/Alamy, 7.17; 360b/Alamy, 8.15; © Leslie Illingworth, Daily Mail, 6 March 1946, 8.18; © SPY MUSEUM 9.9–9.14; Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-B0628-0015–035 / Heinz Junge / CC-BY-SA 3.0, 9.16; © Alamy, 10.17, 12.2; SSgt. Herman Kokojan / Wikimedia Public Domain, SSgt. Herman Kokojan / Wikimedia Public Domain; © Photo 12/Alamy, 11.27; © Everett Collection Inc/Alamy, 11.28; © PjrTravel/Alamy, 11.41; © AAP Photos, 12.18, 13.27, 14.16; © Francisco Anzola / CC by 2.0 license, 14.29.

Text: '*Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, The racial state. Germany 1933–1945*', Cambridge University Press, 1991, Chapter 4 IDEOLOGIES OF THE INTERWAR PERIOD (Before ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.7) (2); Ian Kershaw, *'The Nazi Dictatorship. Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation, 2nd edition'*, London, Edward Arnold, 1989 Volume: 22 issue: 4, page(s): 646–648 Issue published: October 1, 1992 E.D.R. Harrison University of Salford, Chapter 4 IDEOLOGIES OF THE INTERWAR PERIOD (Before ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.7) (3); Richard Evans, *'The Coming of the Third Reich'*, 2004, Publisher: Penguin Group, Chapter 4 IDEOLOGIES OF THE INTERWAR PERIOD Group The problem of inflation; Anne Frank's entry for 16 December reads: BBC, online article, 2015, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/223038.stm, FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.7 (extract 2); John Tucker, *'The Nanjing Massacre: A Review Essay'*, China Review International, Vol. 7, No. 2 Fall 2000) Published By: University of Hawaii Press China Review International © 2000 University of Hawai'i Press, FOCUS QUESTIONS 5.7 (extract 3); Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution by Ian Kershaw YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS June 16, 2009, Chapter 6 GERMANY UNDER NAZISM Analysing historical interpretations; Azar Gat Ezer Weitzman Professor of National Security in the Department of Political Science at Tel Aviv University Stockholm, Ch7 Constructing historical arguments; V. Dixon and S. Greer, *'Understanding the Modern World'*, Publisher: Heinemann (January 1, 2004), ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.6 (extract 1); J. Isaacs and T. Downing, *'Cold War'*, Publisher: Bantam Press; First Edition (January 1, 1998), ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.6 (extract 2); G. Engwerda and J. Oakes, International Studies, 2002, ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.6 (extract 3); *'Contested Spaces The Cold War'* by Justin Briggs Publisher: CENGAGE AUSTRALIA; 1st edition (16 March 2005), ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.6 (extract 4); From *'Iron Curtain'* speech in 1946. Reproduced with permission of Curtis Brown, London on behalf of The Estate of Winston S. Churchill, ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.7; © USNI NEWS/CC by NC ND 4.0 International License, ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.8; J. Cannon et al., *'The Contemporary World: Conflict or Co-operation?'* Publisher: Longman (April 1, 1985), ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.5; Albert Auster and Leonard Quart, *'How the War was Remembered – Hollywood and Vietnam'*, Publisher : Praeger; Illustrated edition (12 October 1988), after ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.6; Published in G. Beggs, *'Novel expert evidence in federal civil rights litigation'*, American University Law Review, 45, 1995, 13.5 Desegregating education.

Every effort has been made to trace and acknowledge copyright. The publisher apologises for any accidental infringement and welcomes information that would redress this situation.

ISBN 9781108893121
© Richard Malone 2021 Cambridge University Press
Photocopying is restricted under law and this material must not be transferred to another party.