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SENIOR Modern History

for Queensland

Second Edition

Brian **Hoepper** • Julie **Hennessey** • Ryan **Slavin** • Mark **Avery** • Louise **Brown**
Kathleen **Collin** • Susan **du Rand** • Annabel **Elliot** • Peter **Lawrence**
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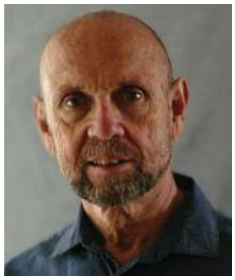

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INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the *Cambridge Senior Modern History for Queensland Second Edition* textbook.

To begin, we authors invite you to have a close look at the photo on the book's cover. It's a striking image and it suggests a lot about today's world, about history and about this book.

What do you make of the cover photograph?

Here's a four-part question for you, and nine pieces of information to get you started:

Who do you think these people are, why do you think they have gathered, what messages do you think they are sending, and to whom are they sending them?

1. This photo depicts a scene in Main Market Square ('Rynek Główny') in the city of Kraków in Poland.
2. The flags visible in the photo are those of Ukraine (blue and yellow) and Poland (red and white).
3. The date is Saturday 25 June 2022.
4. On 24 February 2022, Russia invaded its neighbouring nation Ukraine.
5. Poland also adjoins Ukraine, sharing a 300-kilometre border.
6. Following the Russian invasion, many Ukrainians – women, children and the elderly – fled to Poland.
7. On 16 May 2022, after sustained bombardment, 2500 Ukrainian soldiers defending the Azovstal steel works in Mariupol surrendered and were placed in Russian captivity.
8. The gathering in Rynek Główny was titled 'Be Brave Like Azovstal Heroes'.

Share your answer with classmates, discussing any similarites and differences. Later, after you've learned more, you'll be asked the question again.

Why is this photo historically significant?

In June 2022, Russia was at war with Ukraine. A commonly expressed fear was that a Russian victory against Ukraine would destroy a 'rules-based international order' that is credited with maintaining global stability and, in particular, preventing a recurrence of the massively destructive 'world wars' of the twentieth century.

The post-World War II 'order' involved a commitment by nations to 'agreed rules', including two key clauses of the United Nations Charter:

- to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state;
- to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

Source: United Nations Charter. https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10786.

There could be no doubt that Russia, by invading Ukraine, broke both those rules. It also seemed likely that a Russian victory in Ukraine would embolden other nations to flout the 'agreed rules' and pursue their own interests, by military force if necessary. The rules-based international order would collapse. That possibility makes the war in Ukraine significant, and makes the cover photo a relevant historical source.

Some experts have challenged the above interpretation. While acknowledging that a Russian victory could destabilise global politics, they argue that the existing 'rules-based international order' is far from fair and effective.

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Put simply, they argue that the 'order' benefits the United States, Western European nations and allies like Australia, but ignores the needs of poorer, less-developed countries that are marred by famine, poverty and the impacts of climate change, as well as by numerous local conflicts and even civil wars.

They also argue that the existing 'order' doesn't acknowledge the role that emerging new 'powers', including China, India, Brazil and Saudi Arabia, should have in maintaining global peace, security and prosperity.

The arguments suggest that the outcome of the war in Ukraine could not only affect the future of the 'rules-based international order', but could also prompt questions about whether that 'order' is fair, effective and worth maintaining ... or needs rethinking. Those debates will play out in the years ahead.

Today, what events or situations seem at odds with a 'rules-based international order'?

You can read an expert analysis of these arguments in an article by Dr Bobo Lo: 'The Ukraine effect: demise or rebirth of the global order?' *The Lowy Institute Analyses*, 11 May 2023, available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10787.

What is the scope of this book?

Put simply, the chapters enable you to investigate and understand the powerful ideas, forces, events and people that have shaped your modern world. You'll study humanity at its best and at its worst. The war in Ukraine is one episode in the shaping of the world.

Unit 1 highlights one revolution that signalled the beginning of modern history and another that 'shook the world' over a century later. Two other chapters depict contrasting responses to foreign challenges – transformation in one case, resistance in the other.

Unit 2 highlights four major movements that challenged the status quo and are still reshaping the world. The movements strive for empowerment of First Nations peoples, freedom from colonial rule, gender equality and environmental sustainability.

In Unit 3, the contrasting national histories of Germany, the United States, China and Israel are explored. Major historical forces swirl around these countries – nation building, totalitarianism, revolution, depression, civil war and international conflict.

Unit 4 focuses on a world transformed after World War II. Three phenomena are explored: the dramatic collapse of a Communist superpower, Australia's controversial involvement in the Vietnam War, and the dramatic threat of terrorism.

One focus of Unit 1 is the historical force of 'revolution'. What other historical forces are mentioned in this overview of the book's scope?

The Rynek Główny protestors and historical memory

Both Ukraine and Poland have experienced turbulent histories. The lives of the people in these countries have been influenced, shaped and often battered by major historical forces. It's likely that as the demonstrators gathered in Rynek Główny, many would be recalling their country's history.

Here are examples of those forces.

Imperialism

The protestors in Rynek Główny probably had 'imperialism' on their minds. Historically, both Ukrainians and Poles have been victims of imperial ambition, particularly the ambition of Russian tsars and their historical successors, the leaders of the Soviet Union.

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In June 2022, they were protesting against the latest imperialist threat – Russia's military campaign to take over and control Ukraine. Three months later, in September 2022, Russian president Vladimir Putin would declare that four occupied regions of Ukraine had been incorporated into the Russian state.

Nationalism and independence

Both Ukraine and Poland have struggled to survive as independent nations. Poland achieved independence in 1918, in the aftermath of World War I. But it was shortlived, crushed when Hitler's forces and Stalin's troops invaded in November 1939 in the opening actions of World War II. Postwar, Poland came under Soviet control. The Polish people had to wait until 1991, when the Soviet Union dissolved, to be freed from the shackles of Soviet oppression.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 also freed Ukraine from Soviet control. Previously, Ukraine had not enjoyed an independent national existence in the twentieth century. In 2022, that independence was threatened by Russia's invasion. The Ukrainian protestors had good reason to remember the Russian impact on their history.

Totalitarianism

Not only were Ukraine and Poland denied national independence for most of the twentieth century, but the regimes that dominated them were also totalitarian – the Soviet for much of the time, and the Nazis' during World War II. There were exceptionally brutal episodes. The Nazi Holocaust claimed the lives of three million Jews in Poland and 1.5 million in Ukraine. Josef Stalin's deliberate policies led to a catastrophic famine ('Holdomor') in Ukraine in 1932–33. Under Putin's rule, Russia revived the Stalinist practices of brutality, surveillance, severe punishment and the murder of opponents. This has increased fears about Putin's intentions in Ukraine.

How might knowledge of these historical experiences have affected what the Ukrainian and Polish demonstrators were thinking and feeling about the Russian invasion of Ukraine? Discuss.

Source **0.1** Russia and Ukraine

SOURCE 0.1 Russia, Ukraine and the disputed Crimean territory

Responding to the map

Does this map help you understand:

1. why Ukraine's history has been affected greatly by Russia?
2. how exposed modern Ukraine is to Russian territorial ambitions?
3. why Ukraine has felt threatened since Russia's illegal seizure of Crimea, a Ukrainian region, in 2014?
4. why Poland has a strong interest in Ukraine prevailing against the Russian invasion?
5. why Poland is concerned by Russia's strong links with Belarus, which is used as a base for some Russian forces invading Ukraine?

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How is the cover photo a historical source of evidence?

In Modern History, you'll ask probing questions about historical sources. The cover photo is an example of a historical source of evidence about the war in Ukraine.

Here are some questions that can be asked about the cover photo. Try answering them, and discuss your answers with classmates. Make sure you apply knowledge you've gained from the previous pages of this Introduction.

Questioning the scene

1. What are the main things you notice in this photograph?
2. On first inspection, what do you think is happening?
3. How have the demonstrators signalled their national allegiances?
4. The floral headband (*vinók*) is traditionally worn by young Ukrainian women and girls, symbolising 'purity' and 'fertility'. At this demonstration, could the *vinók* convey a deeper message?
5. Can the posters 'Save Ukraine' and 'Stop killing Ukrainians' be interpreted slightly differently? What do you think each is demanding?
6. The posters are in English. How might that be explained in terms of 'audience'?
7. The statue honours Adam Mickiewicz, a nineteenth-century poet and Poland's most famous writer. He was a passionate advocate for Ukrainian independence. Four figures around the base of the statue represent the qualities of 'Motherland', 'Science', 'Courage' and 'Poetry'. Which of those qualities might inspire the demonstrators, and why?

Questioning the photograph

1. What aspects of this photograph give it a strong and striking quality?
2. Do you think the photographer might have 'set up' this photo to create a particular impression?
3. The photo is striking, but in what ways is it limited as a source of evidence about this demonstration?
4. Beyond this photograph, how might you find out more about this demonstration?

Wider issues

1. The key figures in the photo are children or teens. Should young people be encouraged to be active in politics? Find out about some young people who've had an impact – for example, Greta Thunberg, Iqbal Masih and Malala Yousafzai.
2. How important is the right to demonstrate publicly? In a democracy, should there be any limitations on how, when and where demonstrations occur?
3. In the nineteenth century, a poet could have a major influence on a nation's history and politics. In today's media-saturated and globally connected society, what types of people can be similarly influential?

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Four final questions

1. Who do you think these people are, why do you think they have gathered in this particular place, what messages do you think they are sending, and to whom?
2. How useful do you think this photo is as a source of evidence about the war in Ukraine?
3. Why is it important to have 'contextual knowledge' when asking questions of a historical source?
4. Why is it important to use a wide range and large number of historical sources when investigating a historical event?

The questions above have taken you from the simple question of 'What are the main things you notice?' to the ethical question about 'the right to demonstrate' and questions about the usefulness of historical sources. Historical events are complex and debatable, and historical sources can prompt probing questions not only about a particular event, but also about wider and deeper issues ... and about how we can investigate the past.

How is the book structured?

- Chapter 1 focuses on the processes of historical inquiry.
- Chapters 2–16 have been structured to promote your knowledge of significant historical topics, your proficiency in history inquiry and your understanding of key historical concepts.
- Following a story-based introduction, each chapter provides a contextual study in which you will develop background knowledge of the chapter topic as preparation for the following depth study. The depth study is the major part of the chapter, immersing you in a process of source-based historical inquiry into a 'key question'. The depth study provides a rich combination of historical sources, deep questions, supporting narratives and challenging activities – all leading to your final decision-making and the communication of your answer to the key question. Then the concluding study asks why the chapter's topic was significant at the time, and why it still has significance today.
- Most of Chapters 1–16 are included in the print book, but five of them are digital-only.
- The chapters include links to extra digital resources, including activities, QCAA-style assessment questions, a references list, and audio and video clips. The print pages indicate where extra material is available. We particularly encourage you to make use of the audio and video included in the Interactive Textbook as these are valuable source materials that cannot be included in a print book.

The authors invite you to take up the challenges in each chapter: to explore the past, to see links to the present and to develop the knowledge and skills to participate wisely and creatively in the future.

Brian Hoepper

Brian led the team of authors in conceptualising the structure and approach of the book, and worked with the authors in developing and refining their chapters.

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HOW TO USE THIS RESOURCE

Unit openers

Each Unit of *Senior Modern History for Queensland Second Edition* begins with an opener that contains the unit description and objectives from the syllabus, together with a list of chapters in the unit (including digital-only chapters) and the aspect of the topic being covered in each chapter.

Chapters

Chapters open with an image and 'story' introducing a key theme to be explored within the chapter. Each chapter is clearly divided into a contextual, a depth and a concluding study.

- The **contextual study** provides an introduction and background to prepare for the aspect of the topic being examined in the chapter.
- The **depth study** presents a key inquiry question which is explored through a number of sub-questions. In all chapters, the final sub-question looks at what historians have said on the topic.
- The **concluding study** looks at why the chapter's topic was significant at the time, and why it still has significance today.

Questions and activities

Source interrogations*

In line with the inquiry approach, chapters in this book contain a wide array of primary and secondary sources within all three studies. Most of these sources are presented for detailed interrogation, with a set of questions to guide you in analysis, interpretation and evaluation. The range of sources to be interrogated include text extracts, images, data, video and audio. Some video sources can be accessed via a QR code in the book, while others are available online by way of a link.

Activities*

In addition to source interrogations, each chapter contains a range of activities which focus on the historical concepts, or help you to develop particular historical skills.

Other questions

Where images do not form part of a detailed source interrogation, there are questions included in the caption text.

Questions are also included in narrative text, indicating points to consider, or areas for further research.

Glossary terms

Glossary terms are bolded in the text, and defined for you on the page in the print book, or as pop-ups in the interactive version. They are also gathered in a Glossary for easy reference.

Additional digital chapters

The book contains five full digital-only chapters, available within the Interactive Textbook, or for offline use.

Other digital material

Icons indicate where other digital material is available.

QR codes can be scanned for immediate access to some video and audio sources.

Other video sources are available by way of a URL included in the text.

Some audio sources are available in the Interactive Textbook.

Additional sources, with questions, are available in the Interactive Textbook.

Additional activities are available in the Interactive Textbook, and also for download as Word documents.

All source interrogations and activities are available for download as Word documents

Interactive Textbook

The online Interactive Textbook contains the full text of the print book, plus the five digital-only chapters and additional digital resources.

* All source interrogations and activities within the book are available for download as Word documents.

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Chapter 1

HISTORY AND HISTORICAL INQUIRY

BRIAN HOEPPER

What is history?

Philosopher George Santayana once famously said that 'History is a pack of lies about events that never happened told by people who weren't there'!

He was being provocative, but he was highlighting the most distinctive characteristic of the study of history: it is the study of something that no longer exists – the past. History isn't 'a pack of lies' but, as the Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* points out, interpretations and explanations of events and developments in the past are 'contestable and tentative'. This is what makes history so intriguing and fascinating. And it also makes it challenging and sometimes frustrating. It's hoped that this book will intrigue, fascinate, challenge and (sometimes) frustrate you.

If the past no longer exists, why bother studying it? Again, it's Santayana who provides us with one of the best-known justifications. He warned: 'Those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it' (1905). His idea that we can 'learn from the past' is widely held, and seems to be true in a general way. (It does not mean, however, that we can use the past to predict the future; although even that idea has some truth in it.) Later in this chapter, you'll think more about the question: 'Why bother studying it?'

Given that the past no longer exists, how *can* we possibly study it? The famous historian and philosopher of the twentieth century – R.G. Collingwood – defined historical study as 'the reconstruction of past events and the re-enactment of past thought' (1946:215). Reconstructing past events means putting together as accurate a description as possible of what actually happened in the past. That involves the questions of 'what', 'who', 'when' and 'how'. Re-enacting past thought is more ambitious. It involves 'getting inside the mind' of people of the past to try to discern their beliefs, feelings, aspirations and motives. That involves the question of 'why'.

Why is inquiry vital?

How can historical reconstruction and re-enactment happen? Historian Stephen Garton says that 'historians always construct larger worlds from the fragments that survive' (2003:61). Those fragments are diverse in type and virtually limitless in number.

Fragments can range from the grandeur of a tsarist palace to the simplicity of a political badge; from an elaborate political declaration to a few words of graffiti. All of these can help us to describe and understand the past. But they do not 'speak for themselves'. Rather, they must be interrogated to reveal their meaning and significance. Interrogation – careful, patient and clever probing and questioning – lies at the heart of studying the past. That is why 'inquiry' is the key process of historical study, and why this textbook will immerse you in historical inquiries.

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SOURCE 1.1 German and British troops fraternise on the front line on Christmas Day 1914, five months after the outbreak of World War I

It's possible to 'reconstruct' much of what happened on this remarkable occasion, using first-hand accounts by soldiers and some photographs taken at the time. But 're-enacting past thought' – finding out what motivated these soldiers to fraternise, what they were thinking and feeling while mingling with the enemy, and how they felt about it afterwards – is a greater challenge, though not an impossibility, for historians. How might that be attempted?

This book's focus on historical inquiry matches the emphasis on inquiry in both the *Australian Curriculum: Modern History* (Version 8.4) and the Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* (2025, v1.0). These two key documents guide your teacher's planning and your own studies. The Australian Curriculum describes how 'students pose increasingly complex questions about the past and use their historical inquiry skills, analytical skills and interpretation of sources to formulate reasoned answers to those questions' (ACARA, n.d.). The Queensland syllabus invites students to engage with 'a historical inquiry process devising historical questions and conducting research, analysing, evaluating and synthesising evidence from historical sources, and communicating the outcomes of their historical thinking' (QCAA, 2024:2). Those quotes are slightly different ways of making the same important point: that historical inquiry is central to studying Modern History.

This chapter will take you into the big ideas and intricate detail of historical inquiry.

SOURCE 1.2 Modern graffiti as a historical source

A future historian might be baffled initially by this image of graffiti. Through studying the image and conducting some targeted online searches, can you work out what the graffiti refers to; when it could have been produced; where it might be located; what message the artist(s) probably intended; what political allegiance the artist(s) probably had; and whether there would have been local support for the graffiti's message? Decide which chapter in this book connects with this graffiti.

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Why is history a 'discipline'?

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* describes History as 'a disciplined-based subject'. A 'discipline' is a field of human knowledge that helps us understand our world. Disciplines, such as history and physics, have distinctive concepts and distinctive processes. In your studies of history, you'll develop an increasing understanding of those concepts and an increasing proficiency in those processes.

There was a time, up until about 50 years ago, when school students spent most of their time in history lessons learning and memorising 'facts'. (For example, being able to recite the names and exploits of the major European explorers of Australia.) But since that time, school history has come to focus much more on the concepts and processes of historical study. This enables students to understand, for example, what motivated those explorers, why those explorers are important historically, how we are still finding out about their actions and why there are debates about their impacts on the Australian continent and its peoples.

Historical concepts

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* specifies a number of historical concepts. They parallel the concepts in the *Australian Curriculum: History* – with one notable exception (explained later).

The concepts were originally adapted from a set of six 'big historical thinking concepts' developed by leading Canadian academics Peter Seixas and Tom Morton.

What are the Queensland syllabus historical concepts?

The historical concepts are:

- Evidence
- Perspectives
- Interpretations and contestability
- Continuity and change
- Cause and effect
- Significance.

Put simply, these concepts are 'lenses' through which you can study and understand the past. There's an interesting self-reinforcing effect: you use your existing knowledge of the concepts when investigating the past; and, as you investigate, you develop an increasingly sophisticated and detailed understanding of the concepts and how to use them.

The following pages provide an explanation of each concept. This chapter provides more detailed explanations than the syllabus does.

Evidence

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* states: 'Through its focus on information obtained from historical sources, evidence supports, revises or challenges particular explanations, interpretations and/or arguments, including historical arguments' (QCAA, 2024:7).

In studying history, it's impossible to think about 'evidence' without also thinking about 'sources'. The term 'historical source of evidence' is one of the most important terms you'll use.

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Historical sources can be categorised in various ways. Broadly, they can be divided into 'texts', 'objects' and 'structures'. Texts can be written sources, recorded sound and images in various media, and objects can be practically anything made by humans, and are called 'artefacts' by historians; generally, larger human-made features such as buildings, roads, bridges, dams and energy systems are referred to as 'structures' rather than 'artefacts'.

Another categorisation of 'sources' is into 'primary sources' – those produced 'at the time' – and 'secondary sources' – those produced 'after the event' or 'at a distance'. The distinction is fuzzy. For example, a 2019 documentary video about Adolf Hitler's rise to power would be a secondary source of evidence about Hitler, but could contain primary sources, such as original film footage of Hitler making a speech in 1933. As well, the documentary video could be a primary source of evidence about the way today's historians explain Hitler's rise to power and would also be a primary source of evidence about the type of video technology used in 2019.

Your teacher will probably encourage you to think more deeply about primary and secondary sources. In particular, you might question the fairly common belief that primary sources are somehow better than secondary sources. This can be true in some cases, but dramatically untrue in others. Sometimes, the reports of a person deeply immersed in an event might be much less useful or reliable than the observation of someone who has examined the event 'later' and 'at a distance', using a wide range of sources.

Perhaps the best advice is to not get too preoccupied with the difference between 'primary' and 'secondary' sources, and instead to think deeply about the actual characteristics and qualities of the many sources you'll encounter.

The phrase 'historical source of evidence' is important, but it usually needs to be followed by the word 'of' or 'about'. So, if interrogating the Hitler video mentioned above, you would need to be asking not the general question, 'How useful and reliable is the video as a historical source of evidence?', but one or more questions, such as 'How useful and reliable is the video as a historical source of evidence of Hitler's political strategy?', 'How valuable is the video as a historical source of evidence about Hitler's ability to influence people through powerful speeches' or 'How helpful is the video as a historical source of evidence about how modern historians interpret Hitler's rise to power?' (The term 'useful and reliable' is used in the Queensland syllabus.)

In the chapters of this book, you will engage with dozens of historical sources of evidence, both primary and secondary. You will recognise the concept of 'evidence' in the chapters when you encounter this question: '*What evidence is there* to support the claim that initially the British had good intentions in their dealings with the First Nations peoples of Australia?' (Chapter 2), but also in the question: '*What impression* of Kalkadoon warriors *is portrayed* in this photograph?'

Later in this chapter, you will learn more about how you can produce and use 'evidence' from sources.

? **Imagine that a future historian is researching your life. List five 'sources' that could provide 'evidence' of the values you hold (e.g. text, image, object, blog comment). Can you think of a source that could provide misleading evidence about you? Is there a source about your life that you hope the historian will not find?**

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SOURCE 1.3 Badges as historical sources of evidence

How many different 'causes' represented by various badges can you identify? Could a person's badge collection be a rich source of evidence of that person's values, but also be potentially misleading?

Perspectives

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* states: 'Perspectives are applied broadly to include the positions from which people view or interpret events, developments and issues; and/or explanations about why people and groups at certain times have particular points of view' (QCAA, 2024:7). (The syllabus provides additional detail for 'Perspectives'.)

When studying history, it's useful to think about two types of 'perspectives'.

One is 'the perspectives *of* people in the past'. Put simply, this means the way that people in the past thought about their world and how they lived in it. It includes, for example, the way they thought about the purpose of life, how they should treat other people, how society should be organised, and what rules and laws there should be. It also includes how they thought about the natural environment. People's perspectives reflect their values and beliefs. They can be shaped by a multitude of factors – age, location, family, education, experiences, media and public attitudes, for example. Usually, in any society, there will be a lot of agreement among the people about what's important. The society will have shared perspectives. But, even in the most conformist society, there will likely be people who have a different perspective on particular matters. These differences give rise to social debates and political arguments.

? Do you think that, in your community (or even in Australia generally), most people have shared perspectives on the purpose of life, how people should treat each other, and so on? Or do you think that there are significant differences of perspective about some important matters? Discuss.

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In history, the second type of perspective is 'the perspectives *about* people and events in the past'. Put simply, this means the way that we (from our modern position) think about the way people in the past thought and acted. When you study societies remote in time and/or place, you will realise that people in those societies often thought and acted in ways that are very different from your own.

It can be easy to simply dismiss or ridicule people of the past, their ideas and practices as ignorant and primitive. But acknowledging those peoples' perspectives can help you understand why they lived the way they did, organised society as they did and established particular institutions, rituals and customs. Peter Seixas referred to this as 'taking a historical perspective' and said that it required 'comprehension of the vast differences between us in the present and those in the past' (*The Historical Thinking Project*, n.d.).

In history, you'll encounter many episodes and situations in which differences in perspective produced conflict. Chapters 2 and 6 provide examples in which the perspectives of the First Nations peoples of Australia whose ancestors had lived on the continent for tens of thousands of years, clashed with the perspectives of the Europeans who wanted to occupy and own the continent. One saw the land as their home, with which they had a strong spiritual and material connection. The other saw the land as '*terra nullius*' – an empty continent over which they claimed legal, colonial occupation, ownership and use. The two perspectives were incompatible, and produced a violent conflict with tragic consequences still with us today.

In an added twist, historians and others who have studied and written about this conflict have demonstrated different perspectives about what happened. The very public debates about that are called the 'History Wars'. You'll learn about them in the next section on 'contestability'.

In Australia, there is an ongoing public debate about whether the date of Australia Day should be changed. What do you think are the different perspectives about whether the date should be changed? Is the 'Australia Day' debate a *historical* debate in any ways? Can your classmates discuss the range of perspectives in the class?

Interpretations and contestability

These two concepts are linked in the syllabus, but are explained separately here.

'Interpretation' and 'interpretations'

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* states: 'Interpretations are explanations of the past that are applied to specific people, groups, events or developments and are based on evidence from historical sources' (QCAA, 2024:7).

'Interpretation' is a vital historical concept. It means 'the way knowledge is created by identifying the *implicit* meaning and significance of a text, image, action, event, artefact or other human product or phenomenon'. That definition probably sounds messy and unhelpful, and so here are some examples:

Interpreting texts

Late in the afternoon of 3 August 1914, Britain's Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey remarked to his friend John Spender: 'The lamps are going out all over Europe, we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime'. He was not referring to actual 'lamps'. (In fact, when he made that statement, he was watching gas street lamps being lit outside the Foreign Office in London!) He was using a metaphor – probably that the 'lamps' represented the 'lights' of peace, safety and stability that war would extinguish.

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What he meant – the *implicit* meaning of his words – was that he feared a great war was about to begin, and that it might last for many years. The next day, Britain declared war on Germany.

What historians do is 'interpret' fragments from the past ... and what they produce are 'interpretations'. So, in the example of Sir Edward Grey's statement, a student could *interpret* the implicit meaning and then include this *interpretation* in an essay: 'On the eve of World War I, Britain's Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey shared his personal fears that the war would be a long-term disaster for Europe.'

SOURCE 1.4 Painting of Hitler by Austrian artist Hubert Lanzinger, circa 1937

School mottos often need to be interpreted. The author's school Latin motto was 'non sine pulvere palma' – 'no palms without dust' – but it had nothing to do with actual 'palms' or 'dust'! Can you interpret it? Does your school motto require 'interpretation', even if it's in English?

Interpreting images

Images, particularly if they include no words, need to be interpreted. The explicit message of this poster is: 'Hitler, in a suit of armour and carrying a flag, is sitting on a horse'. The *implicit* meaning lies within the various elements of the image: the armour; the flag; Hitler's posture; and Hitler's facial expression. To interpret the implicit meaning also requires some knowledge of the historical 'allusion' to medieval knighthood.

What message about Hitler's qualities do you think the artist was trying to convey?

Of course, interpretation can be risky and debatable. Is it possible that the artist was 'lampooning' Hitler, and that the painting is satirical? (Perhaps that was your answer!)

Interpreting actions/events

Things people do can be replete with implicit messages. Sometimes, during World War I, an Australian woman would present a man in the street with a white feather. That action was a message that the woman thought the man was a coward or 'shirker' who had not joined the armed forces. Sometimes, the woman herself might have *misinterpreted* the 'man in the street', who could have been a soldier on leave, a person medically unfit for service or a member of an essential 'exempt' occupation, such as a train driver.

One famous action or event in ancient times was 'crossing the Rubicon'. In 49 BCE Julius Caesar led his army across the Rubicon River. This was no ordinary crossing. The Rubicon marked the boundary of the area in which Caesar's army could operate, as defined by the Roman Senate. The Senate *interpreted* this action correctly as Caesar defying their authority and, in effect, declaring a civil war. The expression 'crossing the Rubicon' is still used today to label a momentous decision from which there is 'no turning back'.

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Discuss ways in which, throughout history, human actions have developed symbolic value, conveying messages that are understood within a society, but that can confuse and perplex 'outsiders'. For example: waving a white flag; a minute's silence; shaking hands; raising both arms; placing a 'hand on heart'; clapping hands; and booing. Recently, there's been 'taking the knee' at sporting events. Can misinterpretation of actions cause conflict?

SOURCE 1.5 Australian penny, 1922

Interpreting artefacts/human structures

Things made by people also possess symbolic value. A 1922 Australian penny (coin) with the inscription 'GEORGIVS V D.G.BRITT: OMN: REX F.D. IND:IMP' is more than a piece of metal. Translating the Latin text produces the words 'George the Fifth, by the grace of God, King of all Britain, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India'. The coin itself (produced in the millions) can be interpreted as a symbol of the king's ('god-given') power and authority over an empire ... and a symbol of the Australian economy.

On a grander scale, Source 1.6 shows a human construction from the same year as the penny, and is also full of symbolic meaning. It's the World War I memorial in the Queensland city of Maryborough, officially opened in November 1922.

SOURCE 1.6 War memorial, Maryborough, Queensland, circa 1922. The four human figures are a soldier, a sailor, an airman and a (female) nurse.

Interpreting this memorial, what do you think it indicates about the Maryborough community's perspectives about World War I? Explain. To confirm your interpretation, what type of sources would you try to locate and study?

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Contestability

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* states: 'Interpretations become contested when evidence from historical sources is lacking, new evidence from historical sources is discovered and/or when individuals or groups convey different perspectives' (QCAA, 2024:7).

Because history is based on interpretation and explanation of past events – of their causes, effects and significance – it is not surprising that historians and students of history produce different, competing interpretations and explanations of what happened, why and with what significant consequences.

For example, Australian historian Keith Windschuttle wrote in 2002 that 'The British colonization of this continent ... did not meet any organized resistance. Conflict was sporadic rather than systematic. ... The notion of sustained "frontier warfare" is fictional' (Windschuttle, 2002:3).

Yet, in 1988, Henry Reynolds had written that 'Almost every district settled during the nineteenth century has its history of conflict between local clans and encroaching settlers. A small-town pioneer explained that his community "had its foundations cemented in blood" ... Black resistance in its many forms was an inescapable feature of life on the fringes of European settlement' (Reynolds, 1988:5).

Windschuttle and Reynolds were participants in the so-called 'History Wars' that have continued to this day. In the popular media, the *contest* was described as 'whitewash' against 'black armband' interpretations.

There are various possible explanations for historical contestability. Different historians might have studied different historical sources of evidence. They could have interpreted the same sources differently. But there can be a deeper explanation. Historians, no matter how 'objective' they strive to be, bring to their work their own perspectives: their particular way of seeing, interpreting and valuing the world. It's likely that, when an historian comes to weigh up the evidence and make a judgement about a historical event, their 'weighing up' and 'judging' are influenced by their *perspective*. As historian John Hirst noted, while historians write from the evidence, they are influenced by 'their understanding of how the world works and how they would like it to work' (2006:1).

You will encounter contestability in every chapter of this book – about, for example, the causes and consequences of revolutions; the achievements of various 'movements' related to race, gender, environments and national independence; why Australia participated in the Vietnam War; how young people are radicalised; what the Cold War was *really* about; and why the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

Have you experienced or observed passionate debates between supporters of opposing sporting teams after a match marked by controversial refereeing decisions? Does that situation, in some ways, demonstrate the concept of 'contestability'? If so, how? Does it also demonstrate any of the other historical concepts? Explain.

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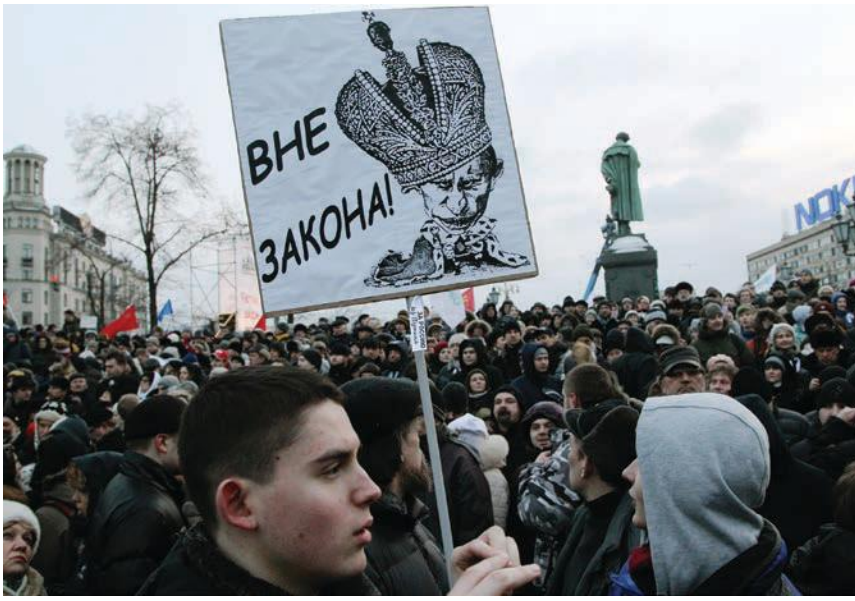
Continuity and change

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* states: 'Continuity and change are applied to aspects of society, such as institutions, ideas, values and problems that remain the same and/or change over certain periods of time. When examining change and continuity, time frames, similarities and differences, types of sources and their availability may be considered' (QCAA, 2024:7).

Continuity and change are key 'dynamics' of history. They are literally polar opposites ('staying the same' versus 'changing'). But, paradoxically, they seem to be inseparable. In any society, in any period, continuities and changes are experienced simultaneously. At first glance, this might seem otherwise. The chapter on the Russian Revolution (Chapter 5), for example, describes how the tsarist autocracy had been in place for centuries, as a continuous reign of hereditary monarchs presiding over an apparently stable, unchanging society. Yet, as the chapter points out, significant forces of change were underway behind that façade of stability, many years before the cataclysmic upheaval of the Russian Revolution of 1917. And, while the revolution brought immediate changes to the politics of Russia, there were many ordinary people in remote provinces of the huge empire whose daily lives remained relatively unchanged for years afterwards.

SOURCE 1.7 Protestors on Australia Day, 26 January 2018

How can the historical concepts of interpretation, perspective, significance and contestability be used when explaining this photo?



SOURCE 1.8 Demonstrators in Moscow, 12 March 2012

The poster depicts Russian president Vladimir Putin wearing the crown and robes of a Russian tsar. The last tsar, Nicholas II, was deposed by the Russian Revolution in February 1917. What comment about change and continuity does this protestor seem to be making? Is 'perspective' having an effect here?

In various chapters, you'll encounter the same phenomenon – the simultaneous experience of change and continuity. In some cases, continuity seems to be a matter of inertia, but in other cases there is active resistance to change. Chapter 9, focusing on environmental movements, highlights how *changes* towards sustainability are resisted by those wanting to maintain 'business as usual'. Chapter 8, focusing on women's movements, describes changes for women seen as groundbreaking, and also shows areas of life in which women and girls remain disadvantaged.

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At times in the chapters, you'll represent this complexity graphically. For example, the chapter on the Russian Revolution asks you to compose a timeline that shows how various events *propelled* or *thwarted* the historical development towards eventual revolution in Russia – a tracking of the forces of change and continuity.

In your own life, what has changed significantly in the past year and what has stayed the same? What was one change that you could have expected? What was one change that was unexpected?

Cause and effect

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* states: 'When examining cause and effect, the long- and short-term causes, and the intended and unintended consequences of an event, decision, process, interaction or development are considered. Causes and effects can be categorised thematically (e.g. politically, socially and economically) and can be represented in different ways (e.g. linear, cyclical and/or by period). An authentic and strong link between two events spanning a period of time must be identified to ensure that causes and effects are not confused with merely juxtaposing events chronologically' (QCAA, 2024:8).

You can use the concepts 'cause' and 'effect' to investigate continuity and change more deeply. Continuity and change are about 'what', 'who', 'when' and 'where', but cause and effect are about 'why' and 'with what consequences'. 'Why?' is probably the most important and the most challenging historical question. When you ask 'why?', you probe the big picture of causal factors and forces as well as the personal issues of motive and intention.

Causes are often categorised as 'long-term', 'medium-term' or 'immediate'. For example, historians claim that the long-term causes of World War I included imperial rivalry, an arms race and a tense context of rival alliances between nations. In the years just before the war, there were smaller-scale conflicts such as the Balkan Wars (1912–13). But historians also agree that there was a single event – the immediate cause – that 'lit the fuse' within this potentially explosive situation. That event was the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Archduke Franz Ferdinand) by a Serb (Gavrilo Princip) during a visit to Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia.

SOURCE 1.9 Gavrilo Princip is arrested after assassinating Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, on 28 June 1914

Even so, this seemingly simple explanation belies the great debates about the causes and consequences of the war. Historians argue over key questions: were economic factors the key element in pre-1914 rivalries; which nations were most 'to blame' in stoking rivalry and conflict; what did the Sarajevo assassin hope to achieve by his action; did any nation actually want the complicated diplomatic negotiations after the assassination to result in a large-scale war; and did any national leader imagine that the war would last four years and cause millions of deaths? Those questions indicate that the interplay of motives and causes is complex, and that actions can produce unexpected and unwanted consequences. Cause and effect is far from simple.

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The archduke's assassination precipitated a chain of diplomatic and military events that led to the outbreak of World War I a month later. Behind the photo in Source 1.9 lurks a complex web of long-term and medium-term causes. The photo itself shows a single action – the immediate cause – that had enormous, unanticipated effects.

Historians also argue about the impact of individuals on historical events. In recent times, there have been debates between 'intentionalist' historians – who highlight how the actions of key individuals can bring about historical change – and 'structuralist' historians – who highlight how social, economic and political conditions have the most effect on the nature and direction of historical change.

In his book *Personality and Power* (2022), historian Ian Kershaw explored how 'strong leaders' can gain power through the interplay of personality and sociopolitical conditions. He notes how the forms of media in today's world, 'elevate the role of personality into something approaching an elemental unconstrained political force that imposes change through individual will', but he goes on to ask whether leaders, even if they seem powerful, are 'actually restricted by forces far outside their control' (Kershaw, 2022:xi). Kershaw has 'Donald Trump, Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan' and others in mind. But you'll encounter the same question in this book's chapters, in the guise of Robespierre (French Revolution), Stalin (Russian Revolution), Hitler (Nazi Germany), Mao (Communist China) and others.

Cause and effect feature in every chapter of this book. In some cases, the changes will be sudden, rapid and violent. In others, change will be more gradual and peaceful. In all, the causes and the effects are likely to be complex, debatable and sometimes surprising.

? This chapter was written while the 2024 US presidential election campaign was underway. You now know the result. After election day, 5 November 2024, what debates arose about why one candidate won and the other lost?

SOURCE 1.10 Russian President Vladimir Putin enters the hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace during the reception marking the Day of Heroes on 11 December 2019

The two guards have just swept open the huge doors. (You can't see the waiting audience, standing and applauding!) Does this image match Kershaw's description of a 'strong leader'? Is the 'staging' of the entry effective? Explain.

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Significance

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* states: 'Significance is applied so relative importance can be assigned to aspects of the past, such as events, developments, individuals, people, groups, places, societies, processes, interactions and/or systems. When determining significance, the interpretations of people from the past; the scope, depth and duration of impact; and connections with the contemporary world may be considered' (QCAA, 2024:8).

The Queensland syllabus – and indeed this book – focus on a particular meaning of 'historical significance'. Something is historically significant if it had a substantial impact on the lives of many people at some place and at some time in the past. It is even more significant historically if it also had an *enduring* impact on those people's lives and possibly also on the lives of people in other places. Perhaps the most historically significant phenomena are those whose impact is global and is still felt today.

Scan the list of chapters in this book. Note particularly the concluding studies in each chapter, where the 'significance for today' is examined. How does each of them seem to fit the definitions above? Which of them fit the final category: 'most historically significant'?

Sometimes, a fairly unremarkable action can later become historically significant – for example, Indigenous people giving Christopher Columbus a gift of dried tobacco in 1492; Martin Luther posting a list of grievances on a church door in 1517; Rosa Parks taking a particular seat on a bus in 1955; and the decision to use chlorofluorocarbons in spray cans in the mid-twentieth century. All four 'small' actions have had substantial, continuing and unexpected impacts on today's world.

There can be another meaning of 'historical significance'. In local communities, countless actions and events have great significance for the people involved at the time and later, but little or no significance in the 'big scheme of things', either at the time or later. For example, in 1956–57, the entire township of Adaminaby in New South Wales was moved because the Snowy Mountains hydroelectric project involved the flooding of that valley. At the time, that had a substantial impact on the local people. But it might be argued, two generations later – and with the new township of Adaminaby well established – that the impact is no longer felt.

With the growing popularity of local history and family history, the broader definition of 'significance' (and even 'historical significance') seems valid and useful.

Discuss 'significance' and 'perspective'. In recent years, highways have been built to bypass regional towns in Queensland. They offer a faster route to a later destination. How can building a bypass be 'significant' to a long-haul truck driver and a local shopkeeper, but in very different ways?

Empathy

The Queensland syllabus no longer includes 'empathy' in its set of historical concepts. However, the syllabus Rationale states that 'students ... become empathetic and critically literate citizens' (QCAA, 2024:8).

'Empathy' is probably the most intriguing and challenging of the historical concepts. The simplest way to describe empathy is as 'walking in someone else's shoes' or 'seeing things through another's eyes'.

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A common misunderstanding is to think 'empathy' is the same as 'sympathy'. Sympathy is a strong emotion, usually a generous feeling for someone in distress. Empathy is a cognitive process, a deep understanding of what someone is probably thinking and feeling. It's possible to experience both empathy and sympathy in a particular situation. For example, when studying Nazi Germany, you would probably feel sympathy for victims of the Nazi regime of terror, as well as trying to understand what they could have been thinking and feeling at the time. But even though you would also be trying to understand what Hitler was thinking and feeling as he presided over the Nazi state, it's unlikely you would be feeling sympathy for him.

Developing empathetic understanding is quite a challenge, especially if a person in the past is starkly different from you in character and remote from you in both time and place. To demonstrate that challenge, here is an example.

In 1913, an educated, middle-class Englishwoman, Emily Wilding Davison, was critically injured when struck by King George V's racehorse, Anmer, during the running of the famous English Derby. Emily had darted onto the track as the horses raced past. She was protesting about the lack of women's rights at the time, particularly the right to vote. (A century later, historians still argue about whether Emily had envisaged 'martyrdom' or had intended a non-violent, public protest. Contestability!) Emily lay for days afterwards in a coma in hospital. Her mother visited her and left a note by her bedside, for her to read when she woke from the coma.

? What do you think Emily's mother would have written? Compare notes with a classmate.

SOURCE 1.11 Suffragette Emily Wilding Davison is struck by the king's horse during the English Derby, 4 June 1913

Why would there have been mixed reactions to Emily's action and her injuries? Why might people have found it difficult to achieve empathy – that is, to understand Emily's motives and actions?

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In the note, Emily's mother wrote: 'I cannot believe that you could have done such a dreadful act'. You are probably surprised and possibly shocked by her words. They seem to lack sympathy, much less motherly love and concern. You might be thinking: 'How, in that tragic situation, could any mother write such words?'

This is the challenge of historical empathy – to understand the strange and seemingly inexplicable. It's a reminder that historical empathy must always be based on strong knowledge of the historical actors involved, the precise situation, the relationships involved, the significance of the event and the wider social context.

To try to understand Emily's mother's message, what would you like to know about any of those factors just listed? Discuss.

Here is just some of the knowledge that might help you understand Emily's mother's words:

- There were other, more sympathetic sentences in the note she left.
- Her mother probably expected Emily to wake and recover. (In the end, Emily died after four days, without waking.)
- Middle-class women in Britain in 1913 had few rights, and were generally expected to be genteel and well behaved.
- Emily was a suffragette, and many people had criticised the movement for its protest actions.
- Emily herself had been imprisoned many times for protesting.
- Middle-class families in Britain in 1913 generally placed much importance on respectability and reputation.
- In 1913, the British monarchy was highly respected, and attacking or insulting the monarch was largely 'unthinkable'.

There's more that you don't know: what emotional state of mind was Emily's mother in? Had the family been criticised in the wake of the incident? What was the long-term relationship between Emily and her mother? Did Emily's father influence his wife's attitudes and reaction? Was anyone else injured by Emily's action at the Derby?

The lesson here is that developing historical empathy must be based on comprehensive understanding of the historical actor, the event and its context. In these chapters, you will be asked on many occasions to imagine the thoughts and feelings of historical actors. For example, in Chapter 11 you'll be asked to propose how a resident of a 'Hooverville' (shanty town of unemployed people during the US Depression) might feel about their situation.

In today's increasingly interconnected, complex and multicultural Australia, there's never been a greater need for people to practise empathy, to understand 'where someone else is coming from' and to 'take a walk in their shoes'. Developing empathy deserves to be an important part of studying history.

Australian students are sometimes asked to imagine they are an Australian soldier at Gallipoli in 1915, and to 'write a diary entry' for one day during the campaign. What types of contextual information would you need to produce a plausible imagined diary entry that reflects some historical empathy?

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Making connections among concepts and knowledge

British academic Peter Lee proposed a very useful categorisation of historical concepts into 'first-order' and 'second-order' concepts (2006). The concepts you've learned about in the previous pages are 'second-order' – concepts about 'what history is' and 'how history is studied'. 'First-order' concepts are the numerous concepts that describe historical phenomena – for example, 'imperialism' and 'revolution'. The following table shows the difference, and goes one step further by linking the concepts to 'historical topic knowledge'.

1. First-order historical concepts – examples	2. Second-order historical concepts – examples	3. Historical topic knowledge – examples expressed as questions
Concepts about historical phenomena (events; movements; forces) Examples include: • democracy • imperialism • nationalism • revolution • totalitarianism • decolonisation • racism • socialism	Concepts about 'what history is' and 'how history is studied': • Evidence • Continuity and change • Cause and effect • Significance • Perspectives • Empathy • Contestability	Knowledge and information about a historical event or development being studied: • *What* did Britain gain from its empire in India? • *How* did the Nazi regime transform Germany? • *When* did women first gain political rights in Australia? • *Why* did European nations lose their colonies in Africa after World War II?

? To test your understanding of the table, select one of the four questions from column three. Try to make a direct connection between that question and at least one 'first-order' concept and at least one 'second-order' concept. Describe those connections in one or more sentences. For example: 'When Australian women gained the right to vote federally in 1902, it was a significant but controversial change in the democratic life of the nation.'

So far, this chapter has explored the key historical concepts that you can use to frame your understanding of historical events, ideas, people, movements and forces. In the next section, you'll learn about the second important aspect of historical inquiry – the 'process'.

The process of historical inquiry

The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* defines the discipline of history as built on the historical concepts and a process of historical inquiry. The syllabus objectives identify the process:

1. devise historical questions and conduct research
2. comprehend terms, concepts and issues
3. analyse evidence from historical sources
4. evaluate evidence from historical sources
5. synthesise evidence from historical sources
6. communicate to suit purpose.

The following pages describe in detail how you can engage with the six objectives.

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These objectives are the essence of historical inquiry – the process you will engage in throughout this book, most deeply in the depth study section of each chapter. A depth study challenges you to pursue an important question about a significant aspect of a topic. The objectives describe the most important things you will do in that depth study, usually beginning with devising a historical question and leading eventually to your communicating an answer to that question. That answer will be based on your rigorous interrogation of historical sources – both primary and secondary – to produce valuable evidence that you can 'weigh up' to synthesise into a judgement. The following pages of this chapter explore those steps.

Objective 1: 'Devise historical questions and conduct research'

In any topic, your depth study will focus on a 'key inquiry question'. This must be devised carefully. Generally, a valuable key inquiry question will:

- focus on an event, individual, idea or development that is historically significant and debatable (e.g. the role of nationalism in the causes of World War I)
- require the application of historical concepts such as cause and effect, perspective and contestability
- be 'open' to different conclusions, enabling nuanced answers to the key inquiry question
- assume the availability of a substantial body of historical sources to research
- specify a time period and, if appropriate, a geographical scope
- be historically valid – for example, not 'counterfactual' or speculative (e.g. What might have happened if France, not Britain, had colonised Australia?).

How many of the historical concepts are mentioned or implied in those dot points?

The syllabus specifies that you pursue the key inquiry question through a set of sub-questions. Each sub-question focuses on a particular aspect of the key inquiry question.

For example, if you chose to study the topic 'Nazi Germany', your key inquiry question could be: 'How effectively did the Nazis create and maintain a totalitarian state in Germany from 1933 to 1945?', and one sub-question could be: 'How effectively did the Nazis control and use young people to maintain a totalitarian state?' Ultimately, relevant answers to the sub-questions are brought together systematically – 'synthesised' – to produce an answer to the key inquiry question.

The depth study will immerse you in a planned program of diverse activities. This will usually include teacher exposition, reading textbooks, viewing videos, internet investigations, reading historians' works, reporting to your classmates, and small-group and whole-class discussions. In all of those processes, you are likely to encounter many primary and secondary sources of evidence that you will interrogate, creating a record of research and building your knowledge and understanding of the key inquiry question's historical focus – for example, 'How effectively the Nazis created and maintained a totalitarian state in Germany from 1933 to 1945'.

In the following pages, you'll be introduced to effective ways to use those many sources.

Objective 2: 'Comprehend terms, concepts and issues'

This is a broad objective that pervades every aspect of your historical studies, and your understanding can develop in a number of ways. For example, you could acquire a basic understanding of the *concept* of 'contestability' by simply reading a dictionary definition of the word; more details would come from reading the section on 'contestability' in the previous section of this chapter; but you'd develop a much deeper understanding by investigating a specific example of contestability – for example, the debate in Chapter 11 about whether US President Roosevelt's 'New Deal' was a success.

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Similarly, while a dictionary can provide a one-sentence definition of the *term* 'terrorism', you'll develop a sophisticated understanding of the *issue* 'terrorism' when your class pools its research on 20 terror-related events in Chapter 16. In that case, fellow students will present reports that enhance your knowledge. On other occasions, your understanding will come from your teacher by way of a formal expository lesson or a brief explanation. As well, films and videos will provide valuable ways of acquiring understanding. Perhaps the most important thing to remember is that your involvement in depth studies will be the richest way to acquire an understanding of historical terms, historical concepts and historical issues. Your understanding will develop hand-in-hand with your development of the skills of historical inquiry described in Objectives 3 to 6.

Objective 3: 'Analyse evidence from historical sources'

The analysis, interpretation and evaluation of historical sources are at the heart of historical inquiry. (The term 'interrogation' is useful shorthand for those processes.) In the following pages, you'll learn how far you can go in applying those processes when you interrogate a particular historical source to produce evidence. It is a literary text, but much the same process can be applied to other sources, including images, artefacts, and film and audio sources. For example, in the Introduction to this textbook, you saw how the book's cover image could be interrogated.

In each chapter, there won't be time to interrogate most sources as deeply as you'll do here. But, when you are studying the chapters of this book, you will be able to use the following example as a guide to probing a source more deeply, especially when it's a particularly rich, challenging source.

The interrogation will be linked to key aspects of the Queensland *Modern History Syllabus*, the official document that guides the teaching, learning and assessment of Modern History.

The source is a translated extract from the book *die Weiße Rose* (The White Rose), written by Inge Scholl and first published in 1947, two years after the end of World War II, when Inge was 30 years old. Inge was the eldest of six children, including her brother Hans (born 1918) and her sister Sophie (born 1921). This extract describes the years after the Nazi party formed government in Germany in 1933, when the Scholl siblings were teenagers.

The Inge Scholl extract relates to the sub-question mentioned earlier: How effectively did the Nazis control and use young people to maintain a totalitarian state?

SOURCE 1.12 Inge Scholl recalls her teenage years

For we loved our homeland very much – the woods, the great river, and the old gray retaining walls that rose on the steep slopes between groves of fruit trees and vineyards. We were reminded of the smell of moss, of soft earth and spicy apples, when we thought of our homeland. And every square foot of it was well known and very dear to us. Fatherland – what else was it but the greatest homeland of all who spoke the same language and belonged to the same people! ... And Hitler, as we heard everywhere, Hitler wanted to bring greatness, happiness and well-being to this Fatherland; he wanted to see to it that everyone had work and bread; he would not rest or relax until every single German was an independent, free, and happy man in his Fatherland. We found this good, and in whatever might come to pass we were determined to help to the best of our ability. But there was yet one more thing that attracted us with a mysterious force and pulled us along – namely, the compact columns of marching youths with waving flags, eyes looking straight ahead, and the beat of drums and singing. Was it not overwhelming, this fellowship? Thus it was no wonder that all of us – Hans and Sophie and the rest of us – joined the Hitler Youth.

Inge Scholl, *die Weiße Rose*, 1947, p. 6

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The following section guides you through the critical interrogation of Inge Scholl's words, beginning with the simplest processes and working towards the more sophisticated.

Analysis focuses on two key elements of a historical source: 'parts' and 'relationships'.

Analysing the constituent parts

To identify and examine 'parts', you could ask these questions:

- *What does Inge say that she likes or admires? Can you put the things she likes into categories?*

Try answering those two questions.

Your answer is probably something like this: 'In this extract, Inge says that she likes or admires four main things: the German environment; the German people and their culture; Hitler; and the Hitler Youth'.

Taking the examination further, you could then ask:

- *What did Inge admire about each of those four things?*

Try answering that question.

Your answer possibly mentions the phrases highlighted below. (Note how colour coding is a handy way of highlighting the elements identified through analysis: German environment; German people; Hitler; and the Hitler Youth.)

> ... We were reminded of the smell of moss, of soft earth and spicy apples, when we thought of our homeland. And every square foot of it was well known and very dear to us. Fatherland – what else was it but the greatest homeland of all who spoke the same language and belonged to the same people! ... And Hitler, as we heard everywhere, Hitler wanted to bring greatness, happiness and well-being to this Fatherland; he wanted to see to it that everyone had work and bread; he would not rest ... the compact columns of marching youths with waving flags ... Was it not overwhelming, this fellowship?

At this stage, the following analytical question would also be important:

- *Along with her admiration, did Inge also criticise or express doubts about any aspect of German life?*

You'll notice that Inge did not write anything critical. Later, you'll think more about that.

Having identified and examined the four aspects of German life that Inge described in the *source*, and having noted that Inge offered no criticism of anything, you'll already have produced some initial *evidence* about Germany in the interwar period, and about Inge's thoughts and feelings about Germany. The next step is to look for 'relationships' within Inge's descriptions.

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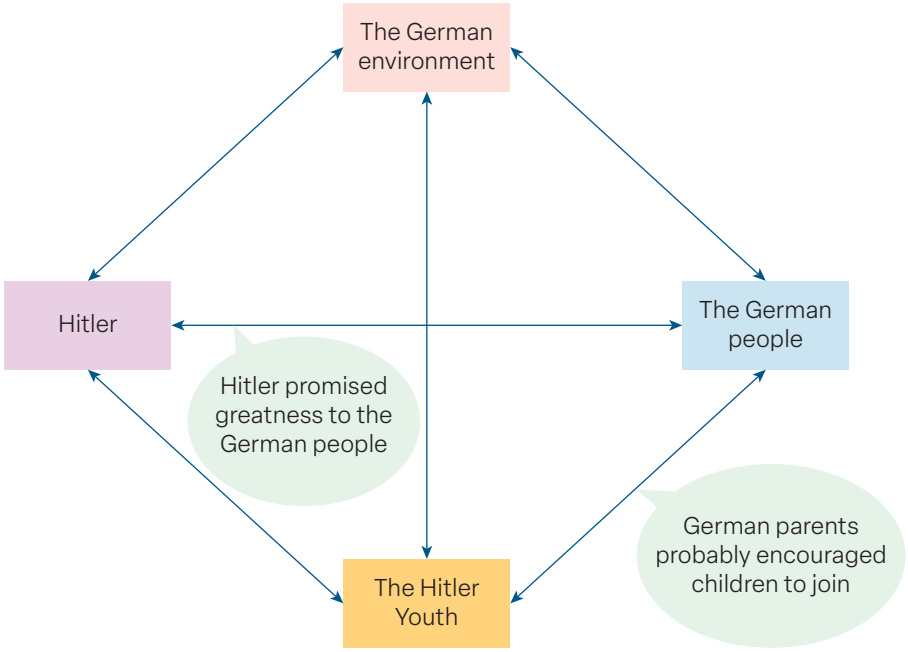
Analysing relationships among the constituent parts

As the next analytical step, you can 'examine ... their relationships'. Try this activity:

Using the figure here as a model, provide more examples of 1) the connections between various parts that are explicit in the source and 2) any connections that are not made explicit, but which you think would probably exist.

Explicit and probable relationships among the parts of the source



The 'probable' relationship here – that German parents probably encouraged children to join the Hitler Youth – is what's called an 'extrapolation'. You extrapolate when you logically assume that something would exist, even though it's not stated.

Analysing the source – 'interpretation'

You learned earlier that interpreting historical sources is a key historical process. You will practise interpretation in various ways in your history studies. Here are some examples.

Interpreting specific expressions

Often, textual sources will contain expressions that are not meant to be taken literally. Rather, they are symbolic or metaphorical, or a 'shorthand' expression for something more complex or detailed. For example, when Inge Scholl wrote about her 'homeland' that 'every square foot of it was well known and very dear to us', this was clearly an exaggeration that emphasised how attached Inge and her peers were to their nation, Germany. When she mentioned 'work and bread', by 'bread' she probably meant not just bread but 'food and other material essentials of life'. In 1848, when Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels told the proletariat that they 'had nothing to lose but [their] chains', they did not mean physical chains. Interpreting such expressions in historical sources is essential if the sources are to yield valuable evidence.

Similarly, particular words can have a range of meanings. Note that Inge claims that Hitler wanted to bring 'greatness' to Germany. But what type of 'greatness': cultural; military; industrial; imperial? To understand Hitler's actual intentions, you'd need to dig deeper to find out not just what the word 'greatness' means, but what type of greatness Hitler had in mind. And before that, you'd need to check what original German word Inge used that was then translated as 'greatness' in English.

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Interpreting first-order historical concepts 'in play' in a situation

Every historical source can be interpreted in terms of some 'first-order' concepts that are embedded in it. Here are some that seem to apply to Inge's extract.

What evidence is there in Inge's words that:

- Inge was patriotic and nationalistic?
- many young Germans valued regimentation?
- many young Germans admired strong leadership and authority?
- the Hitler Youth might inculcate militaristic values?
- Hitler had some socialist values?
- the Nazis made effective use of popular media?
- German people were likely to support German imperialism?

Note Inge's expression 'That every single German was a ... happy *man*'. What does that indicate about taken-for-granted cultural and social traditions at that time in Germany (and probably in Australia as well)?

Interpreting second-order historical concepts 'in play' in a situation

Some or all of the 'second-order' concepts can be detected in historical sources, particularly in literary texts. Here are some that seem to apply to Inge's extract.

- What evidence is there that many Germans desired change? (*evidence*; *change*)
- How might members of the Hitler Youth have been affected by marching, flags, drums and singing? (*cause and effect*)
- What adjective(s) would you use to describe Inge's overall attitude to everything about Germany that she describes? (*perspectives*)
- Inge states that Hitler wanted to bring 'greatness' to Germany. How did that aim later become very significant historically? (*significance*)
- Can you understand why Inge was attracted by 'the compact columns of marching youths with waving flags, eyes looking straight ahead, and the beat of drums and singing'? Have you ever experienced something similar? (*empathy*)

When posing and answering the questions above, you were gleaning information from the source to use as evidence. That is a vital historical skill. But there is another skill that goes hand-in-hand with interpretation – *evaluation*.

Objective 4: 'Evaluate evidence from historical sources'

As the word suggests, 'evaluation' means deciding how 'valuable' a historical source is. The Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* describes 'evaluate' as 'make judgments about usefulness and reliability of evidence from historical sources' (QCAA, 2024:3). Today, in a world of 24/7 social media posts, saturation advertising, AI-generated 'truth', scams and 'fake news', you can probably see the importance of evaluating what you see or hear. Can I rely on this information to be accurate, honest and trustworthy ('*reliable*')? And, if I know I can rely on it, can it be '*useful*'? Its usefulness must be related to the particular historical question being investigated: Does it provide relevant information for answering the question. Does it provide insight into the question? Can it be used to corroborate or contradict another source?

It's tempting to think that there's a simple way to evaluate whether a historical source is 'reliable'. For example, would a source probably be reliable if it is accurate and honest, comes from someone authoritative and well-known, and is supported or endorsed by other people? Generally, the answer is probably 'yes'.

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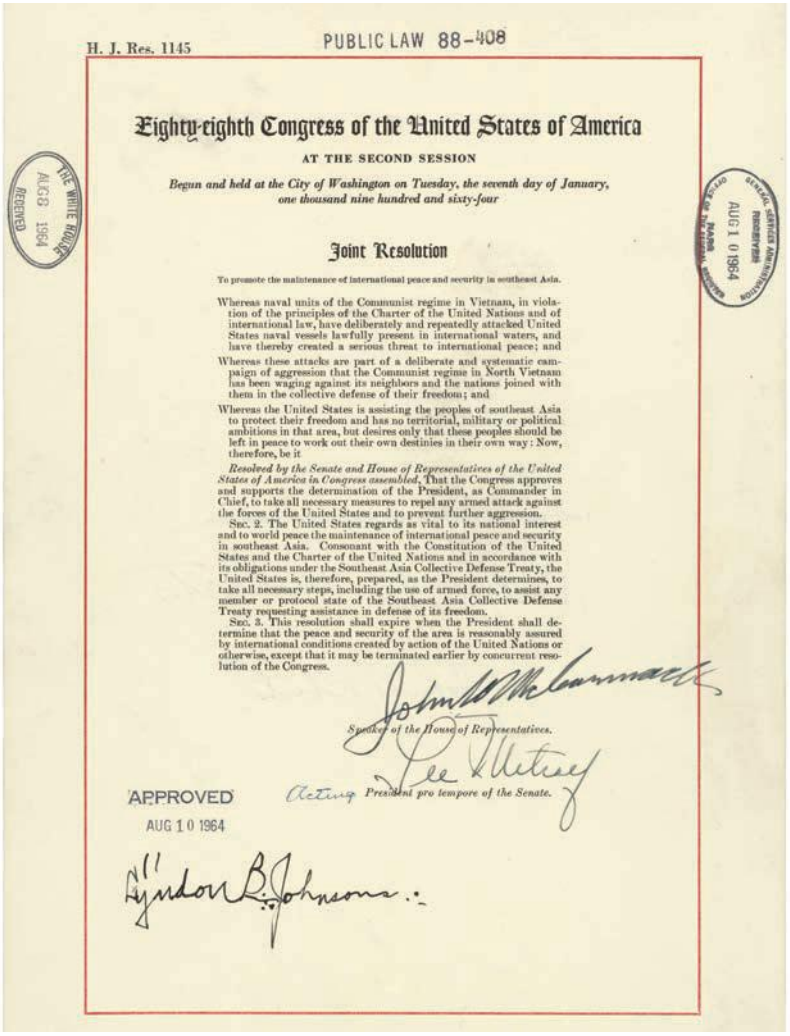
But, sometimes, a historical source from an authoritative, well-known, well-respected origin can be unreliable. For example, on 7 January 1964, the US Congress approved the *Gulf of Tonkin Resolution*, almost unanimously. Every member of the House of Representatives voted for it, and only two members of the Senate voted against it. The resolution stated that North Vietnamese naval units had 'deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters'. The resolution enabled US President Lyndon B. Johnson 'to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack'. The resolution was used to legitimise the United States' 'Operation Rolling Thunder', a sustained bombing of North Vietnam from February 1965 to October 1968 (National Archives, 2024).

Official investigations later revealed that the 'deliberate and repeated' attacks by North Vietnamese naval units had not occuurred, and that the US Defense Secretary was aware of that. In January 1971, the Resolution was officially repealed.



H. J. Res. 1145 PUBLIC LAW 88-408

Eighty-eighth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Tuesday, the seventh day of January, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four

Joint Resolution

To promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Sec. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Sec. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

John W. McCormack
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Lee Metcalf
Acting President pro tempore of the Senate.

APPROVED
AUG 10 1964

Lyndon B. Johnson

THE WHITE HOUSE RECEIVED AUG 6 1964

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION WASHINGTON AUG 10 1964

SOURCE 1.13 The Tonkin Gulf Resolution, signed by President Johnson and others

Would the appearance of this document suggest it is accurate and reliable?

Another example comes from Chapter 5 (pages 169–70), where you can see two almost-identical photographs. They both show Vladimir Lenin making a public speech at a rally in 1920. But one of the photos has been 'doctored' to remove two important characters. And it was 'doctored' by Soviet officials. As a historical source, that photo is neither accurate nor true.

Those two examples reveal a surprising aspect of 'evaluation'.

The *Gulf of Tonkin Resolution* is an inaccurate and dishonest source of evidence about purported events in the Gulf of Tonkin during the Vietnam War. The 'inaccuracy' of the source was established by an official investigation, which revealed the dishonesty of key people involved. That investigation confirmed that the source was not a *reliable* or *useful* source of evidence about those naval events. And, in detecting that dishonesty, the investigation confirmed that the resolution was a deliberate tactic to mislead the US Congress and to empower the president to authorise bombardment of North Vietnam. Thus, as evidence of the devious way the US Government and military justified that bombardment – a key action in the Vietnam War – the resolution ended up being both *reliable* (the dishonesty confirmed by the special investigation) and *useful* (in specifying both the decision of Congress and the power it gave the president).

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The doctored photo is similar. It's an inaccurate and dishonest source about who was with Lenin at the political rally. In the early 1920s, Josef Stalin and Leon Trotsky were fierce rivals to succeed Lenin as leader of the Soviet Union. After Stalin succeeded in that struggle (and later had Trotsky murdered in Mexico), he ordered that photos showing Trotsky in a positive light be altered to obscure or remove Trotsky. Some people in the Soviet Union recognised Stalin's actions at the time (having seen the original photo), but the extent of Stalin's manipulation was revealed after Stalin's death and his denunciation by his successor, Nikita Khrushchev.

In one way, the doctored photo is *useful* in a more profound way than the original because it is evidence of the way Stalin altered the historical record of the Soviet Union. Paradoxically, the doctored photo is a *reliable* and *useful* source of evidence – not of the actual event that occurred, but of that power struggle.

These examples remind us that the terms 'reliable' and 'useful' always have to be followed by words such as 'about ...' or 'of ...'.

You'll now start to evaluate how 'reliable' and 'useful' Inge Scholl's words are as historical evidence of aspects of Nazi Germany.

Evaluating a selected statement by Inge Scholl

Let's assume that you're wanting to learn more about the Hitler Youth and the part it played in the Nazis' totalitarian state.

Here is part of what Inge wrote:

> **But there was yet one more thing that attracted us with a mysterious force and pulled us along – namely, the compact columns of marching youths with waving flags, eyes looking straight ahead, and the beat of drums and singing. Was it not overwhelming, this fellowship?**

Responding to Inge's words

Inge wrote that she and others in the Hitler Youth felt a 'mysterious force', enjoyed the experience of marching with drums and singing, and felt 'overwhelmed' by the 'fellowship' (being together for a common purpose).

1. If that is an *accurate* depiction of what was happening, would these words be a *useful* source of evidence about young people in the Hitler Youth?
   - As a member of the Hitler Youth, *would Inge be in a position to know* about the 'marching ... fellowship ...', etc.?
2. If the 'usefulness' of those words as evidence about the Hitler Youth depends on how accurate they are, how could you try to determine their accuracy?
   - Inge wrote these words in 1947, after the defeat of the Nazi regime. *Would you expect her to be honest* when describing the Hitler Youth?

You'd probably answer 'almost certainly yes' to question 1. But question 2 is more challenging. Think about this: If you had been a member of a youth group linked to a barbaric organisation responsible for massive tragedy, would you write honestly and publicly about that? Or would you be tempted to cover it up? If you *did* write about it, would that require a lot of courage? Do your answers suggest that it's highly likely that Inge was being *honest*, *truthful* and *accurate* in what she wrote? If so, that should mean that Inge's words are a *reliable* source.

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Corroborating the source

One further step in evaluating the 'reliability' of Inge's words would be to find comments by Inge's fellow members of the Hitler Youth – for example, her siblings Hans and Sophie.

Corroboration is the process whereby one source provides evidence that supports or confirms the evidence from another source.

Her siblings' comments could *corroborate* Inge's accuracy, honesty and reliability. However, while they might confirm that the Hitler Youth engaged in certain activities, they might also indicate that her siblings were not as excited and moved by their experiences. That raises the question of how *representative* Inge's thoughts and feelings were of how Hans, Sophie and others thought and felt. That can affect how *useful* Inge's words are as sources of evidence.

Even if Inge has been *honest*, *truthful* and *accurate*, and her words are *representative* of her local Hitler Youth group's experiences, thoughts and feelings, that doesn't mean she is a useful source of evidence about what the Hitler Youth movement was like in other parts of Germany. Further corroboration is needed. That involves casting the net wider.

Activity **1.1**

Corroborating Inge's words

For any evidence drawn from Inge Scholl's words, there is likely to be a variety of sources that could confirm, extend or possibly contradict it. In the table below, suggest the types of sources that you think could be available in relation to the evidence drawn from Inge's words. One completed example is provided.

Information drawn from Inge's words	Possible type of corroborating or contradictory source	Specific examples you know of
Young Germans loved and enjoyed the countryside		
Young Germans were proud of their nation and its culture		
Hitler wanted to bring greatness, happiness and wellbeing to Germany		
Hitler wanted every German to be independent, free and happy		
Young Germans were attracted by the pageantry and fellowship of the Hitler Youth	Film footage of Hitler Youth rally	See brief footage of Hitler Youth via the link at: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10518 or https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10519

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SOURCE 1.14 Hitler Youth members set off on a 'route march' in the countryside near Nuremberg, 9 September 1937

Does this image seem to corroborate some of Inge Scholl's statements? Does the image itself need to be evaluated in terms of representativeness? Is there any hint that the photo was carefully staged and framed? Would 'staging' the photo necessarily make it unreliable as a source of evidence about Hitler Youth activities? Could this question about 'staging' suggest the questioner is unfamiliar with Hitler Youth culture? Discuss.

Contextualising the source

Your study of the Inge Scholl source probably showed you that the *evaluation* of the *reliability* and *usefulness* of a historical source needs to go beyond the actual source itself. This can mean the type of corroboration above. But it also can mean probing the 'context' of the source to identify factors that were likely to affect the source.

Here is some contextual information relevant to the Inge Scholl source.

The time the source was produced

Inge's book *die Weiße Rose* was written after World War II and published in 1947. By then, Hitler was dead, the 'Third Reich' was in ruins, the full horror of the Holocaust was emerging and Nazism itself was being condemned as an aberrant historical phenomenon. In the German city of Nuremberg, Nazi leaders had been on trial during the past two years.

Given this postwar context, are you surprised that Inge Scholl chose to write positively about how impressed she was by Hitler and how excited she felt at joining the Hitler Youth? Discuss with classmates.

The bigger picture of *die Weiße Rose*

Most of Inge's book *die Weiße Rose* is very different from the brief extract you have studied. Overall, Inge is highly critical of the Nazi regime.

Does that information help you understand what Inge did in publishing this book? Explain.

The bigger picture: Hans and Sophie

Inge refers to her siblings Hans and Sophie, fellow members of the Hitler Youth when they were teenagers. They became students at Munich University in the early years of World War II. Both became active members of an anti-Nazi group 'die Weiße Rose' (The White Rose). On 18 February 1943, they were arrested after scattering political leaflets around the university. Tried and sentenced to death, they were executed by guillotine on 22 February. Hans was 24 and Sophie 21. At a mass meeting organised by the authorities at Munich University, students cheered enthusiastically when officials described Hans and Sophie's 'crimes', arrest and execution.

How, if at all, does that information affect your evaluation of the reliability of what Inge Scholl wrote about the Hitler Youth?

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SOURCE 1.15 Munich, Bavaria 16 October 2023. In front of the entrance to the main building of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) at Geschwister-Scholl-Platz, the leaflets of the resistance group 'White Rose' are embedded in the ground as a memorial. It commemorates Sophie and Hans Scholl. The siblings had been arrested on 18 February 1943 while distributing leaflets against the Nazi regime, and were executed four days later.

Why might the style and location of this monument send a particularly effective message?

Inge's motives

During World War II, Inge had refused to become involved with her siblings in the anti-Nazi group 'die Weiße Rose'. When she published her book in 1947, she intended it to be used in German schools by adolescents aged from 13 to 18. In her later life, Inge was strongly committed to the global peace movement.

Does this information suggest why Inge chose to be open and emphatic about how she had been impressed by Hitler's vision and how she had been attracted by a 'mysterious force' to join the Hitler Youth? Could she have wanted to:

1. **send a warning about the dangers of some types of youth groups?**
2. **send a warning about totalitarian political systems?**
3. **try to excuse her own involvement in the Hitler Youth by describing how attractive and popular it was?**
4. **offer a posthumous apology to Hans and Sophie for not joining them in 'die Weiße Rose'?**

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Summing up: Inge Scholl and evaluation of historical sources

1. This section began with the suggestion that you'd find Inge Scholl's words 'quite extraordinary'. The following question tries to capture that. Discuss it with classmates.

? **Would you be inclined to believe someone who, in 1947 – knowing that the Nazi regime had executed her younger brother and sister only four years earlier, and knowing that the defeated Nazi regime was now condemned as barbarous – wrote about how excited she had been about joining the Hitler Youth?**

2. Based on your interrogation of the Inge Scholl source and your reading of the associated material, write an answer to the question: How *reliable* and *useful* do you think the Inge Scholl excerpt is as evidence of the nature and appeal of the Hitler Youth movement in Nazi Germany? (This question informs the sub-question 'How effectively did the Nazis control and use young people to maintain a totalitarian state?')
3. The feature movie *Sophie Scholl: The Final Days* describes the activities and fate of Inge's siblings. You can view the trailer at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10520. Why could such a film be helpful in your studies, but also need careful evaluation in terms of what it depicts?
4. Discuss: Does what you've learned indicate that there is no simple formula or quick process for evaluating the reliability and usefulness of historical sources of evidence?

You can do more evaluative probing of Inge Scholl and her book. For example, through the State Library of Queensland, you can access an e-book English translation of the complete *die Weiße Rose*, together with commentary by the translators and other experts.

A comment on Nazi Germany

A study of Nazi Germany produces some sources that corroborate some elements of Inge Scholl's source but other sources that complicate or contradict Inge's depiction of Nazi Germany. Of course, all sources also need to be evaluated as part of the corroborating process. No source can be taken at face value. The Leni Riefenstahl film mentioned in Source 1.16 is an interesting example.

SOURCE 1.16 *Triumph of the Will* (1935) is a Nazi propaganda film by Leni Riefenstahl

You can view a brief trailer of *Triumph of the Will* at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10521. What impressions of Hitler, the Nazi regime and the German people are conveyed in the trailer? Do you get a sense of the film being 'propaganda'?

There is certainly much evidence that many young Germans loved and enjoyed the countryside, were proud of their nation and its culture and were attracted by the pageantry and fellowship of the Hitler Youth. But there is also evidence that not all young Germans shared these thoughts and feelings. Elsewhere in *die Weiße Rose*, Inge describes an occasion when a young Hitler Youth member told her that she was troubled by Hitler's treatment of Jewish people. There is substantial evidence that some young Germans refused to join the various youth organisations, and that some defied, opposed and fought against the Nazi regime.

There is also much evidence that Hitler sought to make Germany great in political, military and territorially expansionist ways.

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As well, the Nazi regime certainly enacted some programs that increased the material wellbeing of many Germans. But the claim that he wanted every German to be 'independent, free and happy' is contradicted by copious evidence. In Chapter 10, you can find out about widespread persecution, restriction of rights, suppression of dissent and the dismantling of democratic politics in Germany after 1933.

Objective 5: 'Synthesise evidence from historical sources'

The ultimate aim of all of your work in analysing, interpreting, evaluating and corroborating historical sources is to enable you to make a judgement about a key inquiry question that you are pursuing. For example, you could be studying the key inquiry question posed earlier: 'How effectively did the Nazis create and maintain a totalitarian state in Germany from 1933 to 1945?' In the 'synthesising' stage, you would bring together all the evidence you have derived from the historical sources that you have interrogated.

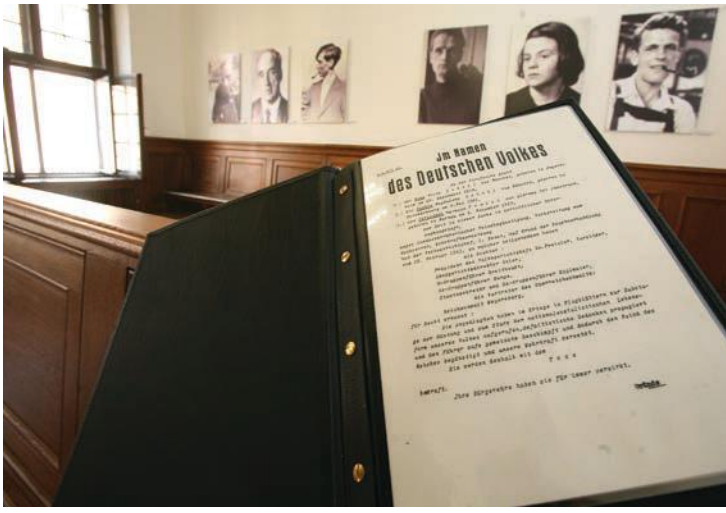
For each source, including Inge's extract, you would have made a judgement about how valuable (*reliable* and *useful*) the source is as evidence of how the Nazi regime transformed Germany into a totalitarian state, and maintained it. Eventually, you'll be ready to synthesise all that evidence to help make a judgement about the key inquiry question itself: 'How effectively did the Nazis create and maintain a totalitarian state in Germany from 1933 to 1945?'

It's very appropriate to use the word 'judgement' to describe your decision-making. In a courtroom, there has to be a careful study of the available sources of evidence and a 'weighing up' of the evidence to produce a judgement. Often, doubts can remain, and court judgements can be challenged. Similarly, judgements in history are often challenged and sometimes revised or even abandoned. That is why *contestability* is a key historical concept. Some historians have, for example, produced evidence of significant disillusionment with, opposition to and active attacks against the Nazi regime by young Germans such as Hans and Sophie Scholl and the 'Edelweiss Pirates'. Those historians keep alive a vibrant contestability within the field of German historiography.

At this stage, what tentative judgement will you make about how useful Inge's words are as evidence of 'How the Nazis created and maintained a totalitarian state in Germany from 1933 to 1945'?

Update: changing perspectives on 'The White Rose'

Earlier you learned that students at Munich University in 1943 cheered enthusiastically when news of Hans and Sophie's execution was announced at a mass meeting. Contrast that information with the evidence provided in Source 1.17.



SOURCE 1.17 The 'White Rose memorial' established in 2007 in the same courtroom in Munich where Hans and Sophie Scholl were tried in 1943. The photos show (L–R) those convicted in relation to 'White Rose' activities: Willi Graf, Kurt Huber, Alexander Schmorell, Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst. The open folder shows the record of the death sentences.

What does this image suggest about changing perspectives among German people between 1943 and 2007 about the activities of the 'White Rose' members? Could that simple question conceal a very complex situation regarding German people's thoughts about the Nazi experience?

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Objective 6: 'Communicate to suit purpose'

Throughout your Modern History studies, you'll have countless opportunities to 'communicate responses'. Your responses will be made using various communication forms – spoken, written, graphic, filmic, multimodal and perhaps even dramatic enactment. Your audience and purpose will also vary – a single classmate, small group or the whole class, your teacher (who will be the 'audience' for your Internal Assessment 'communication'), an online audience and, towards the end of your course, the examiner of your external assessment task.

In a course that includes an external assessment requirement – and three other mandatory written tasks – it's inevitable that a lot of your focus will be on the written forms of communication.

When you communicate historical knowledge in written form, whether for assessment or as a part of everyday learning, your writing will have some special features. Echoing the theme of this chapter, those features will reflect the distinctive characteristics of history as a discipline. Remember that the syllabus states that interpretations and explanations are 'contestable and tentative'. There will be certainty about some details (yes, we know for certain that the United States dropped two atomic bombs on Japanese cities in August 1945), but much of the knowledge that you construct through your historical inquiries – especially around the questions of 'why' – will be judgements. While based on strong evidence, judgements can still be open to debate and possibly revision.

Communicating such knowledge usually requires the careful use of language that can be labelled 'conditional'. The Cambridge Dictionary describes 'conditional' as 'expressing the idea that one thing depends on another thing'. In source-based inquiry, you'll probably construct sentences such as, 'If this secret memo is authentic, it reveals a plot to depose the prime minister', where 'If this secret memo is authentic' is the conditional clause. Conditional language sends a signal that your historical claim relies on evidence, and requires acceptance of that evidence by the reader. The words 'provisional' and 'tentative' can also be used to describe this type of knowledge and the associated type of expression.

In acknowledging that your historical claims are conditional, and not absolute, you'll find yourself using such words and expressions as 'probable', 'seems likely', 'on balance', 'weighing up', 'evidence suggests' and 'almost certainly'. When using historical sources to justify your claims, you'll be using terms such as 'based on this source', 'indicates', 'lends weight to', 'makes a case for', 'seems to establish' and 'tends to refute'.

On big issues of why major historical events occurred, why historical figures acted as they did or what the effects were of a historical phenomenon, you'll probably find yourself avoiding the words 'truth' and 'proves'. (Notice that, in that previous sentence, I used the word 'probably' because I can't be certain that you will avoid 'truth' and 'proves'!) Even when you draw on multiple sources that provide strong 'corroboration', you will probably avoid 'proves'. Rather, you might strengthen your statement with a sentence such as, 'The combined weight of the five corroborating sources makes a compelling case that – from the outset – Hitler had no intention of honouring the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union'. The expression 'makes a compelling case' indicates your strong judgements about Hitler's intentions, but at the same time falls short of certainty and invites discussion, debate and contestation.

But a word of warning. Limit your conditional language to communicating knowledge that is indeed interpretive, debatable and not absolute. Don't produce howlers such as, 'It's likely that Edmund Barton was Australia's first prime minister' or 'It seems that gold was discovered in Australia in the nineteenth century'. If certainty has been established 'beyond reasonable doubt', the language of certainty is justified. (And that's a conditional sentence!)

This part of the chapter has aimed to alert you to the need to use a distinctive form of language to match the distinctive character of history. Your teacher will guide you further into the mechanics of historical communication, particularly those aspects that will be vital when you engage in the key assessment tasks of your course.

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Deeper issues

The usefulness of unreliable sources

In a previous section, you learned how challenging it can be to decide whether a historical source is 'reliable'. But you went further, realising that a source could be unreliable in one way, but reliable in another – for example, the doctored photograph of Lenin speaking at a rally.

US academic Michael P. Marino has described a research project that focused on 'reliability'. The research subjects were two expert historians, some PhD students and some high school students doing an advanced class. They were given the same task. All subjects examined a set of historical sources about Passchendaele, a major World War I battle involving British forces. The sources had already been identified as inaccurate or unreliable in some way. The subjects were asked not only to propose why the sources were unreliable, but also how the sources could be used in the writing of a historical account of the Passchendaele conflict. The research results were interesting and detailed, but can only be outlined here (Marino, 2022).

While the subjects generally recognised that most of the sources were not reliable as evidence of the conduct and outcomes of the actual battle, they proposed a substantial number of ways that the sources provided evidence of other aspects of the broader military, political and social contexts in which Passchendaele was located. Examples included evidence of the ways in which military commanders and political leaders shifted blame for failure away from themselves; how the leading London newspaper became a 'mouthpiece' for government versions of the war's progress; and how 'a society can be kept ignorant about the true nature of events'.

Marino states that the research was designed 'to illustrate how all evidence is useful and that inaccurate, biased, or unreliable evidence can nonetheless produce important conclusions'.

SOURCE 1.18 The battle of Passchendaele (possibly!). This image from the Getty collection is actually a composite image of (presumably) a photo of a bayonet charge by Australian troops and an image of biplanes.

Why is this image particularly appropriate, given what Marino (and Wineburg, on the following page) are saying about sources?

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He goes on to describe how 'the human experience is defined by lies, inaccuracies, misstatements, exaggerations, embellishments, fabrications, and falsehoods. To ignore this reality and to ignore the evidence that reflects it would lead one to a decidedly incomplete understanding of the past'.

This suggests that you, as history students, should at times work with unreliable historical sources if an aim of your learning is to become (in the words of the *Modern History Syllabus*) 'critically literate citizens' in a society characterised by the 'lies, inaccuracies ...' etc. listed by Marino. With the study above, it could be argued that what students learned (about secrecy, blame shifting and the role of the media) was more valuable than what they would have learned from a study of the course and consequences of the actual battle.

A leading academic, Sam Wineburg, has pursued the issue of 'reliability' on a bigger scale.

Discuss: Have artificial intelligence, ubiquitous social media and 'fake news' made it vital that students learn how to evaluate these phenomena? Can your study of history provide some tools for that purpose?

SOURCE 1.19 Sam Wineburg describes the impact of the internet

> The Internet has obliterated authority. You need no-one's permission to create a website. You need no hall pass to put up a YouTube video. You need no-one's stamp of approval to post a picture on Instagram. Tweet to your heart's content – just look at the president. Go ahead – be an author! What determines whether you go viral is not the blessing from some academic egghead, but from the digital mob. ... Digital snake oil salesmen compete with reliable sources for our allegiance. Can we tell the difference? A recent survey suggests not.

Sam Wineburg, *Why Learn History (When It's Already on Your Phone)*, 2018, p. 3

Discuss: Does Wineburg's statement resonate with you in any ways?

Wineburg described his research team's project that, in 2015–16, analysed the ability of school and university students to 'judge the information that streams across their smartphones, tablets, and computers' and found that the overall result was 'bleak'. The responses indicated, for example, that '82% of middle school students couldn't distinguish between an ad and a news story' (2018:4).

Wineburg asserts: 'Never has so much information been at our fingertips, but never have we been so ill-equipped to deal with it' (2018:8). His research and advocacy focuses on the type of historical thinking 'needed in an age of digital manipulation' (2018:6).

Discuss: Do you think the types of conceptual thinking and historical skills/processes described in this textbook chapter can encourage the type of historical thinking implied in Marino's and Wineburg's ideas?

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The *Modern History Syllabus* states that your historical study will help you 'become empathetic and critically literate citizens who are equipped to embrace a multicultural, pluralistic, inclusive, democratic, compassionate and sustainable future' (QCAA, 2024:2).

In this textbook, the concluding study in each chapter invites you to make links between the chapter topic and today's world. One way of doing that is to use critical thinking.

Critical thinking

Using critical thinking, you can identify and evaluate the most powerful ideas, values and practices in a society, a situation or an event. Those ideas, values and practices usually reflect 'ideologies' – deep-seated assumptions about 'how the world should be'. When ideologies are deeply embedded in a society, they become 'hegemonic', meaning that they seem 'natural', they are taken for granted, and the ways they regulate our lives are largely unquestioned.

Here's an example of critical thinking about ideas in a past society.

In Source 1.20 you can read a report of a speech by William Cremer, a British Member of Parliament addressing the House of Commons in 1906. He was speaking about a proposal to give women the right to vote. Use the questions to think critically about Cremer's ideas.

Source **1.20** William Cremer speaks about giving women the right to vote

SOURCE 1.20 Report of speech by William Cremer to the House of Commons, 1906

> He had always contended that ... women are creatures of impulse and emotion and did not decide questions on the ground of reason as men did. ... It was not only because he thought that women were unfitted by their physical nature to exercise political power, but because he believed that the majority of them did not want it ... if women were enfranchised the end could be disastrous for all political Parties.

House of Commons Debates, Vol. 155, Series 4, 25 April 1906

Responding to the source

1. What did Cremer think about the proposal to enfranchise women?
2. What were his underlying ideological assumptions (beliefs, values)?
3. Who benefited from the situation based on those assumptions (in terms of policies, systems and practices)? How?
4. Who was disadvantaged by such assumptions? How?
5. What alternative ideological assumptions and arrangements might have produced a better situation? How, why and for whom?
6. How realistic was the possibility of achieving a change in those values, beliefs, policies, systems and practices?
7. Might any changes also produce disadvantages? How, why and for whom?
8. Have those values, beliefs, policies, systems and practices changed since Cremer made his speech in 1906? If so, would you call the changes 'progress'?

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Cremer's ideas about the inferiority of women were an example of a 'hegemonic' belief, a belief so powerful that, in 1906 Britain, it's likely most women believed in their own inferiority.

Similarly, Inge Scholl shared with many Germans a powerful belief that a strong nation of people sharing ethnicity, language and culture was a 'naturally good thing'. Just as Cremer's ideas deprived women of opportunities in life, so the German belief in the 'nation' fuelled a horrific period in European history.

You might find it strange to be thinking critically about historical situations in which people thought and acted very differently from us today. But the aim is to develop your understanding of the power of ideological beliefs in both the past and the present, to think about significant historical challenges and changes in the past, and to think about the usefulness of critical thinking in your own life.

If you look at the bigger picture of human history, you will see how, at particular points in the past, powerful ideological assumptions have been embedded in a society, celebrated, questioned, challenged and sometimes abandoned. Here are notable examples of historical phenomena:

- the divine right of kings
- political rule by privileged classes
- the subordination of women
- the enslavement of people from particular races
- the exploitation of child workers
- warfare as a legitimate national strategy
- the invasion, colonisation and 'ownership' of areas of the world by powerful nations
- the persecution and punishment of people with 'deviant' ideas and practices
- the unrestrained exploitation of natural environments.

Discuss the dot point list of beliefs and practices. For each dot point, decide whether that belief/practice 1) is still a dominant belief/practice in Australia and/or elsewhere, 2) has been totally abandoned in Australia and/or elsewhere, or 3) is hotly debated in Australia and/or elsewhere. In 50 years' time, what current powerful belief/practice in Australia do you think will have been challenged and possibly abandoned?

Many of the chapters in this book highlight historical struggles to challenge, resist and overthrow practices and their ideological assumptions. You will explore the courageous efforts of those people who – thinking critically and imaginatively – challenged the status quo and tried to create a better world. But you will also study people and movements that promoted new ideas, challenged the status quo and deliberately created change that produced misery and destruction.

The *Modern History Syllabus* states that your historical study will help you 'become empathetic and critically literate citizens who are equipped to embrace a multicultural, pluralistic, inclusive, democratic, compassionate and sustainable future' (QCAA, 2024:2).

Do you think that the ideas in this chapter will help you achieve that aim? Discuss.

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Unit 1

IDEAS IN THE MODERN WORLD

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 1, students form their own knowledge and understanding about ideas that have emerged in the Modern World. The ideas examined include assumptions, beliefs, views or opinions that are of local, national or international significance. They consist of, for example: authoritarianism, capitalism, communism, democracy, environmental sustainability, egalitarianism, imperialism, nationalism, and self-determination. Students apply historical concepts and historical skills to explore the nature, origins, development, legacies and contemporary significance of these ideas within selected historical contexts, e.g. rebellions, restorations, revolutions or conflicts.

(Modern History 2025 v1.1 General Senior Syllabus © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority.)

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Devise historical questions and conduct research about ideas in the Modern World.
2. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues about ideas in the Modern World.
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources about ideas in the Modern World.
4. Evaluate the usefulness and reliability of evidence from historical sources about ideas in the Modern World.
5. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to develop historical arguments and decisions about ideas in the Modern World.
6. Create responses that communicate to suit purpose about ideas in the Modern World.

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

Chapter 2 Australian Frontier Wars, 1788–1930s **Aspect:** Queensland Frontier
Chapter 3 French Revolution, 1789–1799 (DIGITAL) **Aspect:** The survival of revolutionary ideals
Chapter 4 Meiji Restoration, 1868–1912 **Aspect:** The Meiji modernisation of Japan
Chapter 5 Russian Revolution, 1905–1920s **Aspect:** The survival of revolutionary ideals

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Chapter 2

AUSTRALIAN FRONTIER WARS, 1788–1930s

Aspect: Queensland Frontier

JULIE HENNESSEY

A young unnamed Aboriginal man walks into a photographic studio to get his picture taken. He is in uniform and is armed. He positions himself to take an eye-catching pose – left shoulder and hip rotated towards the camera, left hand on the gun holster, left leg slightly bent at the knee in front of the right and feet at right angles. The whole pose exudes quiet confidence and panache. There is something striking, yet familiar, about his photograph. Like those old World War I studio photographs of soldiers before they went off to war, he represents the humanity of an individual caught up in events beyond his control. And yet, he is both a perpetrator and a victim.

Reader advice:

This chapter contains images and names of people who have passed. Some terms used are historically racist and remain so today. These terms are mentioned for learning purposes only.

In this chapter, there will be discussion on topics relating to colonisation, racism and sexual assault.

SOURCE 2.1 Studio photograph of an unnamed young Aboriginal man armed and in uniform, n.d.

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Who were the Native Police and what role did they play on the Queensland Frontier?

The Native Police

The young Aboriginal man in Source 2.1 is not officially a soldier but a special kind of policeman known as a 'trooper', and he fights for European settlers and their white government. He is part of the Queensland Native Police Force, which is kept quite separate from the regular police, and maintained specifically to suppress Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander resistance to colonisation. He's part of a government policy that pits Aboriginal person against Aboriginal person by obtaining recruits from outside of the districts being patrolled. This ensures that he can do his job unencumbered by the pangs of kinship. He works in a small detachment of three to eight troopers under the command of white police officers. He is required to protect the livelihoods and properties of white settlers by 'dispersing' Aboriginal people, a frontier euphemism that means 'shoot to kill'. It's a practice condoned by the Queensland colonial government, which funds and administers the Native Police.

To Europeans, on the outer edges of settlement, this trooper can seem an absolute necessity. Not only does he help protect their property and person, but they also perceive him as a useful tool in helping them to establish their toehold in remote areas and extend their **pastoral** operations. For the Aboriginal people he targets, he is part of a lethal fighting machine, a death squad, that is destroying Aboriginal cultures and customs, and wiping out entire Aboriginal groups and families. Historian Raymond Evans (2004:166) describes the Native Police as 'the singularly most destructive institution' on the frontier in colonial Queensland.

pastoralist a sheep or cattle farmer

Source **2.1** Unnamed young Aboriginal man in uniform

Responding to the photograph and text (see previous page)

1. Does the existence of Aboriginal Native Police – commanded by Europeans, and being used to pursue, punish and often kill other Aboriginal people – seem strange to you? Explain your response.
2. Does the photograph suggest why young Aboriginal men would have wanted to join the Native Police Force?
3. For what purpose might this photograph have been taken?
4. In what ways might the Native Police be part of a 'divide and conquer' strategy used by white authorities?
5. Why might such terms as 'dispersing' (a euphemism for 'shoot to kill') have been used in colonial Queensland by white authorities, colonists and newspapers?
6. What skills and knowledge of the Aboriginal troopers might have been useful to European settlers and white authorities in dealing with Aboriginal people on the frontier? (Think beyond the text.)
7. Until recent times, there has been little study of the Native Police. Why might this be the case?

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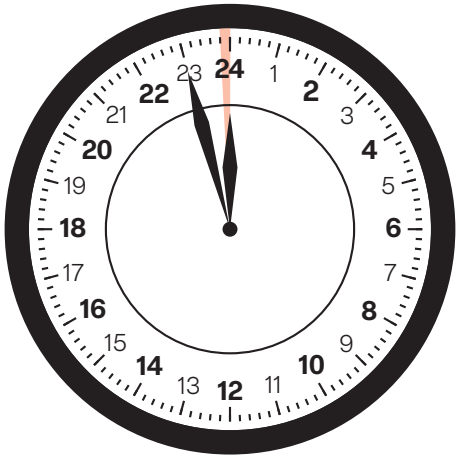
What was the nature and extent of Aboriginal occupation prior to the arrival of the British in 1788?

Before investigating the Frontier Wars in Queensland, the scene needs to be set. First, by establishing the nature and extent of Aboriginal occupation before European colonisation and, second, by providing an overview of the Frontier Wars across the Australian continent.

aborigine this Latin-derived English word was originally used to refer to any native people of any part of the world, and then more specifically to Indigenous people of Australia. The phrase 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' or 'First Nations' is now preferred as the collective term. In this book, the adjective 'Aboriginal' is used appropriately to describe, for example, 'Aboriginal person' and 'Aboriginal land'. 'Aboriginal' is not used as a noun. The word 'Aborigine' is used only when it forms part of historical documentation.



SOURCE 2.2 Twenty-four-hour clock depicting relative times of Aboriginal occupation of Australia and non-Aboriginal occupation

Visually depicting complex information often provides greater clarity and understanding. How does this visual depiction help you to better understand the comparative lengths of occupation by Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal Australians? Can you think of an alternative way to depict this information?

Aboriginal origins, culture and achievement

The word **aborigine** comes from the Latin *ab origine*, which means 'from the beginning'. The word was initially used in Australia to refer to all Indigenous people in Australia. Most human history in Australia is Aboriginal history, which extends back at least 65 000 years, or around 2600 generations. In contrast, non-Aboriginal Australians have been resident in Australia for around 230 years, or about nine generations. The *Sydney Morning Herald* quantified Aboriginal presence in Australia in these terms: 'if Aboriginal culture were 24 hours old, white people have been in Australia five minutes' (Hanna & Brown, 2017).

Aboriginal culture is hailed as the oldest continuous culture on Earth. Recent archaeological evidence suggests that Aboriginal people developed and utilised tools 20 000 years before any other civilisation – the world's oldest known stone axes were found in the Northern Territory in 2017. Aboriginal people developed spiritual beliefs and burial practices more than 10 000 years before similar ideas began to emerge in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In cave art, Aboriginal work predates the famous cave paintings of bulls, horses and deer at Lascaux in France by nearly 20 000 years. In technology, archaeologists consider the boomerang a masterpiece of aerodynamics. Despite this, most Australian historians and textbook writers virtually ignored the place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in Australian history until the 1960s.

Recent archaeological finds from Kakadu in the Northern Territory confirmed that Aboriginal people made the first major expedition by sea, having to sail 90 kilometres to reach their destination. No other people had undertaken such a journey so early in the history of humanity (*National Geographic*, 2017).

By the time Europeans arrived in Australia, it is estimated that there were around 750 000 Aboriginal people living throughout the continent. There were several hundred separate groupings of people, speaking hundreds of different languages, living in their own territories and adapting to their local environments in what was historically termed a 'nomadic hunter-gatherer' lifestyle. More recent scholarship (e.g. Gammage, 2012; Pascoe, 2014) has challenged this view, citing evidence that the First Nations people practised forms of agriculture and aquaculture, and utilised complex systems of land management involving fire.

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Like the people living across Europe in the eighteenth century, Aboriginal people did not form one coherent or unified group, but were many different nations. They were widely dispersed in place, language, customs and cultures. These discrete groups of people, however, had interconnected spiritual beliefs and cultural practices, which laid down laws/lores for life. Every aspect of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures involved links with their land. Aboriginal people explain their origins through cultural narratives and articulate that great ancestral beings created living creatures and all other aspects of the world from the land. When these ancestors were weary, they sank back into the earth and their final resting places became special land features or sacred sites. The land, therefore, is spiritual and Aboriginal people are a part of the land. Whereas white Australians' relationship with land is founded on land ownership, Aboriginal people are 'owned' by, and custodians of, the land.

The organisation of Aboriginal societies before colonisation in 1788 was based on complex kinship systems. At every stage of life, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people knew what their duties and obligations were, and their position and role in the economic, social and spiritual life of their community. With slight variations, many Aboriginal societies had strict and very formal rules governing relationships, which included rules determining proper behaviour for hosts and visitors. These rules or protocols differed for family, friends and strangers, and influenced how communities responded to newcomers. Through the richness of oral traditions and by nurturing strong connections to their lands and communities, Aboriginal cultures have thrived for tens of thousands of years without the need for a written language.

What information from the material you have just read could be used to support a campaign to recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the Australian Constitution?
What aspects of Aboriginal Australia would make it difficult for Aboriginal peoples to mount a unified and sustained offensive against the incoming British?
What do you understand is meant by 'Aboriginal people are "owned" by, as well as custodians of, the land'?

How did the British take possession of Australia?

James Cook proclaims possession for the British Crown

When Lieutenant James Cook commenced his first of three voyages to the Pacific in 1768, he received secret instructions from the British Admiralty that he was 'with the Consent of the Natives to take possession of the … Country in the name of the King of Great Britain'. Despite the fact that Cook had encountered Aboriginal people in his voyage along the east coast of Australia, he failed to reach an agreement with the local Aboriginal people. Cook erroneously concluded on little evidence that the country was in a 'pure state of nature' where the 'industry of man has had nothing to do with any part of it' (National Library of Australia, n.d.). Under international (European) law of the time, people had no right to land they were occupying unless they were planting, tilling, improving or labouring on it. The land was thus deemed waste and unoccupied, or *terra nullius* ('land belonging to no one'). Accordingly, on 22 August 1770 Cook proclaimed the east coast of Australia the possession of the British Crown. As Richard Broome, an authority on Aboriginal history in Australia, observed, 'Aboriginal land rights were unilaterally dismissed, not so much through disregard for international law as through ignorance of Aboriginal life' (1988:93).

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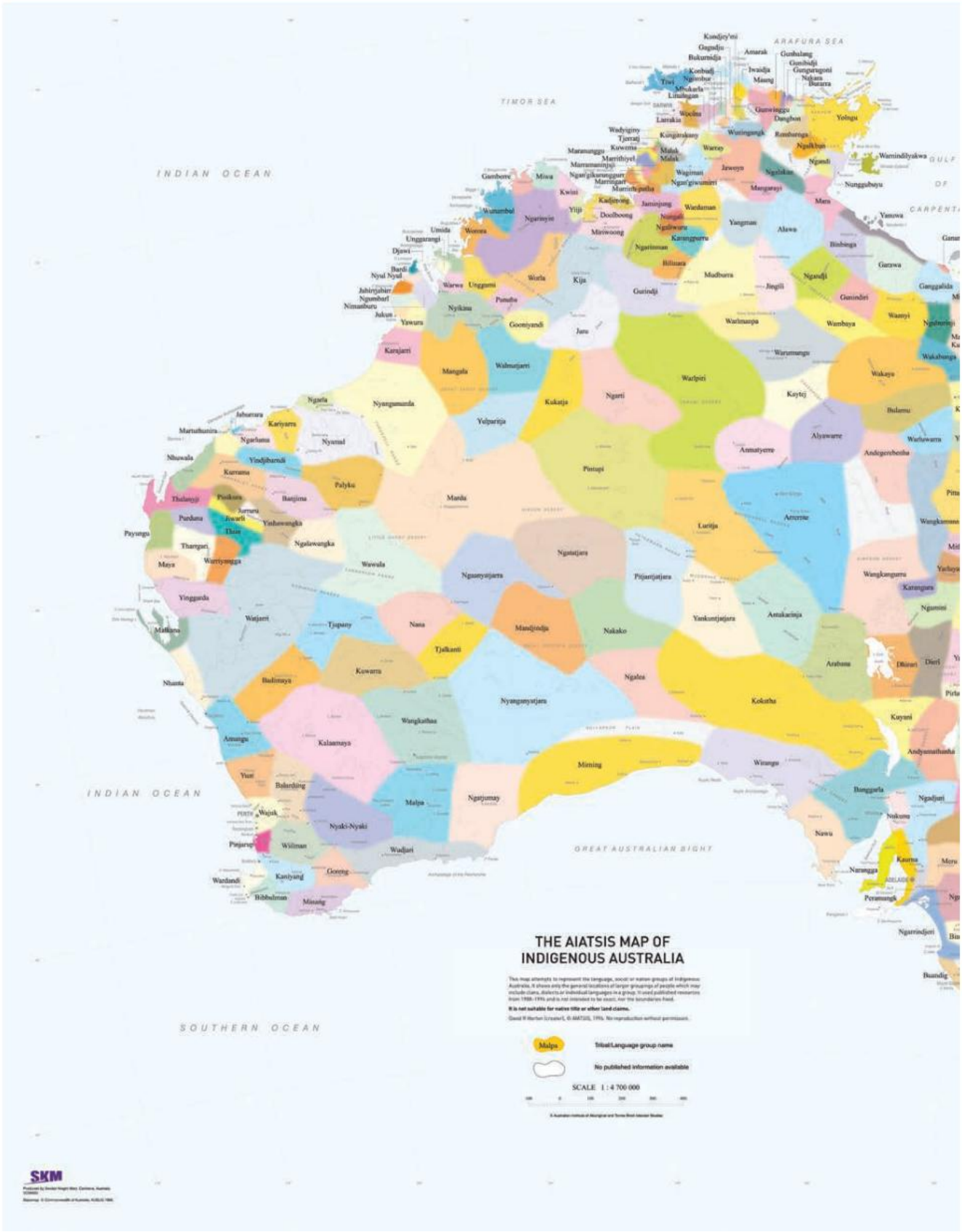
Source **2.3** Map of Indigenous Australia



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Responding to the map

1. This map prompts you to ask: 'Whose land am I on?' The Interactive Textbook contains a high-resolution version of this map. Use it to identify the various language groups of important places in your life – where you were born, where you live, where your relatives live, where you go to school, where you holiday, etc.
2. Does this map suggest that the principle of *terra nullius* was a fiction? If so, how?
3. What does it suggest about the extent, diversity and nature of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' occupation of Australia?
4. How useful and reliable might this map be in providing an overview of Indigenous occupation of Australia? Consider one point for usefulness and one point for reliability.
5. Why might this map be contested by some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people?

This map delivers some clear and important messages: Australia, originally a mosaic of Indigenous territories, was inhabited by a great diversity of distinct Indigenous peoples at the time of colonisation. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people inhabited the whole of the continent and adjacent islands for millennia; Australia with its six states and two territories is a recent invention, not yet far into its second century.

SOURCE 2.3 Map of Indigenous Australia. This map represents some of the Aboriginal language groups identified by *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia*. A larger version of this map can be viewed in the Interactive Textbook.

Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) map of Indigenous Australia. This map attempts to represent the language, social or nation groups of Indigenous Australia. It shows only the general locations of larger groupings of people which may include clans, dialects or individual languages in a group. It used published resources from 1988–1994 and is not intended to be exact, nor the boundaries fixed. It is not suitable for native title or other land claims. David R. Horton (creator), © AIATSIS, 1996. No reproduction without permission. To purchase a print version visit: www.aiatsis.ashop.com.au.

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Arrival of Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet

Eighteen years after Cook's arrival, on 26 January 1788, Captain Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet, comprising 11 ships and around 1350 people – mostly convicts – arrived at Sydney Cove, the home of the Gadigal people of the Eora nation. Governor Phillip carried instructions 'to endeavour by every possible means to open an Intercourse with the Natives and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all Our Subjects to live in amity and kindness with them'. These were promising words for the first British colony in Australia.

? What evidence is there to support the claim that initially the British had good intentions in their dealings with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people?

What was the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in Australia from 1788 to the 1930s?

In Australia, there was no official declaration of war against Aboriginal people. Declaring war would mean recognising Aboriginal people as an invaded people rather than as 'British subjects', as was the legal definition under British law. Aboriginal resistance against the British became a criminal act, and the resisters considered outlaws deserving of punishment. If war on Aboriginal people had been declared, the conventions of warfare, which existed from 1864, would have applied. Such conventions include the proper treatment of combatants and the signing of treaties, as the British did in New Zealand, and as other colonising powers had done in African and North American territories. Thus, Australia was distinctive – it was the only territory where the British did not make treaties or declare war.

Regardless of the legal status of frontier conflict between Aboriginal people and Europeans, violence was a feature of life on the fringes of European settlement from the first months at Sydney Cove in 1788 until the third decade of the twentieth century, when the **Caledon Bay crisis** of 1932–34 was resolved. Almost every district colonised during this time has its history of conflict between local groups and encroaching settlers. However, while frontier violence and conflict was apparent in almost every part of Australia, it varied in duration and intensity.

Caledon Bay crisis (1932–34) involved a series of killings of non-Aboriginals by Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory. It was the last major incident of violence on the frontier and its successful resolution marked a decisive moment in the history of Aboriginal–European relations.

Paradoxically, the original conflict between settlers and Aboriginal people was largely unplanned. The confrontation arose from fundamentally different approaches to land and resources, with neither understanding the culture or value systems of the other.

Early on, conflict often came about as a result of mutual fear, anxiety and misunderstanding. Once settlement had been established, deaths occurred due to competition over land. When the settlers initially moved onto Aboriginal territory, economic motives primarily drove their action. To establish a livelihood, the settlers had to create pastureland and utilise waterholes. Consequently, they were competing with Aboriginal people for vital natural resources. The competition for these resources resulted in atrocities committed by both sides – one side would attack and the other side would counter-attack.

Historian Professor Henry Reynolds (1981) acknowledges that Aboriginal actions initially focused on enforcing their laws and territorial rights. However, as settlers' competition for land and water intensified, violence escalated. This led to many Aboriginal groups shifting from local enforcement to organised warfare to defend their land and way of life.

White settlers, supported and at times encouraged by the British colonial governments, committed widespread violence against Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. They distributed poisoned flour and blankets, poisoned waterholes and shot at Aboriginal people found in large numbers. This systematic brutality led to numerous massacres throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

One of the most infamous massacres occurred at Myall Creek in northern New South Wales in 1838, where 28 Ngarabal people, including many old men, women and children, were brutally killed.

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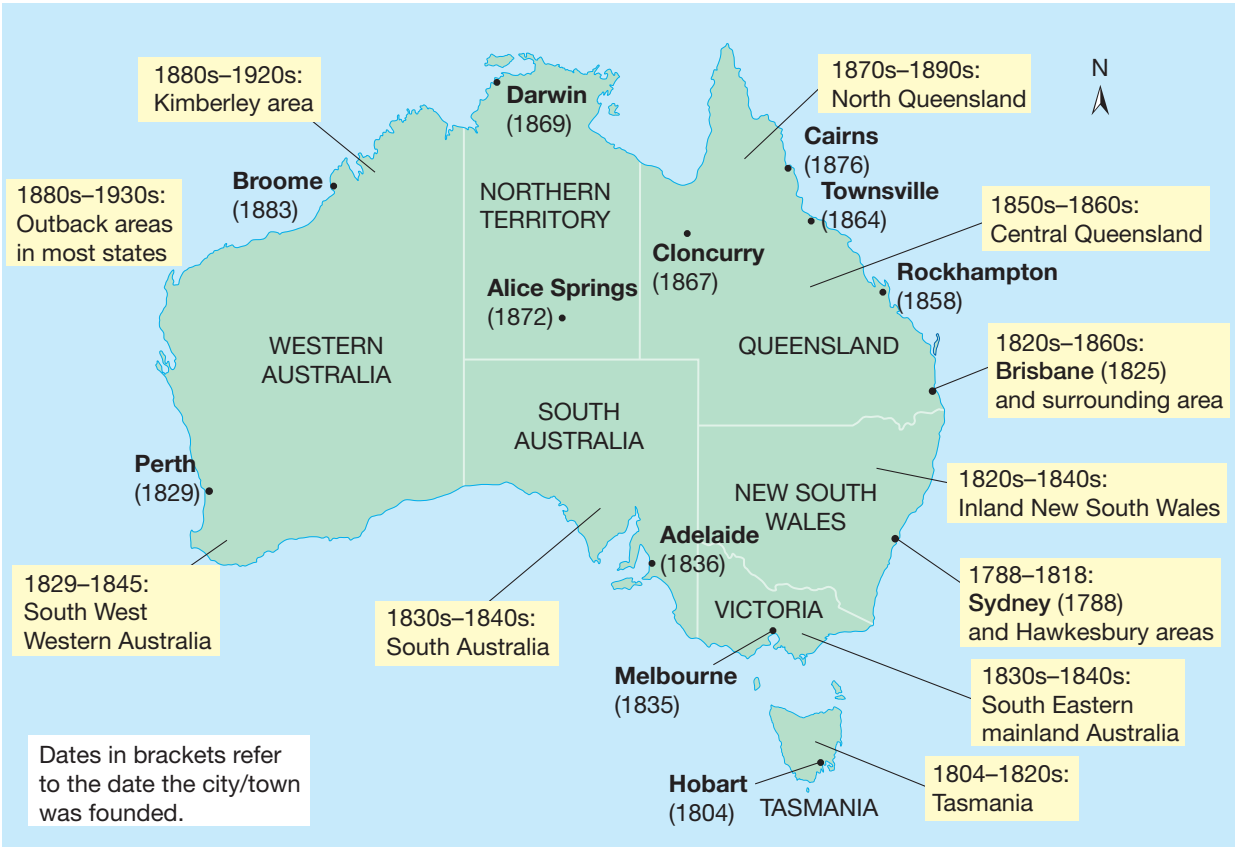
This incident marked the first and last time in Australian colonial history that European settlers were found guilty and hanged for the murder of Aboriginal people. However, as historian Timothy Bottoms (2013:15) observes, this event 'set in motion the settlers/squatters' approach to violence on the frontier: they kept quiet about it', thus beginning 'Australia's "conspiracy of silence"'.

The last recorded massacre of Aboriginal people occurred in 1928 in Coniston, Northern Territory, when approximately 60 to 70 Walpiri people were killed over several weeks by a Northern Territory police party.

However, the almost total destruction of Aboriginal society in Tasmania during the first half of the nineteenth century is unparalleled in Australian history. It is estimated that the Tasmanian Aboriginal population was around 6000 when European settlement was first established in 1803. This population was reduced to about 250 by 1830 (Kippen, 2014) through disease introduced by white settlers, infertility, starvation and massacres.

While Europeans were the primary perpetrators of violence and atrocities on the frontier, Aboriginal resistance also led to the massacre of white settlers. The three largest instances of Europeans being killed by Aboriginal people in Australian colonial history occurred in Queensland: the Hornet Bank massacre in 1857 (11 killed), the Cullin-la-Ringo massacre in 1861 (19 killed), and the killing of 14 European survivors after the wreck of the ship *Maria* in 1872 at Bramble Reef near the Whitsunday Islands.

The pattern of frontier violence and conflict ran parallel to the pattern of settlement, as seen in the map in Source 2.4.



SOURCE 2.4 Map of frontier violence and conflict throughout Australia, 1788–1930s

Based on the map, when and where was the earliest recorded violence between European settlers and Aboriginal people? When and where was the last recorded violence? Based on the map, what is the relationship between settlement and frontier conflict? Extension: Check out the Colonial Massacres map on the internet created by University of Newcastle researchers. See also Activity 6.2 which explores the Massacres map.

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Considering the Europeans' economic and military advantages, Aboriginal resistance was prolonged and effective. It exacted a high price from many pioneer communities, in creating tension and insecurity as much as in causing property loss, injury or death. Attacks on property often had devastating effects on the fortunes of individual settlers. At times, these attacks appeared to threaten the economic viability of the pioneer industries – pastoral, farming, mining and pearling. In Tasmania in the late 1820s, New South Wales in the late 1830s and early 1840s, and Queensland in the early 1860s, Aboriginal resistance emerged as one of colonial society's major problems, challenging the expansion and stability of white settlements.

Reynolds, in his groundbreaking work *The Other Side of the Frontier* (1981), maintained that it was probable that about 2000 Europeans and more than 20 000 Aboriginal people died violently in the course of Australian settlement. These figures, which translate to about 10 Aboriginal deaths for each European killed, were hotly contested during the History Wars debate in the early 2000s. However, collaborative research by academics Raymond Evans and Robert Orsted-Jensen in 2014 indicates that the number of Aboriginal people who died during frontier conflicts could be at least three times higher than Reynolds' initial estimate of 20 000, for the state of Queensland alone (paper presented at the Australian Historical Association 'Conflict in History' Conference). The extent of the violence is still being uncovered and may never be known with certainty.

While the Australian frontier presents a violent and protracted contact history, the contact experience was not just simply 'white' against 'black'. Collaboration between Europeans and Aboriginal people was widespread, and neither can be presented as a united group. There are many stories of Aboriginal troopers from the Native Police shooting other Aboriginal people, wives of troopers warning tribal people of where the detachment was next patrolling, and Europeans 'rescuing' Aboriginal babies. These stories illustrate the complexity of the contact experience between Aboriginal people and the European settlers. However, all of this needs to be put within the context of stolen land and stolen generations due to the colonisation of Australia.

It is worth remembering that the British invasion and settlement of Australia was part of the European colonial expansion that took place between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries. This worldwide colonial expansion caused frontier wars on every habitable continent. According to military historian Jeffrey Grey, the 'conflict between whites and blacks on the [Australian] frontier of settlement was neither unique, nor uniquely horrible' (1999:2). He adds, 'but the failure to acknowledge its existence and the baleful consequences for Aboriginal people which flow from it is not only a profound discredit to us as a community, but suggests something of the insecurity which has run through sections of the white population since the nineteenth century: as we took this country, might not it yet be taken from us?'

The British Government never officially declared war on Aboriginal peoples in Australia. How did this decision disadvantage Aboriginal peoples in the past? Why might this decision still have ramifications today? (Think beyond the text.)

What made conflict between Aboriginal peoples and European settlers a feature of life on the frontier?

How did each side seek to justify their violent actions on the frontier?

What is the estimated human toll of the Frontier Wars according to historians? Why is it unlikely that we will ever know with certainty the number of lives lost?

What features of the Frontier Wars make it complex history? What features make it part of world history?

Military historian Jeffrey Grey claims that the lack of acknowledgement of the Frontier Wars is a 'profound discredit to us as a community'. Do you agree with this assertion?

Conduct further research on one of the following notable events related to frontier conflict: the Tasmanian Black War (1826–31), the Myall Creek massacre (1838) or the Coniston massacre (1928). Find out what happened, why it happened, who was involved, and what was its outcome and continuing significance.

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DEPTH STUDY

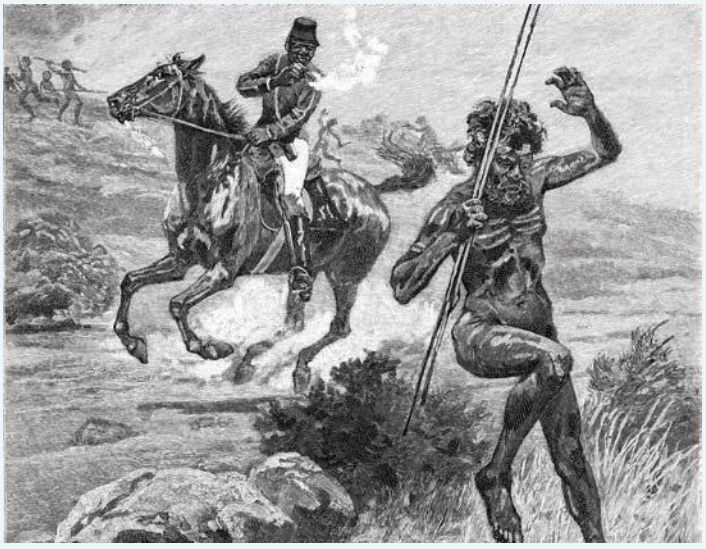
Key inquiry question: What was the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in colonial Queensland from the 1840s to the 1880s?

In this depth study, you will be investigating frontier conflict in colonial Queensland. A 'frontier' is the territory at the edge of a settled area. In Queensland, the frontier moved as settlement expanded from the south-east corner of the colony to the far north and west. Frontier conflict in Queensland was the most violent and protracted of all the Australian colonies. Bottoms (2013), drawing on the work of Raymond Evans, claims it is very likely that the overall death toll for Aboriginal people in Queensland may be in the range of 48 000 to 50 000 men, women and children. And yet, in 1991, historian Henry Reynolds was heavily criticised by some conservative media (e.g. *Quadrant* magazine [Windschuttle, 2000] and some Murdoch-owned media) for suggesting that 20 000 Aboriginal people were killed Australia-wide between 1788 and the 1930s.

This depth study is explored through five sub-questions that enable you to build towards an answer to the key inquiry question above.

The five sub-questions are:

1. What ideas, perceptions and practices shaped the Frontier Wars in Queensland?
2. What does the story of Dundalli tell us about frontier conflict in and around Brisbane in the mid-1840s and early 1850s?
3. What happened at Hornet Bank in 1857 and 1858 and what does it reveal about frontier violence in central Queensland?
4. How did the Kalkadoon people respond to European encroachment on their territory in north-west Queensland in the 1870s and 1880s?
5. What do historians say about the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in colonial Queensland?



SOURCE 2.5 *Native Troopers Dispersing a Camp*. Artist Frank P. Mahony, 1886.

SUB-QUESTION 1: What ideas, perceptions and practices shaped the Frontier Wars in Queensland?

The settlement/invasion of Queensland begins

The first significant presence of Europeans in Queensland began in 1824 when a penal colony was established in Moreton Bay (first at Redcliffe and later moved to Brisbane in 1825). Under New South Wales law, free settlement was prohibited within 50 miles (approximately 80 kilometres) of the Moreton Bay penal establishment. While most convicts were removed in early 1839, free settlement was only permitted from early 1842. However, by 1840, squatters had already begun introducing sheep on suitable grazing land in districts close to the Moreton Bay area, such as the Darling Downs. By 1842, 45 stations had been established by squatters on vast tracts of fertile land in south-eastern Queensland previously occupied by Aboriginal people. The settlement of these stations replicated the pattern of Aboriginal dispossession that had already taken place in New South Wales.

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The image in Source 2.5 shows one way Aboriginal dispossession took place. A common practice used by settlers in Queensland to procure and secure land was through the use of the Native Police.

Source **2.5** Print by Mahony, 1886

Responding to the image (see previous page)

1. Contrast the Native Police with the Aboriginal warriors, with a particular focus on the two men in the foreground. (When you contrast, you identify differences.)
2. In what ways does this image explain why settlers prevailed over Aboriginal peoples?
3. Where might the creator's sympathies lie? With the Native Police or the Aboriginal warriors? Explain by drawing on evidence from the image.
4. What might have been the purpose of this image? Why might it have been created?

Attitudes and perceptions of European settlers

The attitudes and perceptions of European settlers towards the land they occupied and the Aboriginal people they encountered were very much shaped by the beliefs and values of their society. Five years after free settlement was permitted in Queensland, this is what the *Moreton Bay Courier* of 1847 had to say. As you read, note the words that are associated with Europeans and those associated with Aboriginal people.

Source **2.6** Settler perceptions in 1846

SOURCE 2.6 Settler perceptions of themselves and of Aboriginal people in 1846

> The first footmark of Civilization on the hitherto trackless wilds, the first symptom of the victory which Sciences and the Arts were about to achieve over barbarous ignorance. The first faint rays from the beacon flame of Knowledge, meeting and dispelling the darkness of lower superstition. The home of the savage had become the home of civilised man.

Moreton Bay Courier, 3 April 1847, p. 2

Responding to the *Moreton Bay Courier's* account

1. Identify those words associated with Europeans and those associated with Aboriginal people.

Words associated with Europeans	Words associated with Aboriginal people and their land

2. How does the choice of language affect the reliability of the source? Explain.
3. How would such attitudes help justify the occupation of the land?

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By the time that European settlers were moving into Queensland, they carried with them increasingly fixed beliefs about Aboriginal people and their alleged inferiority, more so than their counterparts on the southern frontiers. These beliefs were shaped by wrong yet influential ideas that prevailed at the time.

Historian Timothy Bottoms explains.

Source **2.7** Influential ideas

SOURCE 2.7 Influential ideas creating dangerous mindsets

In the Australian context, because of European technological developments, British settlers considered themselves at the apex of human evolution. This affected the mindset of colonial Queenslanders who were influenced by the ideas and concepts developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Great Chain of Being was one such concept, which 'ranked all organised matter in hierarchical order, from the lowest to the highest. When it came to mankind, Europeans were ranked pre-eminent'. Aboriginal Australians scraped in on the lowest human rung on this hierarchy. This theory was replaced by the new sciences from the eighteenth century in the form of polygenism, which saw the 'descent of a [*Homo sapien*] species or race from more than one ancestral species.' ... Of course, polygenism provided a powerful rationale for treating blacks both as vermin and as chattel labour ... The development of the European 'science' of phrenology, which was 'the theory that one's mental powers are indicated by the shape of the skull', played a prominent role 'in fostering the notions that Aboriginal mental powers were limited and their prospects for improvement were slight' ... Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* was published in 1859 and particularly influenced European thought. By the late 1860s and 1870s Queenslanders were generally aware of his ideas on evolution, and in particular the Spencerian concept of [Social Darwinism] 'The strong ... [survive]'. Some colonial frontiersmen used this concept to justify the fate of Indigenous Australians. The 'doomed race' theory appears to have grown out of a mixture of these racial 'scientific' theories, and 'was a manifestation of ultimate pessimism in Aboriginal abilities'.

Timothy Bottoms, *Conspiracy of Silence: Queensland's Frontier Killing Times*, 2013, pp. 3–4

Responding to Bottoms' explanation

Create and complete a table similar to the one below.

Idea	Explanation	Application of this idea to Aboriginal people
Great Chain of Being		
Polygenism		
Phrenology		
Social Darwinism		

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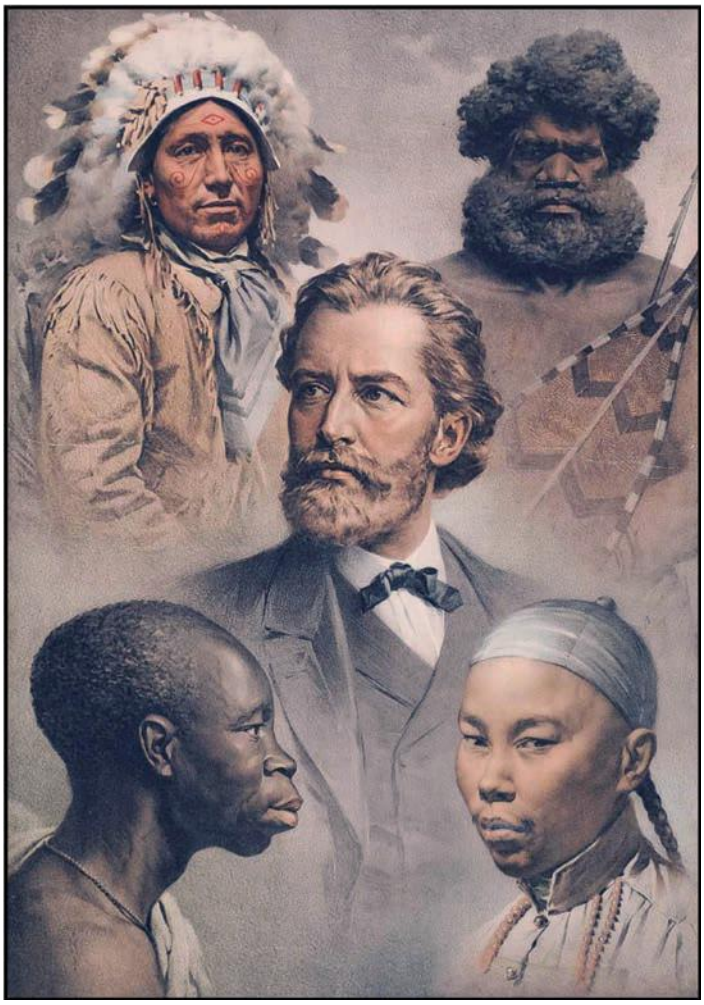
These racist ideas were shared by the dominant European powers during their imperial expansion in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The image in Source 2.8, which featured in a Dresden-based German magazine, encapsulates some of these ideas. The image depicts five men representing five different 'racial' groups: American 'Indian', Australian 'Aborigine', African, Asian and European (in the centre).

The term 'race' has typically been used to identify, label and categorise groups of people who share certain assigned characteristics. Racial classifications have usually been based on biological traits (e.g. skin colour, head/body shape) and cultural traits (e.g. ethnicity, religion) that divide humanity into discrete groups with separate distinguishing characteristics.

Race, however, is a socially constructed term. It is not, as some believe, a biologically determined subdivision of humanity but an artificial construct generated by societies.

Source **2.8** 'The five races of mankind', 1911



SOURCE 2.8 'The five races of mankind', illustration from a German magazine, 1911

Responding to the image

1. Which of these ideas – the Great Chain of Being, polygenism, phrenology and Social Darwinism – are evident in this image? Explain your response.
2. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the five 'races' were commonly placed in a hierarchical sequence, and many of the terms used are now seen as racial slurs. The sequence was: European (highest type) followed by Asian (often referred to as 'Mongol'); American 'Indian'; African and finally the Australian 'Aborigine'. Does this image reflect such a hierarchy? If so, how?
3. Why might the idea that humanity is divided into separate and distinct 'races' be both useful and dangerous in colonised societies?

The idea of race was incorrectly seen to provide a 'logical' explanation for the rise and fall of cultures and civilisations and, more importantly, an explanation for the dominance of Europeans during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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While many early settlers into Queensland viewed Aboriginal people as ignorant, primitive savages, Aboriginal people had also formed their own views of Europeans. Historian Libby Connors explains.

Source **2.9** Aboriginal perspective, early 1840s

SOURCE 2.9 Aboriginal perspective of European settlers in the early 1840s

In the summer of 1842–43 all the south-east Queensland [Aboriginal] peoples had agreed that the settlers were base and ignorant people whose unlawfulness could not be tolerated. The question was how best to respond to them. Should the old ways of ancestral law continue to have primacy when Europeans were so lacking in the courtesy and honour that Aboriginal law required? Europeans had powerful technology and no sense of proportion, so their vengeance lacked all subtlety – it would be wreaked upon those living in close proximity to European settlement and would always escalate disputes.

Libby Connors, *Warrior: A Legendary Leader's Dramatic Life and Violent Death on the Colonial Frontier*, 2015, p. 109

Responding to Connors' account

1. On what basis might the Aboriginal peoples of south-east Queensland have formed the view that European settlers were 'base', 'ignorant' and 'unlawful'?
2. Why would Aboriginal people be worried that Europeans had 'powerful technology' but 'no sense of proportion'?
3. Does your study of contact between Aboriginal people and Europeans in this chapter so far support this Aboriginal peoples' view of settlers? Explain your response.
4. What evidence might exist that could allow Connors to know what Aboriginal people had 'agreed' about the settlers and what 'question' they posed?

The sentiments expressed in Connors' account (Source 2.9) echoed those of the weekly newspaper, *The Queenslander*, in 1880, 40 years after free settlers first moved into Queensland.

Source **2.10** Article from *The Queenslander*, 1880

SOURCE 2.10 How Aboriginal people are dealt with in Queensland, 1880

This, in plain language, is how we deal with the aborigines: On occupying new territory the Aboriginal people are treated exactly in the same way as the wild beasts or birds the settlers may find there. Their lives and their property, the nets, canoes, and weapons which represent as much labour to them as the stock and buildings of the white settler, are held by the Europeans as being at their absolute disposal. Their goods are taken, their children forcibly stolen, their women carried away, entirely at the caprice [whim] of the white men. The least show of resistance is met by a rifle bullet ...

Evidently settlement must be delayed until the work of extermination is complete ... or until some more rational and humane way of dealing with the blacks is adopted. It is surely advisable, even at this the eleventh hour, to try the more creditable alternative ... to see if we can efface [wipe away] some portion of the stain which attaches to us.

The Queenslander, 1 May 1880

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Responding to the article from *The Queenslander*

1. According to *The Queenslander*, how are Aboriginal people dealt with by European settlers?
2. Which sentence suggests that the writer has empathy for the Aboriginal peoples' way of thinking? In other words, where is it apparent that the writer can appreciate how Aboriginal people think about their lives, and what they value?
3. By contrast, what sentence best describes the way many settlers think and feel about the lives of Aboriginal people?
4. Are you surprised to read these sentiments expressed in a leading Queensland newspaper from the 1880s? Explain your response.
5. Is the writer of this article critical or supportive of the treatment of Aboriginal people by European settlers? Quote lines from the source to explain your answer.
6. What do you think the writer would propose as a 'more rational and humane way of dealing with the blacks'?
7. This article is an example of a white Australian strongly criticising Europeans' treatment of Aboriginal people. Does that make it likely to be an accurate and reliable source? Explain your response. To what extent does this article match what you have learned already about frontier conflict?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

What ideas, perceptions and practices shaped the Frontier Wars in Queensland?

Today's truth, tomorrow's nonsense

According to author and history educator Brian Hoepper (1989), when an idea or belief is very strong and pervasive in a society, it can be called hegemonic. Hegemonic beliefs are so powerful that they are seen by most people, even those who suffer because of them, as natural and inevitable. They are taken for granted and appear self-evident. But while hegemonic beliefs may appear 'natural', they aren't – they are social constructs. They are thought up, invented or developed by people to achieve certain ends. Because these beliefs are socially constructed, they are challengeable and changeable. Throughout history, as hegemonic beliefs have been challenged and overturned, the 'natural' beliefs of one period can become the 'nonsense' of a later period. For example, there was a time when it was widely accepted that a woman's primary place was in the home rearing children and caring for house and husband. While this is an option for women today, their place in Western society extends far beyond the home.

Tasks

Work in pairs to complete the following tasks:

1. Identify one significant hegemonic idea related to race, which appears in this section, that has been discredited and shown to be false.
2. Explain why at the time this idea may have been considered sensible and self-evident.
3. Explain why this idea is now seen as ridiculous – a nonsense.
4. Identify another idea/belief linked to your life, perhaps related to fashion, social media or school, that was once considered sensible and natural and now is subject to derision and ridicule.
5. Consider the following statement: *In a society, hegemonic beliefs, such as the belief in a racial hierarchy – and related practices such as racism – can be questioned, challenged and discredited over time. But individuals change their beliefs and practices at different rates. Even after racist beliefs have been discredited officially and racist acts declared unlawful, there will probably be people who, to varying degrees, hang onto the racist belief and continue to act in racist ways.* Discuss whether you think this statement is an accurate depiction of modern Australian society.

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SUB-QUESTION 2: What does the story of Dundalli tell us about frontier conflict in and around Brisbane in the mid-1840s and early 1850s?

In the settlement of Brisbane (also known by its Aboriginal name Meanjin) and the surrounding district, one particular Aboriginal man, Dundalli, was notorious. He was viewed as the ringleader and perpetrator of many murders and outrageous acts and characterised a 'one of the greatest scoundrels of his time' (*The Queenslander*, 1892).

Dundalli, a Dulla man, was born around 1820 in the Blackall Range, roughly parallel to the Sunshine Coast. By the mid-1840s he was adopted by the Joondiburri people, the Traditional Custodians of Yarun (Bribie Island), and moved to this area. He was an imposing figure. The trial judge Roger Therry later wrote that Dundalli 'was the largest man I ever looked upon', being well over six feet (183 cm) tall, with 'formidable … ferocious strength'.

Dundalli became a key figure in Aboriginal politics and a leader in the struggle against European settlers in and around the area of Brisbane/Meanjin in the mid-1840s and early 1850s. However, he was not rigid or inflexible in his enforcement of local law, and he did at times seek to conciliate good relations and to restrict conflict. Nevertheless, he never resiled from protecting his land and its people. During the decade prior to his death in January 1855, he figured prominently in accounts of conflict between European settlers and Aboriginal peoples. Before his arrest he had eluded the authorities for more than 11 years and during this time his reputation had grown. Connors, in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, maintains that 'whites sought to connect him with almost every act of violence committed on the northern side of the Brisbane River' (2005). A list of his offences is provided in Source 2.11.

Source **2.11** Charges against Dundalli

SOURCE 2.11 A list of charges against Dundalli

> … robbery with violence at the Rev. J. G. Haussmann's station in 1845; for the murder of Mr. Gregor and Mrs. Shannon in 1846; for the murder of Boller and Waller in 1847; for the murder of Charles Gray near Bribie Island; and for the murder of Mr. McGrath's shepherd.

'Death of the Notorious Dundalli', *The Queenslander*, 3 December 1892

Responding to the feature article

1. How many murders was Dundalli accused of?
2. What other offence was Dundalli alleged to have committed?
3. This excerpt is part of an 1892 feature article about the early days of Brisbane and the surrounding area. Given that this article was written 37 years after Dundalli's death, what conclusions might you draw about Dundalli and his significance in the early years of Brisbane/Meanjin?

While considered a British subject, Dundalli, as an Aboriginal person, was not allowed to speak in his own defence at his two trials (June to November 1854), where he was ultimately convicted of the murders of pastoralist Andrew Gregor (1846) and **sawyer** William Boller (1847). The evidence on which he was convicted was weak and flawed. The witnesses were unreliable. Dundalli's evidence was deemed inadmissible as he could not swear an oath on a Christian Bible. He was therefore not afforded the opportunity to explain Aboriginal law and the basis upon which he acted.

sawyer someone who saws wood

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He couldn't explain that he was trying to protect his Country and uphold his people's laws; that preserving the status quo was imperative and if the actions of individuals or groups disrupted the balance of life there must be reciprocal action to redress this and restore the balance. The legal process of the British justice system made traditional law and authority effectively invisible, and recast Dundalli, a traditional lawman, as a criminal and his enforcement of its customs as ferocious savagery. In turn, Dundalli displayed contempt for the court process. He tried to bribe the judge with sixpence, and later offered to row him back to Sydney if the judge would release him.

In the days following his trial, Dundalli maintained that the authorities would not dare hang someone of his standing, as he was a man of knowledge, power and culture, well respected among his people and other tribal groups. Surely the authorities would send him to Sydney as they had done with so many of his countrymen. This hope was shattered weeks later, when his gallows were erected on the site of the current Post Office in Brisbane city. It is recorded that Dundalli 'wailed piteously'. The next day, on 5 January 1855, the town's police and a detachment of the Native Police surrounded the gallows to prevent any attempt at escape or rescue. Hundreds of white men, women and children gathered for his public hanging and a large number of Aboriginal people looked on from a distance. Dundalli, composed and alert, called out to them with instructions to avenge his death according to Aboriginal law.

When his body dropped, Dundalli didn't swing. Instead his legs fell onto his coffin and then onto the ground. The executioner for New South Wales, Alexander Green, had bungled the hanging – he had totally misjudged Dundalli's height. Green was forced to bend and drag on Dundalli's long legs until he died; a cruel and undignified death for a warrior.

Dundalli's execution was the last official public hanging in Queensland.

What motivated Dundalli's actions against European settlers in and around Brisbane/Meanjin?

What injustices did Dundalli endure at the hands of European settlers and British authorities?

Consider the validity of both sets of laws (Aboriginal and British) in the context of the learning in this chapter. Do you judge both sets of laws to be valid in the case of Dundalli? Explain your reasoning.

Three weeks after the execution of Dundalli, a prominent Sydney newspaper made the comment featured in Source 2.12.

Source **2.12** Newspaper report on Dundalli's death

SOURCE 2.12 Response to Dundalli's death by a Sydney newspaper, 27 January 1855

> Thus died one of the guiltiest and most incorrigible of the aboriginal natives of this quarter [area]. His many crimes had long made him the abhorrence of the white, and it is hoped that his death will teach the blacks who had been in the habit of looking up to him, that our laws may overtake the guilty, however long the time since he first eluded his punishment.

'Execution of Dundalli', *The People's Advocate and New South Wales Vindicator*, 27 January 1855

Responding to the news article

1. Write a headline to encapsulate the key message of this excerpt.
2. If Dundalli and/or his community were able to respond to this news article, what might they say?

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Here is another perspective on Dundalli. It comes from a 2011 protest sign at Post Office Square in Brisbane.

Source **2.13** Dundalli protest, 2011

Responding to the photograph

1. Who might have erected this Dundalli protest sign in Post Office Square in 2011, and for what purpose? Explain your response.
2. In the photograph, you can see both the Dundalli protest sign and a statue of Australian World War I leader Major-General Sir Thomas William Glasgow. What thoughts are prompted by the juxtaposition of the sign and the statue?
3. Glasgow believed that each man must help to defend his country. To this end, he joined the local mounted infantry military as a teenager, thus beginning a military career that would see him knighted for his service. Knowing this, what might Glasgow have thought of Dundalli?

SOURCE 2.13 Dundalli protest, Post Office Square, 5 January 2011. Photograph from the personal blog of Neil Ennis, 5 January 2011.

There is an interesting paradox that was brought to light by the protest at Post Office Square in 2011. A bronzed symbol of 'white' militarism is located in the vicinity of where 'white Australia' hanged Dundalli. Glasgow, a distinguished and highly decorated Commander in World War I, was part of that great imperial adventure that has been much commemorated and memorialised in Australia's history. In contrast, the memory of Dundalli, a feared and courageous warrior, has been almost obliterated. And yet, he fought and died defending his Country in an earlier and uncelebrated frontier war.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

What does the story of Dundalli tell us about frontier conflict in and around Brisbane in the mid-1840s and early 1850s?

1. Ruthless killer or noble warrior?

Based on what you know so far, how would you answer the question: *Was Dundalli a ruthless killer or noble warrior?* Jot down your initial ideas, then share them with a table partner to clarify and extend your thoughts. Provide feedback on your ideas to the rest of the class.

2. Clash of culture

The story of Dundalli reveals that a notable, deep and seemingly irreconcilable gulf existed between the culture and value systems of the British and Aboriginal peoples. In pairs, identify and explain a significant cultural misunderstanding that was the cause of conflict between the two groups. Share your ideas with the class.

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SUB-QUESTION 3: What happened at Hornet Bank in 1857 and 1858 and what does it reveal about frontier violence in central Queensland?

Hornet Bank massacre: the first of three

In Queensland, three of the largest massacres in Australian history were carried out by Aboriginal people against European settlers – the Hornet Bank massacre (1857), the Cullin-la-Ringo massacre (1861) and the survivors of the shipwrecked *Maria* (1872). These are significant not only in terms of the numbers killed, but also because of their impact on public opinion and on policy regarding Aboriginal people in the early settlement of Queensland.

The map in Source 2.14 shows the European settlement of central Queensland and the three massacres carried out by Aboriginal people.

Source **2.14** Settlement and massacre sites

SOURCE 2.14 Map of settlement and massacre sites

Responding to the map

1. On the map, find the location of Australia's three largest massacres carried out by Aboriginal people against European settlers: Hornet Bank Station, Cullin-la-Ringo Station and the Whitsunday Islands (site of the shipwrecked *Maria*).
2. What common feature found on the map explains why the pastoral stations of Hornet Bank and Cullin-la-Ringo were established there?
3. What specific factors might have led to conflict between settlers on these stations and the Aboriginal people nearby?
4. In the mid-1850s, Hornet Bank Station was on the fringes of European settlement. In order to get major supplies, pastoralists would need to travel to Ipswich or Brisbane, a three-day horse ride away. Calculate the distance from Hornet Bank Station to Brisbane (you may need to use Google Maps or similar to work out the distance).
5. When European settlers arrived on the frontier, they were faced with a host of challenges. Make a list of the top five challenges that they would likely have faced. Use the map as a starting point for your initial ideas.
6. By 1861, Cullen-la-Ringo was on the fringes of European settlement. Calculate how far the frontier had moved in the four years between the Hornet Bank massacre (1857) and the Cullin-la-Ringo massacre (1861).

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Hornet Bank

Squatters had begun to occupy the Upper Dawson from 1847, taking up river frontages. The first European occupant of Hornet Bank station, Andrew Scott, arrived in 1853. The next year he leased the station to Scottish-born John Fraser, who took his wife, Martha, and their large family to live in this isolated area on the edge of European settlement. Two years later John Fraser died and his eldest son, William, then aged 22, took over the management of the station.

In the first five years of European settlement, the Jiman (also spelt Yiman and pronounced Yee-man) tolerated the presence of the white invaders peacefully; however, by mid-1857 a cycle of violence had become commonplace. The Jiman people have been described by historian Gordon Reid (1982) as the 'cock of the walk' – that is, they ruled the roost, asserting their dominance over other Aboriginal groups in the area. They had a reputation for being belligerent and were allegedly of superior physique compared with other groups in the region.

The attack and subsequent massacre

An imminent attack on one of the stations by the Jiman was planned. It came on 27 October 1857, when 11 Europeans, including eight members of the Fraser family, were massacred at Hornet Bank pastoral station on the Dawson River in central Queensland.

Source **2.15** A historian writes about the Hornet Bank massacre, 2005

SOURCE 2.15 A recount of the Hornet Bank massacre of 1857

> The worst fears of the white squatters on the Dawson were realised when the Fraser family was attacked while the eldest son, William Fraser, was away collecting stores from Ipswich. In the early morning hours, a large number of Yiman people attacked the sleeping household, after enlisting an Aboriginal servant to kill all the station dogs so they could not warn of their approach. The eleven people killed were Mrs Martha Fraser, her four daughters, Elizabeth, 19, Mary, 11, Jane, 9, and Charlotte, 3, three of her sons, John, 22, David, 16, and James, 6, the tutor James Neagle and a shepherd and a hutkeeper who were sleeping in a hut nearby as they were due to be paid off the next day. During the ferocious attack, Martha Fraser and her two eldest daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, were raped and Neagle was castrated before they were clubbed to death. The only survivor, one of the Fraser sons, 14-year-old Sylvester, was clubbed unconscious but when he recovered was able to hide under his bed and was assumed to be dead. The attackers ransacked the home taking clothing, household articles and weapons and leaving behind a hideous scene of mutilated bodies and rampage ... After the attackers left, Sylvester Fraser, although suffering from a gash to the head, managed to walk 22 kilometres to Eurombah, the nearest station, to raise the alarm.

Patricia Clarke, 'Turning Fact into Fiction: The 1857 Hornet Bank Massacre', in *Margin: Life and Letters in Early Australia*, April 2005

Responding to the account of the massacre

1. What evidence is there in this account to suggest this was a planned and premeditated attack by the Jiman people on the Hornet Bank station?
2. What evidence is there that this was a particularly brutal massacre?

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The Hornet Bank massacre confirmed European preconceptions of Aboriginal people: that they were barbaric and treacherous brutes devoid of conscience and morals. The *Moreton Bay Courier*, two-and-a-half weeks after the massacre, reflected on the possible motives for the Jiman people's brutal actions.

Source **2.16** Newspaper article on motives for the massacre, 1857

SOURCE 2.16 *Moreton Bay Courier* on the motives for the Hornet Bank massacre

Massacre by the Blacks

No provocation seems to have been given to the perpetrators of these acts of reckless cruelty. Nothing had transpired to excite feelings of revenge in the breasts of these savages. Their object apparently was plunder. When they had as they thought completed the work of destruction, they robbed the house of such things as they desired, and taking with them a flock of sheep, departed.

'Massacre by the Blacks', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 14 November 1857, p. 3

Responding to the *Moreton Bay Courier*

1. According to the *Moreton Bay Courier*, what motivated the Jiman people's 'acts of reckless cruelty'?
2. In the article, some words send signals about the status of the information presented. Which claims in the article are signalled as being 'probably' or 'possibly' true? How are they signalled?
3. What claims are not signalled but simply presented as factual statements? Are any of these so important that you'd like to know whether there is supporting evidence?

Reynolds observes that the brutal raping of the Fraser women before death was 'an unusual accompaniment of Aboriginal attack' (1981:86), prompting him to investigate why the Jiman people might carry out such a reprehensible act.

By piecing together scattered fragments of evidence, he advances the explanation in Source 2.17.

Source **2.17** A historian on motivation for the massacre, 1981

SOURCE 2.17 Henry Reynolds on Jiman motivation for the Hornet Bank massacre

The Honourable M.C. O'Connell told the 1861 Select Committee on the Native Police that the killings were a consequence of the young men 'having been in the habit of allowing their black boys to rush the gins'[1] in neighbouring camps. Archibald Meston, the Queensland 'expert' on Aborigines, heard from a friend of the surviving Fraser son that the white employees of the family had whipped and raped two local Aboriginal girls. The story was confirmed by W. Robertson who claimed to have discussed the events of 1857 with old Aborigines who as youths had been present at the time. They reported that after the women were raped the local clans attempted to use sorcery against the offending Europeans. When that appeared to have no effect they sent an old woman to the Frasers to explain the circumstances and seek redress. When no action was taken by the whites the clans determined on revenge.

[1] The phrase 'to rush the gins' was a euphemism used by white settlers on the Dawson that likened the abduction and rape of Indigenous women to manly sporting pastimes.

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So the evidence concurs on the importance of sexual attacks by employees of the family. But one account directly implicates the young Fraser men. J.D. Wood explained in a memo to the Colonial Secretary that when arriving in Queensland he made enquiries about Hornet Bank. He was told by a Mr Nicol who had been in the Native Police in 1857 that Mrs Fraser had repeatedly asked him to reprove her sons 'for forcibly taking the young maidens' and that in consequence she 'expected harm would come of it, that they were in the habit of doing so, notwithstanding her entreaties to the contrary'. Several other informants told Wood that the Frasers were 'famous for the young Gins' and all agreed 'that those acts were the cause of the atrocity'.

Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*, 1981, pp. 86–7

Responding to the source

1. For Source 2.17, create and complete a table like the one below. (Note that extra information has been provided about each source where it is available.)

Source	Evidence provided that sheds light on Jiman motives
Maurice Charles O'Connell (1812–79), Queensland Member of Parliament	
Archibald Meston (1851–1924), journalist and Queensland Member of Parliament	
W. Robertson (n.d.–1914), pastoralist	
J.D. Wood (no dates available), Queensland Member of Parliament	
Lieutenant Francis Nicol (no dates available), officer in charge of a Native Police detachment in the Upper Dawson	

2. How many of the *Moreton Bay Courier's* four sentences are refuted by the evidence gathered by Reynolds?
3. Weighing up the evidence you've seen, how strong a case has Reynolds made in explaining why the Hornet Bank massacre took place?
4. Note that Reynolds draws on at least five different sources of information. Do you think that any one of those is strong enough on its own to undermine the credibility of the *Courier's* report? Explain.
5. Discuss what your study of the massacre has taught you about:
   a. historical sources
   b. 'weighing up' evidence
   c. why 'making a judgement' is a key historical process.
6. Based on the evidence supplied by Reynolds, how valid/reasonable is the conclusion that the key reason for the Jiman attack on Hornet Bank station was to avenge sexual assaults on young Aboriginal women? Justify your response.

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In Aboriginal ways of governance and law, the punishment must fit the crime; otherwise, justice is not done. That is, what had been done to the Jiman must, as punishment, be done to the Europeans. While there were other factors at play – invasion of land, poisonings and shootings – the main crime against them was rape; therefore, according to Jiman law, the Europeans must also suffer rape.

The Jiman sought to commit acts so outrageous and horrifying that the invaders would withdraw. Hornet Bank was an ideal target: it was the furthest station to the west along the Dawson River, it was easily approachable on foot, there were more females than at any other station in the district, and the inhabitants of the station did not fully secure their homestead at night. As was frequently the case on the frontier, those targeted by both Aboriginal people's attacks and those of white avengers were often not the ones responsible for the crime they sought to exact retribution for.

The response of colonial society to the Hornet Bank massacre

News of the tragedy spread like wildfire and the details of the massacre were printed and reprinted in newspapers throughout the colonies. Here are four accounts from the time that provide insights into how colonists responded to the Hornet Bank massacre.

Sources **2.18–2.21** Colonists responding to the Hornet Bank massacre

SOURCE 2.18 *Moreton Bay Courier*, 14 November 1857

Even those habitually calm and merciful, are often heard to advocate vengeance and extermination, not merely on the individual offenders, but likewise on the classes to which they belong.

'Massacre by the Blacks', *Moreton Bay Courier*, 14 November 1857, p. 3

SOURCE 2.19 *The North Australian*, 17 November 1857

Ipswich, Tuesday, November 17, 1857

In dealing with these wretches ... we should strike no blow till we can strike a decisive one, and one which will communicate a salutary impression of our power; small combats and dawdling operations would leave the matter worse still, for they would wear out the strength of men and horses, and leave the object unattained ... to capture the murderers, or to compel to submission the tribes now proved to be of a most sanguinary [bloodthirsty] and violent disposition ...

The North Australian, 17 November 1857, p. 3

SOURCE 2.20 George Serecold, 31 December 1857. Serecold was one of the armed squatters from neighbouring Cockatoo station who set out to hunt down the Jiman perpetrators.

Twelve of us ... patrolled the country for 100 miles [161 kilometres] round of three weeks and spared none of the grownup blacks which [*sic*] we could find ... whatever you do be careful as I do not wish anybody to be able to read what I have written.

Extract from a letter George Serecold wrote to his brother in England, 31 December 1857

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SOURCE 2.21 George Lang, 31 March 1858. Lang visited Maryborough five months after the massacre. This is an extract from a letter to his uncle, Reverend Dunmore Lang, a well-known political and social activist of the time.

> When I arrived in this district the topic of general conversation was the murder of the Fraser family on the Dawson River by the blacks of that district … I know now that nothing could have been more unworthy of human beings than the procedure both of the members of the Police Force and the white population than their horrid indiscriminate murder of the blacks. I learned from various sources that a party of twelve squatters and their confidential overseers – went out mounted and armed to the teeth and scoured the country for the blacks, away from the source of the murder of the Frasers altogether, and shot upwards of 80 men, women and children. Not content with scouring the scrubs and forest country, they were bold enough to ride up to the Head Stations and shoot down the tame blacks who they found camping there. Ten men were shot in this way at Ross's Head Station on the Upper Burnett. Several at Prior's Station, and at Hay's and Lamb's several more. The party in scouring the bush perceived an old blind blackfellow upon whom they immediately fired, sending a ball through his back, another through his arm which shivered the bone to pieces, and a third grazed his scalp. This old man had been for a long time a harmless hanger-on at the different head stations, and of course could have been in no way identified with the Fraser murderers. A black boy belonging to Mr Cameron of Coonambula, long employed by that gentlemen in carrying messages and rations to his outstations … went to Mr Prior's Station on the Burnett and was shot there … [Further atrocities were described.]

Recount by budding journalist George Lang, 31 March 1858

Responding to the primary sources

1. Study Sources 2.20 and 2.21 (the letters written by Serecold and Lang). Consider the type of source, author, date, purpose, language and content (fact versus opinion). Do you think these sources provide reliable evidence about the European responses to the massacre? Do they corroborate each other in any way? Explain your responses.
2. To what extent do these four primary sources support the following hypothesis: *Colonists sought retributive justice for the crimes committed at Hornet Bank by the Aboriginal perpetrators*. (Retributive justice holds that the best response to a crime is a punishment proportional to the offence.) Consider each source in turn.
3. Now synthesise evidence from the four sources to write a paragraphed response to the following question: *To what extent did colonists seek retributive justice for the crimes committed at Hornet Bank by the Aboriginal perpetrators?* In your response, use evidence from all sources to support your answer.
4. It cannot be disputed that serious and heinous crimes were committed by the Jiman people against the white settlers at Hornet Bank, and, accordingly, the perpetrators needed to be punished. However, this punishment should have been applied within the normal processes of the law – investigation, arrest and trial. This did not happen. Why might such legal processes not have been pursued?

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The reprisals for the Hornet Bank massacre were bloody, indiscriminate and out of proportion. George Lang came to the conclusion that the 'blacks suffer a hundred times more at the hands of the whites than the whites do from them'. One of those 'whites' was William (Billy) Fraser, the eldest Fraser son, who was away from the homestead when the massacre occurred. As one of the two survivors of the Fraser family, he became a well-known identity at the time.

Here are two different perspectives on William Fraser. As you read them, consider whether he emerges as a hero or villain in the story, particularly as it relates to his response to avenge the deaths of his family members.

The first source, a feature article entitled 'The Name of William Fraser Made the Natives Cringe', appeared in the Saturday *Courier Mail* in 1950, 93 years after the Hornet Bank massacre.

Source **2.22** A view of William Fraser in 1950

SOURCE 2.22 A view of William Fraser in 1950

The name of William Fraser made the natives cringe

J. E. MURPHY

Among the Dawson River blacks the name of William Fraser, the avenger of Hornet Bank, struck a degree of terror ... [A]ccording to the tradition of the Dawson River country, William Fraser was not taking the law into his own hands. The local belief was that the New South Wales Government had given him a twelve months' immunity from ordinary legal processes, during which period he was free to avenge the massacre of his family. Whether any formal document was executed or not, the behaviour of the Drayton policemen proves that at least a tacit [implied without being stated] agreement either existed ... With or without official sanction, most of the murderers of Hornet Bank were avenged. The mere mention of William Fraser's name was a never-failing device employed by pioneers when they found themselves faced with truculent [aggressive] blacks. With his mission of vengeance fulfilled William Fraser eventually served the law in a fully accredited official capacity. He accepted a commission in the Native Police, and during his service was stationed in the Rockhampton district, where his record was long and honourable.

Courier Mail, 25 November 1950, p. 2

Responding to the *Courier Mail* feature article

1. Does this extract from the feature article appear to approve or disapprove of William Fraser? Provide evidence to support your answer.
2. Given what the author wrote, do you think he had read the accounts of Serecold (Source 2.20) and Lang (Source 2.21)? Explain your response.

The perspective in Source 2.23 comes from Zoe Smith, a PhD candidate in the School of History at the Australian National University in Canberra.

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Source **2.23** A view of William Fraser in 2023

SOURCE 2.23 Another view of William Fraser in 2023

William Fraser's killing sprees can constitute the labelling of him as a mass murderer. However, white male settlers at the time certainly did not consider William in this light; instead, 'his reputation as an avenger spread far beyond the Dawson tribes' to the extent that 'there was no person who was looked upon with greater respect by the Ipswich boys when he came into Ipswich than "Billy" Fraser'. Although it has since been proven to be a fallacy … there was a myth that permeated throughout the period and subsequent narratives surrounding Hornet Bank that William had been given a licence by the Queensland Government, granting him permission to shoot as many Indigenous peoples as he encountered. However, while he was not officially licensed to massacre, the government made no attempt to intervene, particularly as the vast majority of settlers endorsed his actions.

Settlers were well aware that William Fraser and other settlers engaged in indiscriminate violence against local Indigenous groups under the guise of revenge and justice … Settlers' support for William's actions became a key part of the mythology of Hornet Bank and the legend of William Fraser … If settlers disagreed with the nature of William and other settlers' 'retributive' violence, they rarely questioned whether, or the extent to which, it was justified given the rape and murder of the Fraser females. As Murray-Prior put it, 'there is little doubt that many fell to their rifles that were never officially known but who could blame them' …

This … narrative of William Fraser as the heroic avenger, has dominated representations of Hornet Bank, obfuscating and minimising the consequences of white men's actions as both rapists and murderers …

Zoe Smith, 'Manly' Violence: Rape, Massacres and White Masculinity on the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Upper Dawson Frontier, *ANU Historical Journal II,* 2023, pp. 21–4

Responding to Zoe Smith

1. Smith presents two contrasting views of William Fraser – masculine avenger and mass murderer. Who supported/supports such views and on what basis?
2. To what extent was the Queensland Government complicit in the massacres committed by Fraser? Explain.
3. Explain the statement from pastoralist and politician Murray-Prior that 'there is little doubt that many fell to their rifles that were never officially known but who could blame them'. Explain to whom and what Murray-Prior is referring to and who he supports.
4. What might explain why Fraser has ceased to be considered a frontier hero? (Think about those developments that have occurred in civil society over time that might render a former frontier hero an object of derision.) You will need to think beyond the text.

Activity **2.1**

Comparing sources

Analyse evidence from Sources 2.22 and 2.23 to compare perspectives on Billy Fraser. When you compare, you identify similarities and differences. In your response, identify one similarity and one difference and provide evidence from each source that supports the similarity and the difference.

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Impact of the reprisals on Jiman people

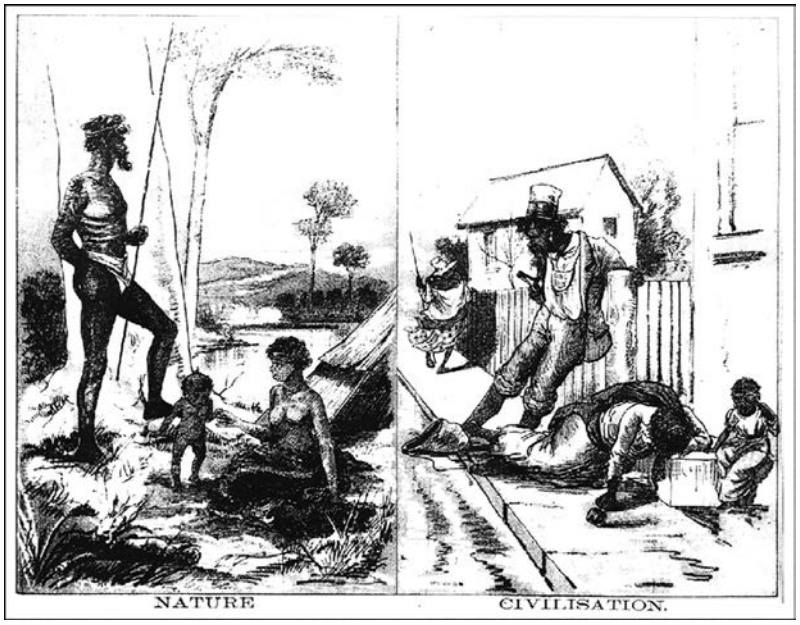
Historian Gordon Reid (1982) suggests that the revenge against the Jiman by Billy Fraser and others without prosecution had an ongoing effect on the attitudes of colonists towards Australian First Nations peoples, as well as policy-making by the government. 'Dispersal' became the established method of dealing with Aboriginal people in Queensland. As a result of a series of punitive expeditions by Native Police and settlers, at least 150 Aboriginal people died, with a possible total of around 300. The effect of such numbers on small groups was catastrophic. It left the survivors vulnerable to further attack, and greatly diminished their ability to hunt food, raise families and carry out ceremonial and other cultural obligations.

Sources **2.24–2.26** Impact of the reprisals on Jiman people

SOURCE 2.24 History writer Tony Matthews, 1986

> Likewise, the remnants of once proud and warlike tribes, who, defeated and Europeanised, turned to the pleasures and the oblivion of alcohol, and so their fate was finally and irrevocably sealed. Those who survived the mass killings both before and after the Hornet Bank massacre, and those who survived the rages of disease, the cruelty of malnutrition and starvation, eventually withered and died of alcoholism, another killer which took its toll on their already almost extinct numbers.

Tony Matthews, *This Dawning Land*, 1986, p. 54



SOURCE 2.25 Thirty years after the Hornet Bank massacre, the *Queensland Figaro*, a weekly newspaper published in Brisbane, compares Aboriginal people pre- and post-colonisation, August 1887

SOURCE 2.26 The fate of the Jiman according to Gordon Reid, 1982

> There may be individuals with Jiman blood, but it is unlikely that they are aware of it. Any who have such blood, probably consider themselves to be Wakka Wakka [a neighbouring tribe]. The once strong people, who had been 'cock of the walk' on the Upper Dawson before the white settlers arrived, people with their own name, dialect, customs, traditions and land-identification, seem to have gone forever.

Gordon Reid, *A Nest of Hornets*, 1982, p. 178 [Reid reached his conclusion about the fate of the Jiman people based on a 1979 Department of Aboriginal Affairs national survey of Aboriginal communities that sought the names of tribes and tribal languages spoken]

···>

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Responding to the sources about impacts

1. Copy and complete the following table by drawing on evidence for each source.

Source	Aboriginal people before colonisation	Aboriginal people after colonisation	Causes of 'demise'
2.24			
2.25			
2.26			

2. What is each source's attitude to the impact of European colonisation and 'civilisation' on Aboriginal people? Are the sources critical of Aboriginal peoples, of white civilisation or of both? Or are they neutral? Explain your response.

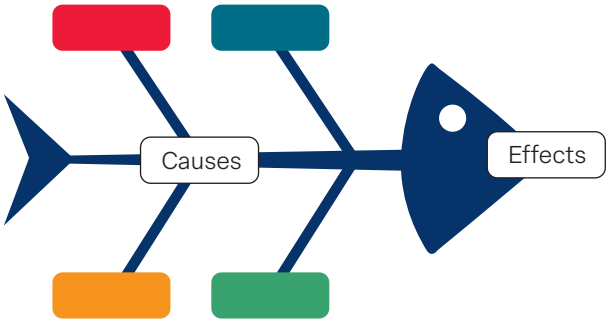
3. We now know that the Jiman people did survive. Professor Marcia Langton (1951–) is the most well-known descendant of the Jiman, and the Jiman were part of the Bidjara language group, which has been revitalised and is being taught in local schools in central Queensland. Knowing this, what does it tell you about the problematic nature of historical sources and the challenges of writing history?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

What happened at Hornet Bank in 1857 and 1858 and what does it reveal about frontier violence in central Queensland?

Causes and effects

Use the fishbone diagram to create a visual summary of the causes and effects of the Hornet Bank massacre. Circle what you judge to be the key cause and key effect of the massacre. Be prepared to justify your decisions.



SUB-QUESTION 4: How did the Kalkadoon people respond to European encroachment on their territory in north-west Queensland in the 1870s and 1880s?

Another proud people, the Kalkadoon, experienced a similar history to the Jiman.

From the 1860s, increasing numbers of European pastoralists moved north and into territory that had been occupied by the Kalkadoon people for tens of thousands of years. This territory, located in north-west Queensland, was centred on the site of modern-day Mount Isa. The extent of Kalkadoon territory and the size of the population made the Kalkadoon people one of the largest Aboriginal groups in Australia. Before European occupation it is estimated that the Kalkadoon consisted of 2000 people. Twenty-one years later, only 101 identified as Kalkadoon. Today Kalkadoon people number in the thousands.

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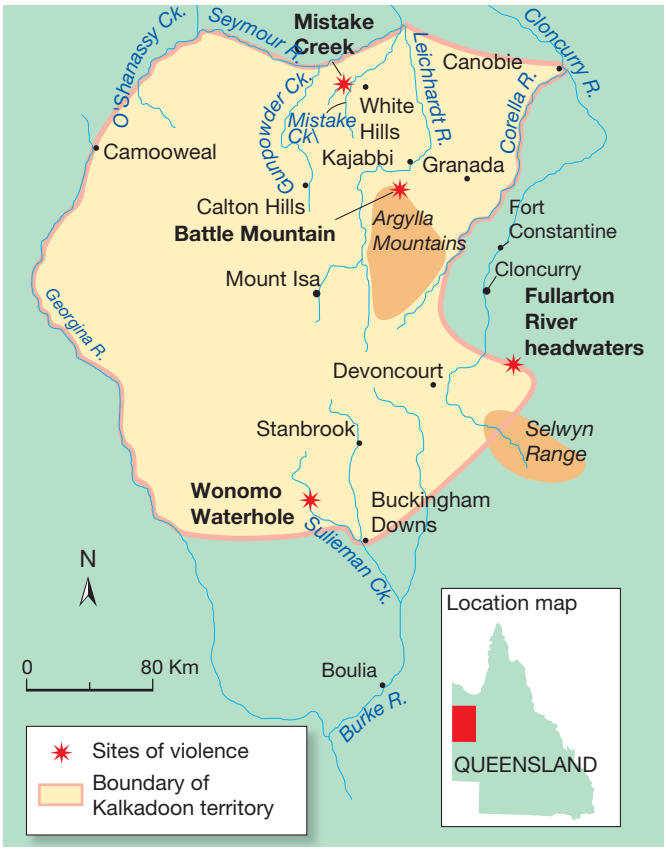
Source 2.27 is a map showing the extent of Kalkadoon territory, the site of pastoral properties established there and the scenes of violence between the Kalkadoons and Europeans.

Source **2.27** Kalkadoon territory



Responding to the map

1. Identify the natural geographic boundaries of Kalkadoon territory.
2. Account for the location of the pastoral properties of Calton Hills, White Hills, Granada, Stanbrook and Buckingham Downs.
3. There were only four perennial (permanent) sources of water in Kalkadoon territory. How may this have affected relationships between the pastoralists and Kalkadoon people?
4. Identify the four sites that were scenes of violence.
5. The Kalkadoon people chose the Argylla mountain ranges to stage their final attack on the Europeans in 1884. (See Battle Mountain site.) Why might they have chosen this site to fight?

SOURCE 2.27 Map showing Kalkadoon territory

Because of the rugged nature of their territory, the Kalkadoon people were one of the last Aboriginal groups in Queensland to come into contact with the Europeans. This contact was to be long and violent. While the Kalkadoon people were not unique in resisting white settlement, historian Geoffrey Bolton, in *A Thousand Miles Away* (1960), maintains that the 10 years of guerrilla warfare waged by the Kalkadoons is possibly the most dramatic example of Aboriginal resurgence and European repression.

Kalkadoon people

What was it about the Kalkadoon people that might have contributed to the length and intensity of the frontier war between themselves and the pastoralists? Here is what has been said about the Kalkadoon people.

Sources **2.28–2.31** Comments on the qualities of the Kalkadoon people

SOURCE 2.28 Raphael Cilento and Clem Lack, 1959

> The Kalkadoons (Kalkadunje) merit more than passing mention – they were the elite of the Aboriginal warriors.

Raphael Cilento and Clem Lack, *Triumph in the Tropics*, 1959, p. 187

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SOURCE 2.29 Hector Holthouse, 1974

> The bravest and best organized fighting men of all the Aboriginal tribes, and one of the hardiest peoples who ever lived.

Hector Holthouse, *Up Rode the Squatter*, 1974, p. 109

SOURCE 2.30 Robert Armstrong, 1980

> The tribe that epitomizes frontier violence most eloquently was the Kalkadoons … Trained for war from childhood, toughened by incredibly savage initiation ceremonies, they had been a terror to their native neighbours.

R.E.M. Armstrong, *The Kalkadoons*, 1980, p. 123

SOURCE 2.31 Al Grassby and Marji Hill, 1988

> The Kalkadoon warriors were tall, muscular men of magnificent physique and endurance, many of whom towered over their European opponents.

Al Grassby and Marji Hill, *Six Australian Battlefields*, 1988, p. 246

Responding to comments on the Kalkadoons

1. What point(s) does each of the four pieces of evidence have in common?
2. What type of evidence would you need to verify these assertions?

Compare the photograph of the young Kalkadoon warriors in Source 2.32 with the assertions from the secondary sources in Sources 2.28–2.31.

Source **2.32** Two young Kalkadoon warriors

SOURCE 2.32 Photograph of two young, unnamed Kalkadoon warriors

Responding to the photograph

1. What impression of Kalkadoon warriors is portrayed in this photograph?
2. Does this photograph support the secondary sources? Explain by referring to specific aspects of the photograph and the secondary sources. What assertions cannot be supported by this photograph?
3. Is there a sense of the 'noble savage' in this photograph? (The 'noble savage' was an ideal of indigenous people of islands and lands around the Pacific Ocean, held by many Europeans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The theory held that Aboriginal people were pure, unspoiled and 'naturally' good, and gained popularity at a time when the detrimental effects of the Industrial Revolution were being felt in Western Europe. For more information, see *The Conversation* (2016) https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10794.) Explain by referring to aspects of the photo.

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Contact and conflict

From the 1860s, the Kalkadoon people came into contact with early European explorers such as Burke and Wills, McKinlay and Landsborough, who all passed peacefully through Kalkadoon territory. In 1864 the first pastoral station was established on the fringes of Kalkadoon land by Edward Palmer. These early pastoralists were not attacked. However, by the late 1870s tensions between the pastoralists and the Kalkadoons had reached boiling point. Robert Armstrong, who made an extensive study in the 1970s of the history of the Kalkadoon people for his Master of Arts thesis, believed that the erupting violence between the settlers and the Kalkadoons was based on one major factor.

Source **2.33** Armstrong on the cause of the violence

SOURCE 2.33 Armstrong explains the cause of the violence between the settlers and the Kalkadoon people

... Friction developed between the settlers and Kalkadoons as a result of cattle encroaching upon the permanent waterholes ... It would not take the Kalkadoon long to discover that the faeces of the cattle and horses had an adverse effect upon their life-giving water. This would have been evident not only in the discolouration of the water, but also in its taste. Stock would have decreased the holding capacity of many of these holes. The Kalkadoon ... would have soon noticed how their immediate habitat was marred not only by the urine and faeces of the stock, but also by their trampling which destroyed the grass with its seeds; bushes with their berries; and small trees with their fruits ... The Kalkadoons discovered that ducks, cranes and diver-birds ... and animals were forced to new breeding areas and watering places. The Kalkadoons found their food resources being depleted; bandicoots, porcupines, pelicans, opossums, kangaroos, wallaroos, emus and turkey-bustards were dwindling in numbers, thus forcing the Kalkadoons into a serious economic position.

R.E.M. Armstrong, *The Kalkadoons*, 1980, p. 124

Responding to Armstrong's explanation

1. What key reason does Armstrong give for the conflict between the settlers and the Kalkadoon people?
2. What questions would you like answered about how Armstrong reached his conclusions about the cause of conflict?
3. Explain what the author might mean when he states that the Kalkadoon people were forced into a 'serious economic position'.
4. What options might have been available to the Kalkadoon people in such a situation?

One option open to the Kalkadoon people was to drive off and kill the settlers' cattle, which they did. One of the settlers greatly affected by the raids was Alexander Kennedy, who eventually occupied 7770 square kilometres of pastoral country from the Kalkadoons. Initially, he took up Buckingham Downs in 1877, Bushy Park in 1880 and Calton Hills in 1881 after he had disposed of his initial property. Armstrong refers to Kennedy as the 'arch dispossessor of the Kalkadoons' (1980:170), while Grassby and Hill compare him to a 'latter-day Genghis Khan' (1988:257). Here is Grassby and Hill's description of Kennedy.

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Source **2.34** Description of Alexander Kennedy

SOURCE 2.34 Alexander Kennedy – arch foe of the Kalkadoons

From the outset Kennedy indulged in no discussion, no negotiation. He took possession of the land and the water, drove off the game and destroyed the natural food supplies. Anyone who attempted to take a share of the cattle that had replaced the native animals faced death by shooting. Sacred sites which had been kept inviolate [unharmed] for centuries were trampled by men and animals alike and those who would worship became trespassers. He seemed to have declared a personal war that at times took on all the marks of a vendetta. 'They're all scorpions, and who wants to be stung with one of those poisonous things,' he [Kennedy] wrote.

Al Grassby and Marji Hill, *Six Australian Battlefields*, 1988, pp. 257–60

Responding to the description of Kennedy

1. What evidence is there that Kennedy was intolerant and dismissive of Aboriginal people?
2. On what basis would the Kalkadoon people have retaliated against Kennedy?
3. Why might Kennedy have compared the Kalkadoon people to scorpions? Think about the characteristics of a scorpion. (You may need to do some quick research on the internet.)
4. In contrast to the description given by Grassby and Hill, Kennedy was considered a local hero and a monument was built in 1937 by the white community in his honour. Can you explain why he may have been hailed as a hero to the white settlers? (You might like to conduct some extra research.)
5. In contrast to the view provided by Grassby and Hill in Source 2.34, Armstrong claims that 'one should not be too critical of Kennedy in his relations with the Kalkadoons. He was, so to speak, in the front line of fire'. What might Armstrong mean by this statement? What do you think of Armstrong's assessment? What other information would you need to judge Kennedy?

The feelings of the Kalkadoon people towards Kennedy are clearly revealed in one of their war songs, which was directed against Kennedy.

Source **2.35** Kalkadoon song of war

SOURCE 2.35 Kalkadoon song of war

We kill Kennedy in the morning,
We kill Kennedy in the morning.
We of the Kalkadoon tribe; have our glory and prowess departed
Our hunting grounds are ravished,
Our water is taken by the cattle,
But bullock is good
Kill and we shall have beef forever!
Kill the white man,
Kill the white man!
Do not our women deride us?
We are many and can conquer the white man's magic.
We kill Kennedy in the morning,
We kill Kennedy in the morning.

Recorded in Hudson Fysh, *Taming the North*, 1950, p. 124

Responding to the song of war

1. What impression does the war song create of Kalkadoon men, Kalkadoon women and white settlers?
2. On what basis did the Kalkadoon people believe they could overcome the white man?

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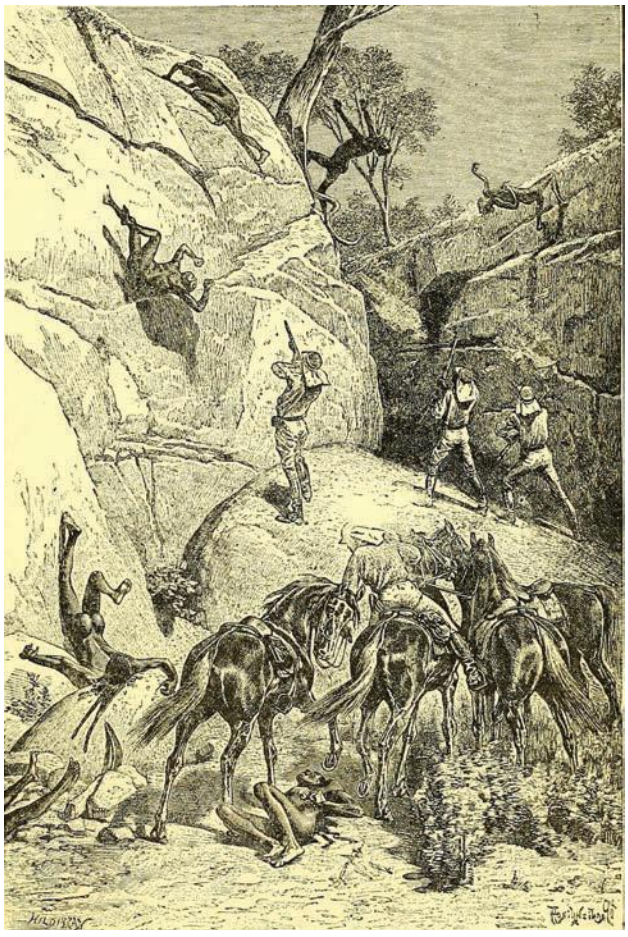
The first pastoralists moved into Kalkadoon territory in 1864. Kennedy was in conflict with the Kalkadoons by the late 1870s. In 1878, the first serious conflict occurred. In that year, a white stockman, Molvo, and his party were killed at the Wonomo waterhole on Sulieman Creek (about 19 kilometres from Kennedy's homestead at Buckingham Downs). Molvo had a mob of cattle at Sulieman Creek, possibly with the intention of occupying land along the banks. This was a favourite camping site of the Kalkadoons. These murders were to be followed by raids on surrounding cattle stations and by a plan by the Kalkadoons to kill the European settlers at Buckingham Downs and Stanbrook stations (see the map in Source 2.27).

A punitive expedition was mounted by the Native Police, under Sub-Inspector Eglington, against the Kalkadoon. Reprisals followed and scores of Kalkadoon people were killed. Robert Benjamin Clarke, in a letter dated 12 August 1901 to the editor of the *Pastoral Frontier*, stated that 300 Kalkadoon people were killed in the reprisals launched by Sub-Inspector Eglington against the Kalkadoon following Molvo's killing in 1878.

Source 2.36 is an 1888 drawing of the Native Police killing Aboriginal people.

Source **2.36** Native Police 'dispersing' Aboriginal people



SOURCE 2.36 1888 drawing entitled *Native Police dispersing the Blacks* by Norwegian scientist Carl Lumholtz

Responding to the image

1. This is both a curious and disturbing image. This is what we know about it. It was drawn by a visiting Norwegian social scientist, Carl Lumholtz, and appeared in an 1889 publication that he wrote, *Among Cannibals*. The title reflects common nineteenth-century European misconceptions and sensationalism about Indigenous peoples. However, Lumholtz's actual writings indicate that he did not believe Aboriginal people were cannibals. Between 1881 and 1883, during his visit to Australia, he had been shown a large number of skulls of Aboriginal people who had been shot by the Native Police several years earlier. He made this sketch after a description was given to him on the spot of a massacre at Skull Hole, near Winton in central Queensland. Based on what we know, how valid is this image as a historical source? Explain.
2. Compare this image by Lumholtz with that of Mahony (Source 2.5), noting one significant similarity and one significant difference.
3. How useful and reliable is this illustration in depicting the actions of the Native Police on the frontier? Provide one judgement for usefulness and one judgement for reliability.
4. The Native Police developed the reputation of being 'callous butchers'. If the details of this sketch were verified, what aspects support the accusation of 'callous butchers'?

From 1879 to 1884, the Kalkadoon people disrupted the pastoralists' supply lines, drove away and killed their cattle, and speared unwary bushmen. According to Dr Noel Loos (1976), the Cloncurry District, together with the Cape York Peninsula, became the most dangerous place in Australia to have a station.

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The situation became so serious that station owner Alexander Kennedy went to Brisbane in 1882 for an interview with the head of the police department, Commissioner D.T. Seymour. Kennedy put forward the viewpoint of the pastoralists. According to history writer Hudson Fysh, Kennedy told Seymour that if the government did not move against the Kalkadoon he would organise his own military force and finish the war himself. In reply, Seymour warned him that if he followed this course of action he would be arrested. Kennedy then apparently left in disgust, but had not gone far before Seymour overtook him and said the following.

Source **2.37** Seymour's reply to Kennedy

SOURCE 2.37 Police Commissioner Seymour's reply to Kennedy's threats

... We shall do what we can to increase the number of police patrols in the bad area; meanwhile, if you have trouble, you know what to do.

Cited in Hudson Fysh, *Taming the North*, 1950, p. 139

Responding to Seymour's reply to Kennedy

1. What might Seymour have meant by 'you know what to do'?
2. How might Kennedy have interpreted this statement?
3. Could Seymour's statement be interpreted as a 'blank cheque' (i.e. an unconditional go-ahead) to wage war against the Kalkadoon people? Explain your response.
4. How might Seymour's statement, made when he chased after Kennedy, have become part of the historical record? Could there be any doubts about its authenticity? Explain your response.

In an effort to control the Kalkadoon people, the Queensland Government stationed Marcus de La Poer Beresford with a detachment of Native Police at Cloncurry. This was to save delays caused by having to call Sub-Inspector Eglington and his troopers from Boulia. On taking up the appointment in 1882, Sub-Inspector Beresford and his Native Police troopers were kept constantly on the move, meeting one situation after another.

On the night of 24 January 1883, Sub-Inspector Beresford and four troopers were camped in a spur of the McKinlay Ranges at the head of the Fullarton River near Farleigh Station. They were attacked by Kalkadoon warriors. Source 2.38 is an account of what happened.

Source **2.38** The murder of Sub-Inspector Beresford

SOURCE 2.38 The murder of Sub-Inspector Beresford, 1883

Beresford and his troopers were out in search of the Kalkadoons who had previously killed a man by the name of Britcher. The party that attacked the Native Police party was rounded up by Beresford the day before he was murdered. The Kalkadoons gave in quietly – too quietly. Beresford 'corralled' them in a gorge with an inefficient guard for the night and, through his interpreter, told them he would decide what to do with them in the morning. If Beresford had known the terrain and the Kalkadoons better, he would have realized that nearly all these gorges had secret caches of weapons. During the night the Kalkadoons armed themselves and attacked the Native Police party. Beresford and his troopers were attacked simultaneously. Sub-Inspector Beresford's skull was smashed in and he was speared through the thigh. One of the troopers was speared and held by a Kalkadoon, but he managed to get his rifle and shoot one of the attackers.

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The remainder disappeared in the bush. The wounded trooper broke off the shaft of the spear and, with the barbed head still in his flesh, staggered twenty miles over the rugged country to give the alarm at Farleigh out-station.

R.E.M. Armstrong, *The Kalkadoons*, 1980, p. 132

Responding to the account of Beresford's murder

1. What errors of judgement did Beresford make that led to his death?
2. How are the Kalkadoon people portrayed in this account?

A punitive expedition was organised by Sub-Inspector Eglington but it was too late. The warriors slipped away into the hills and eluded the party.

Some historians have maintained that the following period was the high-water mark of Kalkadoon resistance. For more than a year after the death of Sub-Inspector Beresford, the Kalkadoon people maintained their resistance against the invasion and occupation of their land. Here's how Armstrong described that period.

Source **2.39** The defiant Kalkadoons

SOURCE 2.39 Armstrong's description of the defiant Kalkadoons

The Kalkadoons drove off cattle and feasted upon them as they pleased. European women rarely ventured out of doors. Squatters and their men moved about the Kalkadoon countryside only in strongly armed groups. In the gorges and hills, and in the patches of forest country the Kalkadoons' rule was undisputed.

Cloncurry had its moments of fear as the news of the notorious Kalkadoons passed around; the townspeople were fearful of an onslaught being made, and they feared that their lives and those of their families were in imminent danger ... Every horse of the Native Mounted Police had been cut out by Kalkadoon raiding parties and either driven into the bush or speared. The native troopers skulked mutinously in their barracks.

R.E.M. Armstrong, *The Kalkadoons*, 1980, p. 132

Responding to Armstrong's description of Kalkadoon defiance

1. What effects did the Kalkadoon people have on the lives of the Europeans?
2. How do you think the Kalkadoon warriors felt about how events were developing?
3. Why might the troopers of the Native Police have 'skulked mutinously in their barracks'?

In response to Kalkadoon resistance, the Queensland Government, under the premiership of Sir Thomas McIlwraith, appointed Sub-Inspector Frederick Urquhart in 1883 to lead operations against the Kalkadoon people. According to Armstrong, 'if Beresford's name symbolizes the triumph of the Kalkadoon, then the name of Urquhart symbolizes the breakdown and destruction of their tribe' (1980:134).

Urquhart, a 25-year-old Englishman and the son of a British Army officer, had arrived in Queensland eight years earlier. The Kalkadoon people were not long in challenging Sub-Inspector Urquhart. In 1884, James White Powell, part-owner with Alexander Kennedy of Calton Hills station, was killed by Kalkadoon warriors at Mistake Creek. Word was conveyed to Sub-Inspector Urquhart. Native Police troopers, together with Kennedy, were soon at the scene. Powell was buried. The party then pursued the Kalkadoon, who were found in a gorge feasting upon Powell's cattle. Numerous Kalkadoon men, women and children were subsequently killed.

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Source 2.40 is a photograph of Sub-Inspector Frederick Urquhart and his troops.

Source **2.40** Urquhart and his Native Police troops

Responding to the photograph

1. What does this photo suggest about one important advantage the Native Police might have had in armed combat with other Aboriginal people?
2. In turn, what skills or knowledge might local Aboriginal people have possessed that gave them an advantage over the Native Police?
3. At the time, what reactions might Aboriginal people have had to seeing this or similar photographs?
4. What might Aboriginal people think about this photo today? Explain your response.

SOURCE 2.40 Photograph of Sub-Inspector Urquhart and Native Police troops

Urquhart may have looked young and inexperienced, but he proved to be fatal to the Kalkadoon people. After the death of Powell, Urquhart and his troopers spent another nine weeks in 'clearing up' operations against the Kalkadoon. Armed squatters, organised into **posses**, worked alongside the Native Police, conducting their own private raids or wars. Armstrong asserts that it 'would not be an exaggeration to say that the whole of Kalkadoon territory was in a state of **guerilla warfare**' (1980:138). The number of Kalkadoon people killed during these punitive expeditions is unknown.

posse a body of armed men summoned to enforce the 'law'

guerilla warfare a form of unconventional warfare in which small armed groups use ambushes, sabotage, raids or hit-and-run tactics in a violent conflict

Battle Mountain

The story of the Kalkadoon people's stand at Battle Mountain, 80 kilometres north-west of Mount Isa, is an extraordinary one. It is one of the few recorded pitched battles between Aboriginal people and Europeans, supported by Native Police.

The immediate prelude to the battle of Battle Mountain came in September 1884 when Kalkadoon warriors raided Hopkins' Granada Station, some 70 kilometres north of Cloncurry, burning an outstation and killing a Chinese shepherd. Hopkins called for a punitive expedition and so began the chain of events that led to the battle.

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In Source 2.41, Armstrong provides an account of this battle.

Source **2.41** Armstrong's 1980 account of the battle

SOURCE 2.41 Armstrong's account of the battle of Battle Mountain, September 1884

The body of men that Urquhart had under his command, pastoralists, station-hands and Native Mounted Police troopers, must have attained in military terms, company strength [i.e. around 100] ...

The warriors assembled themselves into a strong force at the head of Prospector's Creek and took up their position in an excellent defensive position on a boulder-studded hill, which is known to this day as Battle Mountain ... The Kalkadoons were well prepared for the coming eventuality; a large stock of spears and boomerangs was at hand, as well as the weapons in secret caches ...

For the final showdown against Urquhart's punitive expedition, they [Kalkadoons] probably had about 600 warriors assembled on the crags of Battle Mountain. This would have exceeded the number of riflemen in an Australian Infantry Battalion at full strength.

The Kalkadoons had a distinct tactical advantage over their attackers; they were placed in an excellent defensive position on a terrain which was elevated, overlooking the plain below.

Sub-Inspector Urquhart carried out the regulations of the Native Mounted Police to the letter. 'Stand in the Queen's name', he barked. The Kalkadoons replied with an avalanche of rocks. Urquhart and his armed men then advanced up the lower slopes of the hill at the gallop, hoping by a show of force to stampede the Aboriginal defenders from their strong defensive position. The Kalkadoons stood their ground and met the attackers with a hail of spears, yelling their derision. The attack up the hill was too difficult for the horses, and Urquhart's men had to dismount. The attackers opened fire as they advanced slowly up the hillside, but it had little effect in quelling the ardour of the Kalkadoons.

At this stage Sub-Inspector Urquhart nearly lost his life; a huge warrior hurled a great piece of rock-hard antbed which hit Urquhart in his face, and he fell unconscious.

Because Sub-Inspector Urquhart was temporarily immobilised, the attack came to a stop. Dead Aborigines and several severely injured Europeans lay around the hillside ... When ... Urquhart had recovered, he devised new tactics against the defenders.

A flanking movement was tried; some Native Police troopers were sent around to attack the defenders from the opposite side, while Urquhart with his troopers and settlers, pressed on with the main assault. This tactical move was effective. It distracted the defenders who appeared to have difficulty in marshalling themselves against the main assault and flanking movement. Without any apparent warning the Kalkadoon warriors formed ranks like well-trained, disciplined soldiers, and with heavy spears carried before them like lances, advanced in battle formation down the slope of Battle Mountain into fire from the carbines. Under such withering fire the Kalkadoon formation wavered, broke and retreated. After reforming, they advanced again only to be shot down in great numbers. Valorous though it was; spectacular though it was; it was a tactic of battle that led to their destruction. The downhill charge may be equated with the charge of the Light Brigade – brave, but a tactical misjudgement.

R.E.M. Armstrong, *The Kalkadoons*, 1980, pp. 140–4

Responding to Armstrong's account of the battle of Battle Mountain

1. What advantages did the Kalkadoon people have over Urquhart and his armed party?
2. What was the tactical error made by the Kalkadoon warriors according to this account?
3. Why might the Kalkadoons have abandoned their previously effective guerrilla warfare and adopted conventional battle tactics? Does it appear credible that they should take such action?

→

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4. Where, if anywhere, do the author's sympathies lie – with Urquhart, his troopers and settlers or with the Kalkadoons? Provide evidence to support your interpretation.
5. In other parts of the world, the British knew by name the war leaders they were fighting, such as the Zulu leader Chaka and the Māori chief Hone Heke. However, the name of the Kalkadoon leader at Battle Mountain was never recorded. Why might this have been the case?

In 2010, Dr Jonathan Richards, a historian who mainly researches frontier violence and policing in Queensland, especially the Native Police, reassessed the legendary version of the battle at Battle Mountain as presented by Armstrong. He posed the questions: What really happened at Battle Mountain in 1884? Was there really a stand-up military-style battle? Richards concludes that while Armstrong's book is 'well-researched and well-intentioned' it has, 'through exaggeration and error', contributed to misunderstandings in this area's frontier history. He believes that Armstrong's portrayal of the battle at Battle Mountain in modern military terms is 'the most misleading aspect of the whole affair'. His investigation revealed that there was a lack of primary source evidence to support Armstrong's version of this final battle.

Richards points out some key differences between Armstrong's account and what the historical record supports. However, Richards' research raises further questions.

Activity **2.2**

Consider different accounts

In the table below are three key differences between the account provided by Armstrong and the account provided by Richards. Next to each difference are questions arising from those differences.

1. Work with a table partner to discuss and record responses to each question.

Aspect	Questions to consider
Attack on Urquhart: Armstrong gives an account of Urquhart's near-fatal attack, while Richards states that in the historical record Urquhart makes no mention of a near-fatal attack.	Is it possible that Urquhart might have suppressed this incident in his account for personal or promotional reasons?
Number in the posse: Armstrong says the body of men under the command of Urquhart was 'company strength' (i.e. around 100) while Richards, citing Urquhart, says the patrol consisted of two Europeans and six troops.	Might Urquhart have minimised these numbers given that it was against regulations for Native Police officers to allow civilian volunteers to be part of reprisals against Aboriginal people?
Number of Kalkadoon warriors: Armstrong maintains that Urquhart encountered 600 Kalkadoon warriors, while Richards, citing Urquhart, states 150.	Might Urquhart have minimised these numbers in order to minimise casualties, which would have to be reported to the Queensland Parliament?

2. What new research might help to validate the account of either Armstrong or Richards? Do you sense that history is a study in which 'certainty' is often unattainable? If so, how can history be a valuable study? Explain your response.

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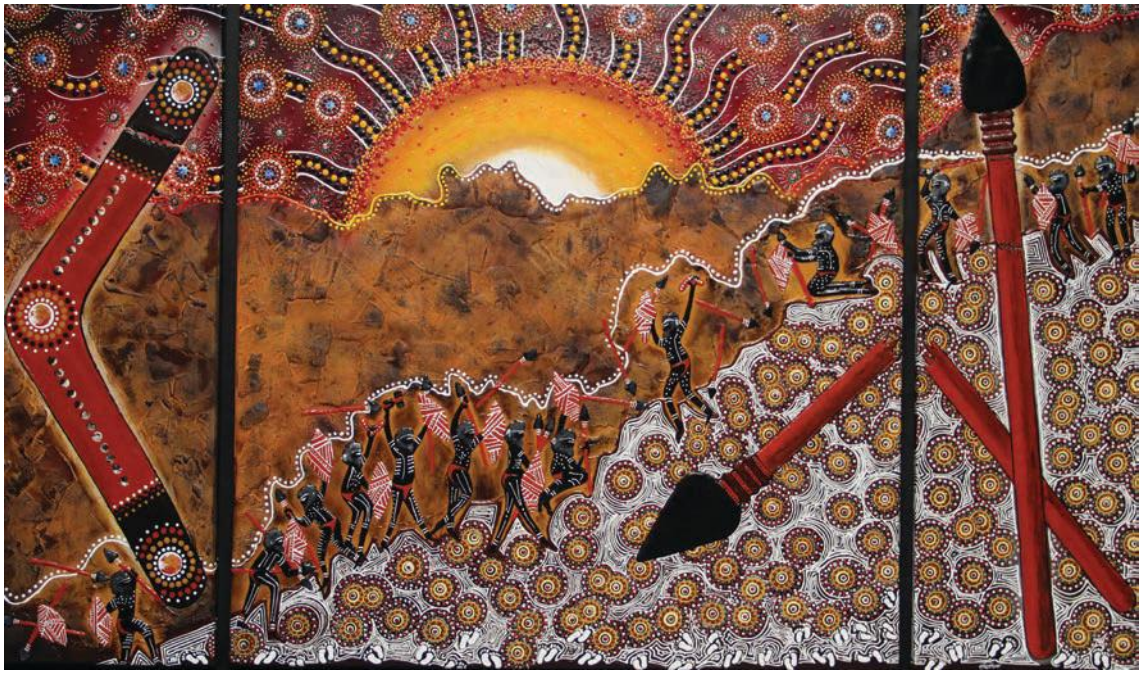
Legacy

In 2013, Kalkadoon woman Chern'ee Sutton painted a depiction of the battle at Battle Mountain.

Source **2.42** *Battle Mountain* by Chern'ee Sutton



SOURCE 2.42 A Kalkadoon woman's portrayal of the battle: *Battle Mountain*, Chern'ee Sutton, 2013

Responding to the artwork

The artwork is full of symbolism in terms of colour, shapes, figures and objects. Having read about the history of the battle at Battle Mountain, how do you interpret this painting? (You can read Chern'ee Sutton's explanation on her website at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/11074.)

Whether the Kalkadoon people mounted a 'last stand' in a conventional military-style battle at Battle Mountain is still subject to historical debate. However, what is not disputed is that Kalkadoon resistance was more prolonged and intense than that of most other Aboriginal groups. While frontier violence over Kalkadoon territory was a major factor in disrupting their traditional lifestyles, disease also played a significant role. In a special memorandum of 8 June 1899, Sergeant Green of Cloncurry reported on the number and condition of the Kalkadoons in an area within a radius of 1.5 kilometres from Cloncurry. Green located only 101 people from the Kalkadoon nation – 50 male, 39 female and 12 children. Despite these challenges, the Kalkadoons never formally ceded their Country, and their resistance continued in new forms on the state government-run reserves that were established in the early 1900s.

The fate of the Kalkadoon people mirrored that of many Aboriginal communities across the state as the Queensland colonial parliament, comprised of settlers, many with pastoral interests, imposed its will. By the 1890s, the migrant population of Queensland had increased 13-fold since Separation in 1859, and the rural population had expanded almost 20-fold. Whereas this incoming society had grown from a handful of convicts and military in 1824 to around 400 000, the Aboriginal population had shrunk to around 25 000 – a decline of approximately 90%. This drastic reduction was due to a combination of disease, starvation, a rapidly falling birth rate and frontier violence (Evans, 2004).

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To acknowledge and honour all Indigenous people who died on the frontier, non-Indigenous Queensland poet Bruce Dawe wrote the poem 'For the Other Fallen'. Here is the poem.

Source **2.43** Bruce Dawe, 'For the Other Fallen'

SOURCE 2.43 'For the Other Fallen' by Bruce Dawe

Bruce Dawe, 'For the Other Fallen'

You fought here for your country,
Where are your monuments?
You resisted the invader as best you knew how,
Where are your songs of those days?

When you were captured you were not prisoners-of-war,
That would have been awkward.
You had the misfortune of occupying 'unoccupied land'.
You had to correct your gross error.

There was a prisoner tradition waiting to be unfolded.
Tales resilient as ironbark.
Your share in them was minimal and negative.
You were rather slow to understand this.

The bush and the stone and the stream.
The tree. The plain.
The special green. The faded calico blue.
They were your last line of resistance.

You fought here for your country.
Where are your monuments?
The difficulties we have in belonging–
these, these are your cenotaph.

Bruce Dawe, 'For the Other Fallen'

Responding to the poem

1. What might Bruce Dawe be referring to when he says, 'You had the misfortune of occupying "unoccupied land"'?
2. What might Dawe be alluding to when he says that 'You had to correct your gross error'?
3. What might be meant in the final sentence, 'The difficulties we have in belonging – these, these are your cenotaph'? (A cenotaph is a monument erected to one buried elsewhere.)
4. Using evidence from the poem, explain where Bruce Dawe's sympathies lie.
5. Should First Nations people who fought for their land be acknowledged by some type of monument or memorial? Explain your answer.

In 1984, marking the centenary of the battle of Battle Mountain, a memorial was unveiled to honour the Kalkadoon warriors who had died in battle. The words inscribed on the monument read: 'The spirit of the Kalkatungu tribe never died in battle; but remains intact and alive today within the Kalkadoon tribal council.'

In 2007, Australian historian Peter Read noted in an article entitled 'The Truth That will Set Us All Free': An Uncertain History of Memorials to Indigenous Australians' that this Kalkadoon monument had been dynamited several times in the previous 20 years.

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What conclusions might you draw from 1) the initial erection of a memorial to Kalkadoon warriors and 2) its subsequent vandalism?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

How did Kalkadoon people respond to European encroachment on their territory in north-west Queensland in the 1870s and 1880s?

1. Construct a timeline

Construct a timeline of key events and developments that records the contact and escalating violence between the Europeans and Kalkadoon people from the 1860s (when first contact was made by explorers) to September 1884 (battle of Battle Mountain). Key dates include: 1864, late 1870s, 1878, 1879 to early 1880s, 1882, 1883 and 1884 (July and September).

2. Review the evidence

In Source 2.33, Armstrong claims there was one major reason for the violence that broke out between the pastoralists and Kalkadoon people. Copy and complete the following table, reviewing the four sources identified and recording what other reasons contributed to this outbreak of violence. The first source has been completed for you.

Source	Reasons for the outbreak of violence between the Kalkadoons and the pastoralists
2.27 (map)	Pastoralists moved permanently into Kalkadoon territory and established their runs near key water sources. Pastoralists and Kalkadoon people had to compete for scarce resources on Aboriginal land.
2.33	
2.34	
2.35	

3. Compare the reasons

Now compare the reasons given in each of the sources. What reason(s) emerge as the most common? Can you think of any other reasons not mentioned in these sources? Explain what you think are the major reasons for the conflict between the pastoralists and the Kalkadoon people.

4. Select the best sources of evidence

From the sources in this section, select the one(s) that provide the best evidence to support the following points.

Points made in this section	Source(s) of evidence for that point
1. The European settlers did not acknowledge the rights of the Kalkadoon people to their land.	
2. The Kalkadoon warriors displayed considerable military and strategic skills.	
3. There has been recognition of the history of Kalkadoon resistance.	

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SUB-QUESTION 5: What do historians say about the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in colonial Queensland?

The most contentious issue related to frontier violence in Queensland, and indeed Australia, is whether or not genocide took place. This is an important issue because of the gravity of such a charge.

Before examining the question of genocide in Queensland, you first need to understand what genocide is.

The term 'genocide' was coined in 1944 and enshrined in international law by the United Nations four years later with the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (1948). Article II of the Convention defines genocide as:

SOURCE 2.44 A definition of genocide

> **... any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another.**
>
> United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (1948), Article II

There are two elements to the crime of genocide: 1) the *motive element*, meaning the 'intent to destroy, in whole or in part' and 2) the *action element*, which includes the five techniques of destruction as outlined in Source 2.44 (note that killing is just one of the five). A crime must include *both* elements to be classed as genocide.

In his 2008 work *The Secret War: A True History of Queensland's Native Police* historian Jonathan Richards argues that in common use, for genocide to have taken place, it must have been an intentional action by government, but when Aboriginal people were murdered in Queensland, and their land taken, this was not in response to an official government policy. However, he points out that there were parliamentary discussions in response to newspaper stories criticising the violence, and thus the government was aware of, and so complicit in, the violence. He argues that from a moral perspective, the governments in Queensland showed a complete lack of regard for the lives of First Nations people.

SOURCE 2.45 Raymond Evans synthesises the research of others to support his view, 2004

> **In his book, *An Indelible Stain* (2001), Reynolds asks, 'Was Queensland guilty of genocide?' and answers, 'There is certainly much evidence available for retrospective prosecution.' He does not move towards so forceful a conclusion in the case of other colonies. Similarly, [anthropologist] Pamela Lukin Watson concludes, based upon her study of the Channel Country: 'The kill ratio was higher in Queensland than elsewhere.' [Social historian] Lorna McDonald and [Dr] Gordon Reid, investigating Central Queensland arrive at similar findings. By 1870, McDonald contends, 'Central Queensland pioneering warfare had exceeded in ferocity' all other mainland regions. Reid believes that the Europeans' 'terrible revenge' after Hornet Bank and Cullin-La-Ringo was of 'a scale bordering on genocide.' 'Dispersal and killing,' he writes, was 'the established method... The killing continued until long after there was a need for it; and the hatred of blacks remained long after the killing had stopped.'**

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Younger historians such a A. Dirk Moses and Alison Palmer, who bring the theoretical apparatus of genocide studies to bear on the subject, are less tentative. Moses views Queensland's frontier as 'the purest incarnation of the colonization project,' because the Queensland government was the most open to implementing policies desired by settlers, and the least restrained by London...Palmer, in her recent comparative history, Colonial Genocide, agrees that 'the role of the Queensland Government was crucial. It actively condoned the ongoing slaughter,' she writes, 'and made no attempt to bring it to an end.' Instead it 'entertained a general, implicit policy to aid and encourage the destruction.' Such devastation was 'societal-led,' as indicated by a wide range of private statements and actions to 'exterminate' indigenes, augmented by the native Mounted Police Corps that, by and large, functions as 'a death squad aimed at eradicating Aborigines.' Cumulatively, 'recurrent, piecemeal massacres' culminated in 'large-scale decimation,' and that is what the settlers and the state both wanted.

Raymond Evans, 'Plenty Shoot 'Em': The Destruction of Aboriginal Societies along the Queensland Frontier. In A.D. Moses (Ed.). *Genocide and Settler Society*, 2004, pp. 160–1

SOURCE 2.46 Henry Reynolds, 2013

The evidence is copious and convincing. For many years the Queensland government funded and administered a force [Native Mounted Police] that shot Aborigines in large numbers. The process was well known. The intention was clear. Politicians urged extermination. Was it then a case of genocide? In explaining their brutal attitudes, Queenslanders in all walks of life insisted that they were engaged in a legitimate war with the Aboriginal tribes and that it was a case of kill or be killed. Their violence was more utilitarian [practical] than ideological. They commonly referred to the prevalence of war in other parts of the world and insisted that Aborigines were shot not because of who they were but because they were the enemy; that when they admitted defeat and accepted settler domination, the Native Police moved on and the officially sanctioned killing came to an end. And this is what more or less happened everywhere. The same picture is true of settler violence ... They may have intended to kill all the Aborigines they could find and were probably responsible for the virtual disappearance of certain local bands, but in much of Queensland ... there was a particularly powerful restraint on murderous private ventures. The sheep-and cattlemen had a desperate need for Aboriginal labour ... There is another distinctive problem in attempting to apply the provisions of the Genocide Convention to Australia ... There are good reasons to consider all Aborigines as members of a single racial group distinctive from any other people ... But if that is the group to be considered it would be very hard to find any settlers whose murderous hostility reached beyond their own district or even their own colony ...

Henry Reynolds, *Forgotten War*, 2013, pp. 153–5

SOURCE 2.47 A. Dirk Moses, 2008

The usual objection to the genocide concept is a historicist one: Australian colonial history should not be analysed with twentieth-century concepts. Terms such as genocide may be useful to pursue political justice, but historical scholarship has other aims. The discipline of history approaches the past on its own complex, nuanced terms rather than deploying morally-driven interpretations in the present. Conflating these

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two types of enquiry is not only to engage in anachronism but also to employ a 'blunt instrument' that distorts 'historical understanding'. What is more, historians wonder whether the genocide concept revives what they regard as the one-dimensional race and frontier conflict research paradigm of the 1970s, with its Eurocentrism and patronizing attitude toward the Aboriginal victims of British colonialism … For all that, the genocide concept is not as removed from the sources as colonial historians may think; if contemporaries did not use that word, they regularly referred to approximate synonyms, such as destruction, extermination and extirpation as well as associated terms like extinction … Despite the prevalence of such as 'genocidal consciousness' very few historians make the destruction of peoples the animating question of their research, and fewer still claim that genocide was integral to Australian history. Together, their number can be counted on less than two hands, a paltry figure in view of the hundreds of professional historians in Australia. Overseas historians have been more inclined to focus on genocide, particularly in relation to Tasmania, which is routinely counted among the more significant genocides in the world … Some writers who are not professional historians have followed suit … On the whole, however, historians, whatever their political stripe, have been wary of the genocide term because they think it flattens out the complexities of the past by implying 'an apparently unitary mode to British colonization'.

A. Dirk Moses, 'Moving the Genocide Debate Beyond the History Wars', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 54(2), 2008, pp. 248–70

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

What do historians say about the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in colonial Queensland?

1. Respond to the historical interpretations

Copy and complete the following table, summarising the four historians' arguments that are for and against the genocide thesis.

Source	Arguments for the 'genocide thesis'	Arguments against the 'genocide thesis'
Raymond Evans, 2004		
Jonathan Richards, 2008		
Henry Reynolds, 2013		
A. Dirk Moses, 2008		

2. Stage a round table discussion on genocide

Using the United Nations definition, the key arguments advanced by the historians and your wider knowledge, discuss the question: *did genocide occur in the Queensland colonial frontier conflict?* If so, who would the guilty parties be?

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Depth study: Summing up

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: What was the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in colonial Queensland from the 1840s to the 1880s?

1. Create a table like the one below, and in a small group complete each aspect for one of the three Frontier Wars case studies.
2. Share your group's summary with the rest of the class, using an electronic application such as Google Docs or the collaborative space on One Note.

Frontier Wars case study	Time/place	Key players (individuals and/or groups)	Cause(s) of the violence (towards both Aboriginal people and white settlers)	Key events and developments	Effects/ outcomes
Dundalli					
Hornet Bank					
Kalkadoon					

3. When all groups have shared their summaries, identify the key similarities and differences between the three case studies.
4. What might have been done differently in each of the case studies to avert violence?
5. From your summary of each conflict (and your wider knowledge), how might you characterise frontier conflict in Queensland? Was it genocide?
6. Creating a historical argument: Synthesise evidence from this chapter to write an essay in response to the following question: *To what extent did genocide take place in colonial Queensland from the 1840s to the 1880s?* In this essay you will need to:
   a. *Identify* relevant evidence from the sources and narrative text that links to the question.
   b. *Group* and *classify* this evidence. What evidence supports the claim of genocide? What evidence refutes it? What evidence suggests something else?
   c. *Formulate an argument* that reflects the weight of evidence. When mounting a sophisticated argument in history, you need to acknowledge different perspectives. This means it's important that you don't silence evidence contrary to your main argument. Building complexity into your hypothesis will ensure a sophisticated response.
   d. *Combine the evidence* to create a coherent response. When you combine evidence, look for points of similarity and corroboration (*x* confirms/supports/also states that …) and points of differences and contrast (unlike *x*, *y* maintains …; in contrast to *x*, *y* states …).

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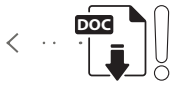
CONCLUDING STUDY

Memory, remembrance and commemoration

Significance at the time

As you know, frontier conflict in Queensland was the most violent and protracted of all the Australian colonies. While the exact numbers can never be fully known, it is still worth asking the question: Why were the Frontier Wars in Queensland bloodier and more drawn-out than in other Australian colonies? An exploration of this question is available in the Interactive Textbook.



ACTIVITY 2.3
Rank reasons for the proliferation of Queensland frontier violence

Legacy – significance for today

The Australian War Memorial and the Frontier Wars

For 45 years, there have been calls for the Australian War Memorial in Canberra to commemorate the Frontier Wars. The first proposal came in 1979 from conservative historian Geoffrey Blainey. It has since been repeated by commentators and scholars alike, including Dr Peter Stanley during his time as the principal historian at the War Memorial, and a former army chief of staff, Lieutenant-General John Coates. However, it was not until the appointment of Kim Beazley in 2022 as Chair of the Australian War Memorial that there appeared to be a major shift in the institution's attitude to the Frontier Wars. Beazley claimed that it was 'enormously important' to provide significant coverage of the conflict between settler and Indigenous people in the $550 million renovation of the war memorial. He maintained that, 'We must give the Aboriginal population the dignity of resistance'.

Source 2.48 is one cartoonist's vision of what an acknowledgement of the Frontier Wars might look like.

SOURCE 2.48 Aboriginal commemoration by Chris Johnston, published in *Eureka Street*, 21 April 2013

What is Chris Johnston suggesting in his image? What might be the significance of the dates for the Aboriginal memorial? What is the significance of the dates on the soldier's memorial? How might different people react to this proposal? Consider the view of an Aboriginal person, a veteran soldier from a recent overseas war, the Australian Government and the general public. What is your own reaction or view?

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While a change of attitude to the acknowledgement of the Frontier Wars appears closer, there still remains resistance from conservative quarters, which argues that the armed conflict between Aboriginal people and settlers did not constitute 'war' and, even if it did, the Australian War Memorial remit is exclusively confined to overseas wars.

Reynolds advances a compelling argument as to why the Frontier Wars need to be acknowledged in the final paragraph of his book *Forgotten War* (2013).

SOURCE 2.49 Henry Reynolds on why the Frontier Wars need to be acknowledged

The matter of the frontier wars will not go away. They will never again be forgotten as they were by white Australia for much of the 20th century. But what are we to do about them? What are we to do with the Aboriginal dead? Are they to remain, as they always have been, a central motif of a separate and bitter black history of suffering and loss? If that is what happens we can scarcely pretend we are fellow members of one nation. If we continue to have two quite different stories about the past our paths will never converge. A critical question is whether the Aboriginal dead will ever be admitted to the sacred centre of white Australian nationalism, the Australian War Memorial. If they are excluded in death from the pantheon they are excluded from the nation. That is surely axiomatic [self-evident].

Henry Reynolds, *Forgotten War*, 2013, pp. 236–7

Activity **2.4**

Take a position in a four-corner debate related to the commemoration of the Frontier Wars

Label each corner of your classroom with one of the following positions: 'Agree', 'Strongly agree', 'Disagree' and 'Strongly disagree'. Then take a position on the following statement in a class debate:

- The Australian War Memorial in Canberra, our great shrine to Australians' participation in wars between nation states and empires, should incorporate in a substantive way the Frontier Wars between First Nations people and settlers during the colonisation of Australia.

The debate begins with you moving to the part of the room that best reflects your position. If you are unsure, remain in the middle. As the debate proceeds, you are able to move position in keeping with how your views are being shaped by the debate.

To equip you with arguments on both sides, consult the online article by journalist Cameron Stewart (2022), 'War Memorial Caught in the Crossfire', accessible via the link at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10522.

Activity **2.5**

Hold a discussion about the role of the historian

In Source 2.49, Reynolds addresses the moral dimension of Australia's history by presenting a stark moral and political choice: if Australia doesn't acknowledge and commemorate the Aboriginal dead, reconciliation and unity between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people cannot be achieved. He makes it clear that he has a strong political commitment to changing the present.

Discuss:

- After their rigorous study of a contentious topic, is it appropriate for historians to express moral judgements and propose solutions?

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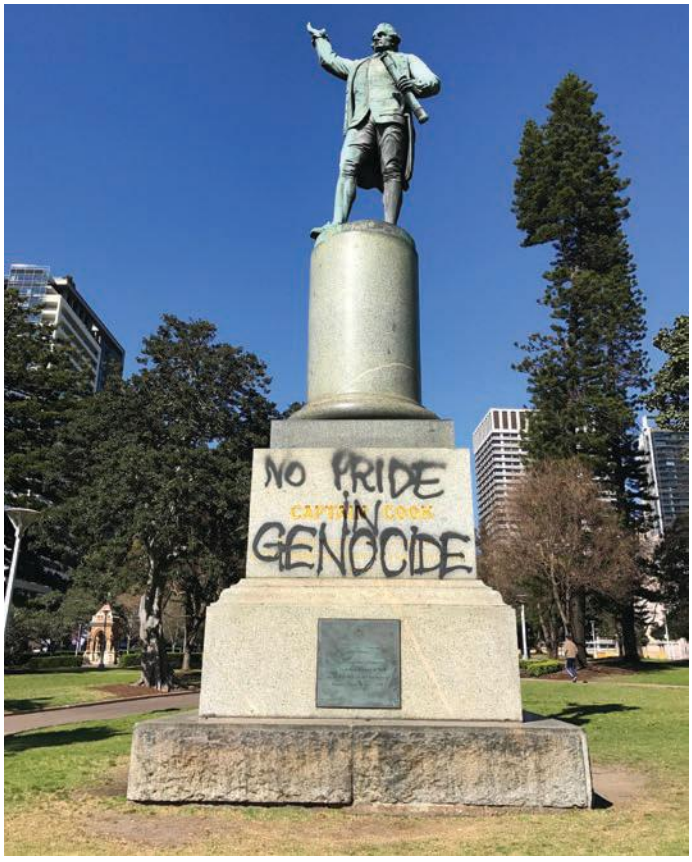
Dealing with the past

In recent years, there has emerged a debate around the legitimacy of certain monuments and statues of historical figures who are deemed controversial. Should they be allowed to remain or should they be taken down? This debate isn't just confined to the halls of academia but has also taken to the streets. In 2017, in the city of Charlottesville in Virginia, United States, a protest erupted over the proposal to take down a statue of Civil War Confederate General Robert E. Lee. The protest led to a riot and the death of a young woman.

The Charlottesville incident ignited a debate in Australia about our monuments and how they represent our past.

Some people took to defacing statues of Captain James Cook and Governor Lachlan Macquarie. Here is what was done to the statue of James Cook in Hyde Park, Sydney.

Source **2.50** Defaced statue of James Cook



SOURCE 2.50 Defaced statue of James Cook in Hyde Park, Sydney, 26 August 2017

Responding to the photograph of the defacement of Cook's statue

1. Why would a person think it appropriate to paint 'No pride in genocide' on a statue of Cook?
2. Why is the inscription 'Discovered this territory 1770' on the plinth considered contentious?
3. What do you think of the protester's message?
4. Is it ever justifiable to graffiti particular monuments in this way?
5. Discuss: What, if anything, should be done about monuments that misrepresent the past, marginalise groups within society or commemorate people responsible for misdeeds?

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Local memorials

While the Australian War Memorial has been slow to consider the possibility of acknowledging the Frontier Wars, local memorials have led the way. You can find a list on the 'Monuments Australia' website.

A monument in Fremantle, Western Australia, provides a possible answer to question 5 in Source 2.50. The Explorers' Monument has now become 'a symbol of dialogue and reconciliation', according to Bruce Scates (2017), Professor of History at the Australian National University. To understand what he means, study the inscriptions in Sources 2.51 and 2.52.

The Fremantle Explorers' Monument

Sources **2.51–2.53** Fremantle Explorers' Monument

SOURCE 2.51 Front inscription on the Fremantle Explorers' Monument, 1913

THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY

C. J. BROCKMAN

AS A FELLOW BUSH WANDERER'S TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF

PANTER, HARDING AND GOLDWYER

EARLIEST EXPLORERS AFTER GREY AND GREGORY OF THIS

'TERRA INCOGNITA', ATTACKED AT NIGHT BY TREACHOROUS NATIVES

WERE MURDERED AT BOOLE BOOLA NEAR LE GRANGE BAY

ON THE 13 NOVEMBER 1864.

ALSO AS AN APPRECIATIVE TOKEN OF REMEMBRANCE OF

MAITLAND BROWN

ONE OF THE PIONEER PASTORALISTS AND PREMIER POLITICIANS OF THIS

STATE, INTREPID LEADER OF THE GOVERNMENT SEARCH AND PUNITIVE

PARTY. HIS REMAINS TOGETHER WITH THE SAD RELICS OF THE ILL

FATED THREE RECOVERED AT GREAT RISK AND DANGER FROM LONE

WILDS REPOSE UNDER A PUBLIC MONUMENT IN THE EAST PERTH CEMETERY

'LEST WE FORGET'

In 1994, a plaque was added to the monument, directly below the original inscription.

SOURCE 2.52 Plaque mounted on the Explorers' Monument in 1994

THIS PLAQUE WAS ERECTED BY PEOPLE WHO FOUND THE MONUMENT BEFORE YOU OFFENSIVE.

THE MONUMENT DESCRIBED THE EVENTS AT LA GRANGE FROM ONE PERSPECTIVE ONLY:

THE VIEWPOINT OF THE WHITE 'SETTLERS'.

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NO MENTION IS MADE OF THE RIGHT OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE TO DEFEND THEIR LAND OR OF THE HISTORY OF PROVOCATION WHICH LED TO THE EXPLORERS' DEATHS.

THE 'PUNITIVE PARTY' MENTIONED HERE ENDED IN THE DEATHS OF SOMEWHERE AROUND TWENTY ABORIGINAL PEOPLE. THE WHITES WERE WELL-ARMED AND EQUIPPED AND NONE OF THEIR PARTY WAS KILLED OR WOUNDED.

THIS PLAQUE IS IN MEMORY OF THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE KILLED AT LA GRANGE. IT ALSO COMMEMORATES ALL OTHER ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WHO DIED DURING THE INVASION OF THEIR COUNTRY.

LEST WE FORGET. MAPA JARRIYA-NYALAKU.

SOURCE 2.53 Photograph of the Fremantle Explorers' Monument

Responding to the inscription and plaque on the Fremantle Explorers' Monument

1. Who might have been responsible for writing and erecting the 1994 plaque?
2. What aspects of the original inscription would have been offensive to these people?
3. Why might it have been decided to position the plaque directly under the inscription?
4. Imagine you have been commissioned to create a new plaque to replace both the others. What words would you use to reflect both perspectives?
5. As a history student, do you think it would be appropriate to remove the two plaques and commission a single replacement?

The altered Fremantle Explorers' monument highlights the importance of truth-telling by urging us to critically examine whose history is being told and for what purpose. This approach is crucial for building a more inclusive and honest narrative of Australia's history in terms of Indigenous people and the impacts of colonisation. A history that embraces truth-telling and recognises past wrongs will work towards justice, healing and reconciliation.

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Chapter 3

FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789–1799 (DIGITAL)

Aspect: The survival of revolutionary ideals

SUSAN DU RAND

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Chapter 4

MEIJI RESTORATION, 1868–1912

Aspect: The Meiji modernisation of Japan

RYAN SLAVIN

It's the autumn of 1907. Sakanoue Aki wakes before the sun to the groans of the hungry women in the silk factory around her. She is in her first year at the factory – an example of a rapidly modernising Japan – and Aki won't be paid until her second year begins. The calls to the factory floor begin as the lamps are lit. Her feet ache – working from dawn until ten o'clock every night in this silk factory with only a sweet potato for dinner is hardly the life she imagined for herself.

Aki considers the collective good of modernising Japan and feels a slight reprieve from the hunger, knowing that she is playing her part in it. Little does she know that the poor conditions in this factory will one day cause her a fatal illness that ultimately, at the age of just 13, will rob her of her life.

SOURCE 4.1 A Japanese girl getting ready for the day using a 'smart mirror' that displays various information. It features internet, Bluetooth and wi-fi connectivity, among other functionalities.

What do you think are the benefits and concerns that reliance on high technology such as this might raise?

Over a century later, on Monday morning, 8 April 2024, in Japan's capital city Tokyo, 13-year-old Yume Kuwahara* wakes early to the alarm on her watch. The algorithm on Yume's watch swiftly measures her biometric data as she stirs in bed, and her phone automatically starts playing the 'perfect' track to match her mood. As she hops out of bed, her watch automatically adjusts the lights in the room to reflect her mood. Yume's social media feeds immediately present her with nutritious options to eat a breakfast specific to what her body needs most.

After breakfast, her phone suggests three transport options for the morning based on whether she chooses the bus, the train or rides her bike to school. The artificial intelligence considers all of Yume's personal data: daily schedule, specific exercise history and needs, current mood, current traffic conditions and her family's commitments according to a shared Google calendar, among other data. Amazingly, Yume's day in modern Japan has begun using more technology in 10 minutes than Sakanoue Aki used collectively over a century earlier throughout her entire life.

* Yume Kuwahara is a fictional character devised for this opening story

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Japan: The background to modernisation

The Japan we know today is a modern, technologically advanced, democratic nation that welcomes people to its shores from all over the world and shares its technological advances globally. However, it has not always been this way. You might be surprised to learn that, prior to modernisation, Japan was sceptical about foreign technology, fiercely private (isolating itself from the international community) and opposed to Western ideas such as global trade, democracy and freedom of speech. This contextual study will take you back to that very different Japan, a time of rigid social structure and reverence for a divine emperor, where the rule of law was often imposed by the razor-sharp blade of a sword!

What was life like in Japan before modernisation?

Would you like to live in a society where your future was predetermined or fixed? What if you had little opportunity to choose or change where and how you live, your work/career and with whom you associate? This was the reality for most Japanese living under a **feudal system** (and for most people throughout the world in early modern times), which first emerged in the eleventh century. At this time, Japan was a fragmented collection of *han*, or fiefdoms, all of which acted with self-interest and without any sense of national identity.

feudal system a hierarchical social, political and economic system in which people were given land and protection by people of higher rank in exchange for labour and/or military services

Confucianism an ancient Chinese belief system concerned with inner virtue, morality and respect for the community and its values

How was feudal Japan ordered?

In feudal Japan (1185–1868 CE), the emperor was the divine sovereign. However, from the Heian period in 794 CE to the Meiji Restoration in 1868 CE, society was ordered strictly in accordance with **Confucian** beliefs and much of the emperor's power rested in the hands of his military commander under the title 'shogun'. The shogun came from the strongest of regional warlord clans or families. He and his close advisers became known as the *bakufu*, or the 'tent government'. The shogun represented the centralised military power of the emperor. He ruled hereditarily. Often, he governed as regent in place of a very young or weak emperor. Importantly, he aimed to stifle civil war among rival warlords.

Regional power was vested in the local warlords known as *daimyo*. *Daimyo* headed powerful family clans and controlled tracts of land worked by the clan's peasant class of farmers and fishers. The peasant class made up 90% of the total population at this time. The most powerful *daimyo* were those who controlled the largest parcels of land. They gained much of their income from levying taxes on the cultivation of that land. Taxes were traditionally paid in the currency of the time: rice. By the seventeenth century CE that had changed, however, and the almost 200 *daimyo* of Japan received their taxes in the form of money.

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Despite only making up 5% of the population, security of the *han* was determined by the strength of the samurai. The samurai were a class of male warriors in the service of the *daimyo*, under the watchful eye of the shogun, trained to protect their warlord and the peasants belonging to the clan.

SOURCE 4.2 A katana is a samurai sword. Feudal military experts say it is the perfect weapon. What features of the sword might make it 'perfect' for its purpose?

The samurai class was the only class permitted to carry swords. The samurai were also literate, highly skilled in weaponry and versed in the philosophy of *bushido*, 'the way of the warrior'. This was a strict code of ethics and discipline, similar to the European notion of 'chivalry'. It governed the appropriate behaviour samurai were expected to demonstrate at all times.

Merchants were situated towards the bottom of Japan's rigid Confucian-based social hierarchy. (Only the *eta*, or outcasts, were beneath them, because they worked in occupations associated with death, such as leather-tanning and butchery.) As in China, merchants were seen as parasitic and not regarded as contributing to society, and as a result they were given little respect. Above the merchants and artisans were peasants who were valued for their food production; rice was crucial to Japan as the staple food and, at times, the unit of currency. In return for protection, samurai collected taxes from the people on behalf of their *daimyo*, and received the benefit of peasant labour.

Find out how similar or different *bushido* is to Western ideas of chivalry.

Do you think modern Australians value people based on the jobs they hold?

? You might be surprised to learn that the samurai tradition lives on in Australia today. Michiharu Mori lives in Brisbane and devotes his life to *bushido/budo* (the martial way). Locate information online to decide whether Michiharu Mori could in fact be classed as a modern-day samurai.

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Activity **4.1**

Represent feudal Japanese society

1. Use the information on the previous pages and your own research to represent feudal Japanese society in a hierarchical diagram (pyramid, concentric circles or other) showing:
   - differing social classes
   - their relative importance
   - their relative size
   - any significant relationships between classes.
2. Analyse your diagram. What does it show or suggest about what was valued or prized in Japanese feudal society and what was deemed of little value?
3. Discuss as a class:
   - **a.** Why might historians find it useful to represent societies in this way?
   - **b.** Would you like to live in a society where your future was provided for or predetermined, and little opportunity existed to change your social status?
   - **c.** What might be the advantages and disadvantages of this predetermination?
   - **d.** Do you think the roles of the military, merchants, artisans and farmers in modern Australia are valued differently from those in feudal Japan? Explain your response.

In completing this section, you probably noted that feudal Japan was rigidly ordered and strictly hierarchical. All people knew their place and what was expected of them. In the next section, you'll learn that much of this was about to change dramatically.

How did the Tokugawa Shogunate change Japan?

In October 1600, a 100-year period of civil war (Sengoku period) finally came to an end at the Battle of Sekigahara, Japan's largest ever gathering of samurai in battle. After a decisive victory, General Tokugawa Ieyasu gained military control of Japan and unified all *daimyo* under him. In 1603, as a reward, Tokugawa Ieyasu was made shogun by the emperor. As enduring unifiers, the Tokugawa family provided a line of shogun for the next 250 years. The Tokugawa Shogunate, also known as the Edo period, would be the longest experience of peace in Japan's feudal history.

During the Tokugawa Shogunate, the emperor remained in his imperial palace in Kyoto, but the Tokugawa *bakufu* relocated its bureaucracy to Edo, modern-day Tokyo. The shogun and his direct followers controlled one-quarter of the land, while the remainder was divided into about 250 domains, each ruled by a *daimyo*. Not all *daimyo* supported the Tokugawa *bakufu*, even though it had brought peace to Japan. The *daimyo* opposed to Tokugawa rule were called *tozama daimyo* (outside *daimyo*) and were always treated with suspicion by the Tokugawa government. *Fudai daimyo* were trusted clans who were hereditary **vassals** of the Tokugawa in Edo-period Japan. It was primarily the *fudai* who filled the ranks of the Tokugawa administration.

vassal in feudal society, a man who gave military service to a lord, in return for which he was protected by the lord and received land to live on

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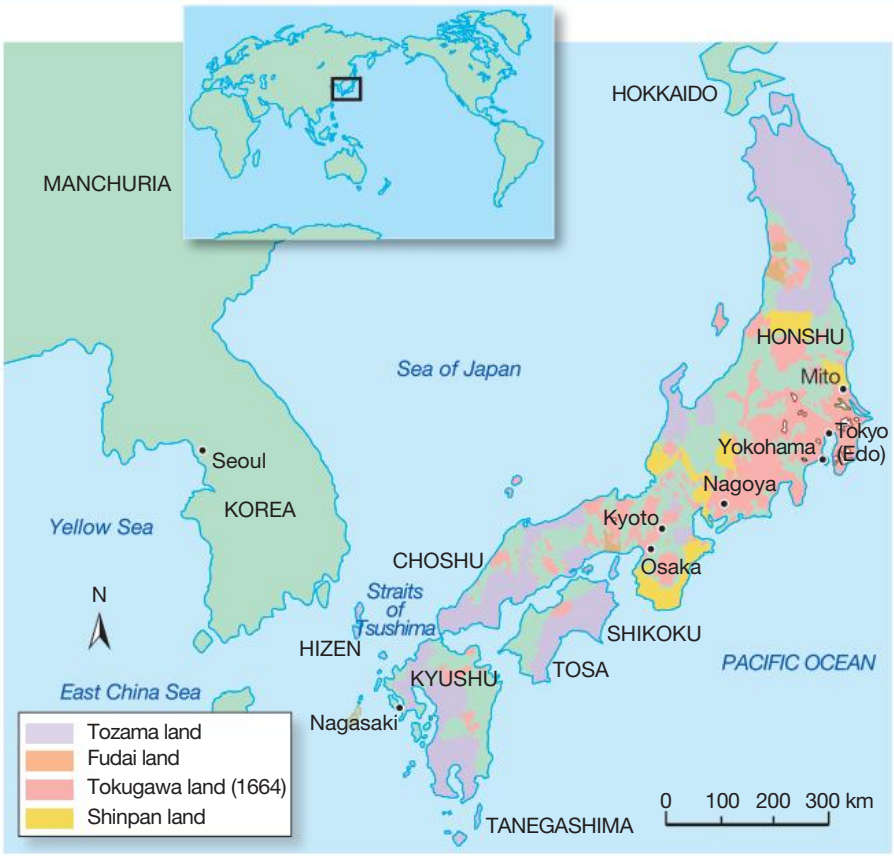
Source **4.3** Map of domains in Tokugawa Japan



SOURCE 4.3 Domains in Tokugawa Japan

Responding to the map

1. Look at the map in Source 4.3. Is it likely (implicitly) that governing Japan from Edo was difficult for the Tokugawa *bakufu*? Explain why.
2. Considering what you have learned so far and your answer to question 1, in small groups discuss and develop four or five methods by which you would govern Japan, maintain peace and avoid a challenge to your government.
3. Historically, the Japanese have always been fierce defenders of their independence and racial purity. How might the geographical location of Japan have influenced these attitudes?

To prevent uprisings against their rule and to reinforce their power, the Tokugawa *bakufu* implemented a series of policies:

1. The emperor was made to live in relative isolation in Kyoto to avoid rallying the support of the *daimyo* against the Tokugawa government.
2. Marriages had to be approved by the shogun in order to prevent strategic alliances forming between *daimyo* against the Tokugawa.
3. A system of *sankin kotai* (alternative attendance or residence) was introduced: each *daimyo* was required to spend part of each year in Edo at their clan's expense. *Daimyo* were expected to bring large processions of samurai with them. The policy was designed to keep unruly *tozama* domains financially burdened, under control and unable to mount a challenge to Tokugawa rule.
4. *Daimyo* were made to leave family members in Edo as hostages.

You might imagine the hostility to the *bakufu* felt by the *tozama* clans over these policies.

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xenophobic having or showing a dislike of or prejudice against people from other countries

sakoku literally 'lock up of country' or 'closed country'. The foreign policy of Japan between 1633 and 1868 under which no foreigner or Japanese could enter or leave the country on penalty of death.

Shinto (literally 'the way of the gods') a polytheistic belief system that is native to Japan and predates historical records. Its practices, attitudes and institutions revolve around the Japanese land and seasons and their divine relationship with the human inhabitants.

Why was Japan 'closed' to the outside world and opposed to foreign influences?

Between 1633 and 1639, the Tokugawa government expressed its fear of growing European influence through strict **xenophobic** laws known as ***sakoku***, or closed-country policy. These forbade all Japanese to travel abroad and prevented Roman Catholic Christians entry under 'pain of death'. Japanese leaders were concerned that the foreign religion of Christianity would undermine traditional **Shinto** and Buddhist beliefs. They also restricted foreign trade to one port only: Nagasaki, on the southernmost island of Kyushu. Only Chinese and Protestant Dutch traders, regarded as less of a menace to Japan, could operate from this port.

For the next 200 years, Japan remained relatively closed to the outside world and foreign ideas. Then, in 1853, a single event heralded imminent and dramatic change.

What motivated Japan to end its period of isolation?

In 1853, a fleet of US ships – including two steamships – entered Edo's harbour. Commodore Matthew Perry was in command. Here's how one artist depicted the event in a woodblock print.

Source **4.4** Woodblock print of Perry's Black Ships

SOURCE 4.4 *Commodore Matthew C. Perry's Black Ships Arriving in Japan*, print, 1853. Historian Louis Cullen (2003) claims that popular interest in the Perry expeditions can be seen in the rapidity with which woodblock prints like this one were put into circulation in Edo after the arrival of the fleet.

Responding to the print

1. Do you think this print was made by a Japanese artist or a Western artist? Explain your response, referring to explicit and implicit meanings drawn from the source.
2. The artist has painted this scene from the perspective of someone among the small boats in the foreground. What impression for the audience does this create of this historic event?
3. Before Perry's arrival, few Japanese people had seen steam-powered ships. How might Japanese people have reacted to the sight of such a vessel?

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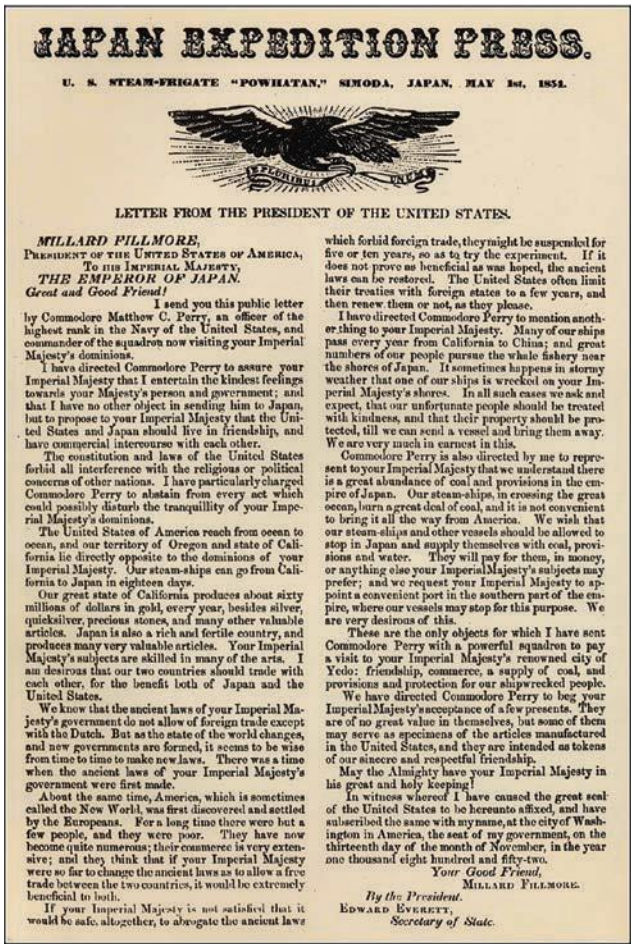
Commodore Perry carried with him a letter written by the US president, Millard Fillmore, addressed to the Japanese emperor. The letter wasn't read by the emperor but by the shogun. The letter was diplomatic but carried a strong message. (Note that while the letter is dated from November 1852, as the expedition took a number of months to sail to Japan it was not until July 1853 that Perry delivered the letter to Edo.)

Source **4.5** President Fillmore's letter, 13 November 1852

Scan the QR code to listen to an audio reading of the letter, or go to the Interactive Textbook to read the full text as a downloadable PDF. Either listen to or read the letter before completing the questions below.



JAPAN EXPEDITION PRESS.

U. S. STEAM-FRIGATE "POWHATAN," SIMODA, JAPAN, MAY 1st, 1854.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

MILLARD PILLMORE,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
To his IMPERIAL MAJESTY,
THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.
Great and Good Friend!

I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the Navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting your Imperial Majesty's dominions.

I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your Imperial Majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings towards your Majesty's person and government; and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan, but to propose to your Imperial Majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship, and have commercial intercourse with each other.

The constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquillity of your Imperial Majesty's dominions.

The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean, and our territory of Oregon and state of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your Imperial Majesty. Our steam-ships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days.

Our great state of California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold, every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your Imperial Majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit both of Japan and the United States.

We know that the ancient laws of your Imperial Majesty's government do not allow of foreign trade except with the Dutch. But as the state of the world changes, and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise from time to time to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your Imperial Majesty's government were first made.

About the same time, America, which is sometimes called the New World, was first discovered and settled by the Europeans. For a long time there were but a few people, and they were poor. They have now become quite numerous; their commerce is very extensive; and they think that if your Imperial Majesty were so far to change the ancient laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries, it would be extremely beneficial to both.

If your Imperial Majesty is not satisfied that it would be safe, altogether, to abrogate the ancient laws which forbid foreign trade, they might be suspended for five or ten years, so as to try the experiment. If it does not prove as beneficial as was hoped, the ancient laws can be restored. The United States often limit their treaties with foreign states to a few years, and then renew them or not, as they please.

I have directed Commodore Perry to mention another thing to your Imperial Majesty. Many of our ships pass every year from California to China; and great numbers of our people pursue the whale fishery near the shores of Japan. It sometimes happens in stormy weather that one of our ships is wrecked on your Imperial Majesty's shores. In all such cases we ask and expect, that our unfortunate people should be treated with kindness, and that their property should be protected, till we can send a vessel and bring them away. We are very much in earnest in this.

Commodore Perry is also directed by me to represent to your Imperial Majesty that we understand there is a great abundance of coal and provisions in the empire of Japan. Our steam-ships, in crossing the great ocean, burn a great deal of coal, and it is not convenient to bring it all the way from America. We wish that our steam-ships and other vessels should be allowed to stop in Japan and supply themselves with coal, provisions and water. They will pay for them, in money, or anything else your Imperial Majesty's subjects may prefer; and we request your Imperial Majesty to appoint a convenient port in the southern part of the empire, where our vessels may stop for this purpose. We are very desirous of this.

These are the only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry with a powerful squadron to pay a visit to your Imperial Majesty's renowned city of Yedo: friendship, commerce, a supply of coal, and provisions and protection for our shipwrecked people.

We have directed Commodore Perry to beg your Imperial Majesty's acceptance of a few presents. They are of no great value in themselves, but some of them may serve as specimens of the articles manufactured in the United States, and they are intended as tokens of our sincere and respectful friendship.

May the Almighty have your Imperial Majesty in his great and holy keeping!

In witness whereof I have caused the great seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and have subscribed the same with my name, at the city of Washington in America, the seat of my government, on the thirteenth day of the month of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

Your Good Friend,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

By the President.
EDWARD EVERETT,
Secretary of State.

SOURCE 4.5 President Fillmore's letter, 13 November 1852

Responding to the letter

1. List words or phrases from the letter that offer insight into its tone and the president's possible intentions at the time.
2. From your list, explain in two or three sentences your interpretation of the letter's tone and the president's possible intentions, using explicit references and implicit inferences from the letter.
3. Discuss in a paragraph how you would expect the shogun to react to this letter. Be sure to use extracts from the letter to support your claims.
4. Hold a class discussion about the tone of the letter and what you think might have been the explicit intentions of the president for sending Commodore Perry to Japan. Refer to your earlier work in question 1 (list of words or expressions from the letter) to discuss your decision.
5. Also discuss how useful you think this source is in revealing the United States' attitude towards Japan in 1852.

From interrogating the letter, you would learn that Fillmore requested three key things: for trade to be opened up between Japan and the United States; that US sailors shipwrecked in Japan be treated well; and that US ships be guaranteed access to a port in Japan.

The arrival of the black steamships caused an uproar in Edo. The threat of naval action was imminent. The Japanese tried to appease Perry by an audience with low-ranking *bakufu* officials, promising to take the letter to the emperor on his behalf. But Perry refused to be seen by anyone other than the emperor. Tension was high and the stage was set for potential conflict.

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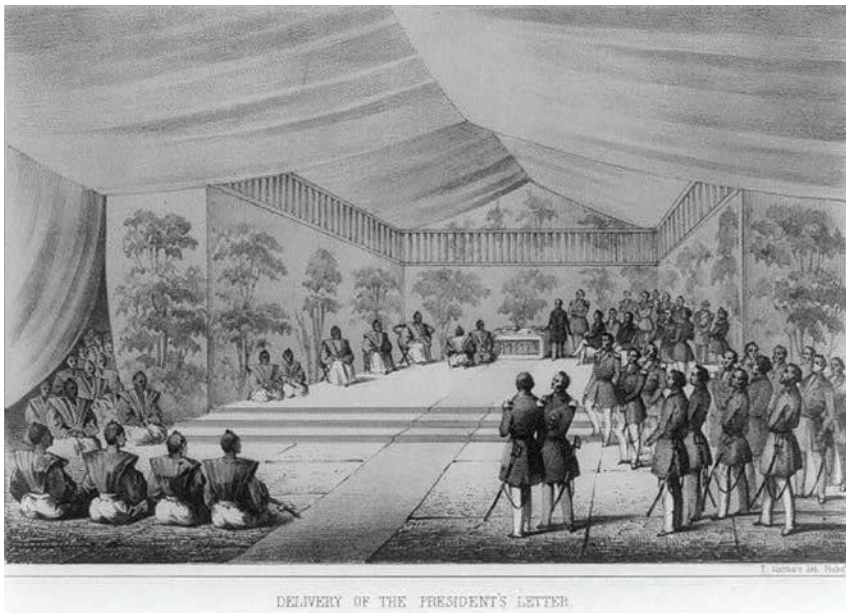

SOURCE 4.6 *Delivery of the President's Letter*, lithograph, 1856

Describe how both countries' representatives have been depicted. Do you think the artist was American or Japanese? Explain your choice.

The shogun initially refused to accept the letter, and the leaders around the shogun wanted to reject the president's requests. However, Perry's gunboat diplomacy made it clear that rejection was not an option. The Japanese knew that they could not withstand the United States' superior modern weaponry. The shogun asked for time to consider the United States' requests. Perry responded with an ultimatum: he would be back in six months for an answer.

On 12 February 1854, Commodore Perry sailed back into Edo Bay with even more steamships under his command to receive his answer. By March the shogun had agreed, signing the Treaty of Kanagawa. The treaty sealed the beginning of the end for Japan's isolationist foreign policy of *sakoku*. The key provisions of the treaty were:

1. The protection of American sailors in Japanese waters
2. The opening of certain ports to US ships for trade and commerce
3. A 'most-favoured nation' clause – low tariffs for imported goods and the agreement that any concessions made by Japan to other nations would be extended to the United States.

How do these compare with President Fillmore's three requests in his letter?

What does this suggest about the power and influence the United States had at the time?

And how might this affect Japanese perspectives of the outside world, moving forward at this time?

Contextual study: Summing up

In the years following 1854, other Western nations such as Britain, France, Holland and Russia successfully pursued unequal treaties similar to Japan's treaty with the United States. By the end of 1854, Britain had opened up Nagasaki and Hakodate, and in February 1855 Russia signed the Treaty of Shimoda, which included the further inequitable aspect of extra-territoriality: Russian citizens committing a crime in Japan would be subjected to Russian laws, not the laws of Japan. In 1858, this concession was granted also to the United States through a treaty arranged by the first US consul in Japan, Townshend Harris. The Harris Treaty, as it became known, also opened up further ports to the United States for trade and granted religious freedom to US citizens living in Japan. These treaties were viewed suspiciously by most in Japan and were deemed '*unequal treaties*'. This sets the scene for the following depth study that focuses on the dramatic changes that took place throughout the Meiji Restoration.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: What were the causes and consequences of Japanese modernisation begun in the Meiji period (1868–1912)?

In 1854, after the 'opening of Japan' by Commodore Perry, Japan seemed at the mercy of the great powers of that time. Yet, as the 2023 photo in Source 4.7 suggests, Japan today boasts a powerful modern armed force that parades under the flag of an independent Japanese nation. The Japan you are familiar with today did not come about without dramatic confrontation and turbulent social and political upheaval. The Meiji Restoration is a story of radical technological, political and social change that, despite beginning around 150 years ago, continues today.

In this depth study, you will investigate these extraordinary changes in Japanese society within the global context of twentieth-century international relations and power politics.

This depth study unfolds through a series of four sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.

The four sub-questions are:

1. How and why did feudalism under centuries of shogunate (military) rule give way to restoration of power under Emperor Meiji?
2. In what ways did Japan modernise after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and what were the domestic consequences of these changes?
3. How did Meiji modernisation influence Japan's foreign policy and affect its international relationships?
4. What have historians said about the causes and consequences of Japanese modernisation begun in the Meiji period?

SOURCE 4.7 Japanese Special Defense Forces in 2023. Since its defeat in World War II, Japan's military has been limited to a strictly defensive role. It has built a formidable defence force.

What might be the complications with a world where all nations limited their military strictly to defence force capabilities'?

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SUB-QUESTION 1: How and why did feudalism under centuries of shogunate (military) rule give way to restoration of power under Emperor Meiji?

Internal discontent with Tokugawa rule

By 1854, there was pressure on the Tokugawa Shogunate due to its domestic policy decisions. With the absence of war during the Tokugawa Shogunate, the stipends of samurai were heavily restricted. This placed financial stress on the samurai, and many became impoverished and discontented. They failed to see where they belonged in a Japan that was changing socially. Some turned their hands to commercial initiatives, such as brewing sake (rice wine) and soy sauce, despite being forbidden to do so by Tokugawa law – engaging in enterprises like farming or commerce was viewed as beneath their status. Many fell victim to social vices resulting from depression and impoverishment, such as alcoholism and gambling.

With money replacing rice as the everyday currency, and with increasing commercial activity in Japan, the merchant class was on the rise. Over time, the wealth of the merchant class had come to exceed the resources of the *daimyo* and the samurai class. Ironically, in fact, many samurai became heavily indebted to the merchant class as the merchants lent them money to be repaid from the samurai's future stipends. However, the merchants still carried the Confucian social stigma of being parasitic. A strong contrast emerged between the samurai, with high social status but living in debt, and the merchants, with low social status but controlling the economy.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the shogun introduced economic reforms that heavily disadvantaged merchants. The merchants became increasingly disgruntled and, in turn, became more open to the idea of political change.

Further discontent with the Tokugawa *bakufu* in the nineteenth century came from the peasantry. Revolts occurred in response to exorbitant taxation rates on rice yields. Rates had reached as high as 40% to 50% in some years. Many peasants were forced to borrow from the merchant class to pay their taxes and avoid losing their tenancy on the land. Some peasants couldn't continue these practices and ended up losing their land.

Rallying in support of the emperor

Growing dissatisfaction with the Tokugawa *bakufu* over foreign policy decisions after the arrival of Perry brought further questions about its capacity and legitimacy to govern. Many Japanese supported a social movement to reinstate the emperor as the divine ruler of Japan. When Perry arrived in 1853, frustration with internal government policies experienced by all classes came head-to-head with the disappointment of *daimyo* and their samurai that the Tokugawa couldn't assure Japan's security from external threats. The result was dissent among *daimyo* clans. Some *daimyo* and their samurai wanted the Shogun's army to try to repel the foreigners at any cost, which more than likely would have resulted in the destruction of Japan and the loss of its independence to the West. Other *daimyo* understood Japan's predicament and accepted the need to adopt foreign technology and ideas if they favoured Japanese interests. This faction pushed for the shogun to step down from governing Japan and hand over power to the emperor. They believed that this would 'make Japan great again', and as a result, a new sense of Japanese nationalism was born, focused on reverence for the emperor. The nationalist anti-foreign sentiment known as ***sonno joi*** grew fervently in the decade following Perry's arrival. It seemed strongest, however, among the clans in the south-west in the Satsuma and Choshu domains.

sonno joi literally 'revere the emperor, expel the barbarians', a Japanese and Chinese political philosophy and a social movement derived from Neo-Confucianism. It became a political slogan in the 1850s and 1860s in the movement to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate.

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Many Satsuma and Choshu samurai were responsible for attacks on foreigners and were known as *shishi*, or 'men of high purpose'. They believed that Japan was sacred ground, and that the emperor was its rightful sovereign ruler. The *shishi* murdered advisers and translators and attacked Western ships. The West responded by bombarding the capitals of the *shishi* in Satsuma and Choshu domains.

However, the *shishi* were not deterred. Ironically, they armed themselves with Western-style guns bought from the foreigners and set their sights on toppling the shogun. While the United States was embroiled in its own civil war (1861–65), Japan's 250-year-old peace provided by the Tokugawa Shogunate was challenged. Japan was plunged into a series of uprisings and small-scale attacks on foreigners and Tokugawa sympathisers. Activists both for the shogun (the *shinsengumi* – Tokugawa secret police) and against him (the *Shishi* – nationalists perceived by Tokugawa loyalists as terrorists) conducted campaigns of assassinations throughout Japan.

Not all *shishi* members wanted a return to feudal times. Writer Romulus Hillsborough explains in his 1999 book, *Ryoma: Life of a Renaissance Samurai*, that influential samurai such as the revolutionary Sakamoto Ryoma (often regarded as the father of Japan's modern imperial navy) saw the need for Japan to modernise in order for it to survive in an industrialised world. Samurai like Ryoma, who were just as comfortable wielding an American-style Smith & Wesson pistol as a Japanese sword, believed that bringing an end to Tokugawa rule was the first step in achieving a modern democratic Japanese government with the emperor as head of state. Some samurai even travelled abroad secretly to bring back new ideas to include in their vision of a modern Japan. Clearly, the political climate in Japan in the mid-nineteenth century was complex.

SOURCE 4.8 *Sumo Wrestler Throwing a Foreigner at Yokohama*, colour woodblock, 1861. Sumo has long been associated with Shinto rituals, and certain shrines even carry out forms of ritual dance where a human is said to wrestle with a *kami* (spirit). This image does not show an actual incident, but is allegorical.

Whom or what do the two main characters represent? How might the two figures represent Japan's ability to resist Western advances and firepower? How might this wrestling triumph have been seen by some Japanese as reassuring? Which group's perspective (pro-shogunate or pro-restoration of the emperor) does this poster represent? How might foreigners have felt about this poster?

? Are there nationalist movements like *sonno joi* still evident in the world today? If so, where and why?

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Death of the shogun and restoration of an emperor

In 1866, Shogun Iemochi died suddenly. His successor Tokugawa Keiki understood the precariousness of the *bakufu*. The south-western domains sent him a letter – based on the ideas of Sakamoto Ryoma – asking him to resign for the sake of a strong and unified Japan. In November 1867, Keiki gave up his position of authority to the 14-year-old Emperor Mutsuhito and urged the Japanese people to rally behind the emperor. It seemed the *sonno joi* movement was gaining momentum. The south-western domains had convinced the shogun that Japan would survive the foreign threat only if the country took bold new steps under the symbolic leadership of the emperor. On 3 January 1868, the emperor made a formal declaration of the restoration of his power. This dramatic event came to be known as the Meiji Restoration – the restoration of power to the Meiji (meaning 'enlightened') Emperor Mutsuhito.

SOURCE 4.9 Mutsuhito (1852–1912), Emperor of Japan from 1867. The date of this image is unknown.

How long after 1867 do you estimate this image was produced? What does the image suggest about what happened in Japan from 1867 onwards? The image is from a French magazine. What does the origin of the publication suggest?

Support for the new emperor was widespread, but not necessarily shared by all Japanese. The remnants of Tokugawa support were crushed in a bloody battle fought near Kyoto against the Satsuma and Choshu samurai. The ex-shogun's lands were seized, and in March 1869 the court of the shogun at Edo was renamed Tokyo. Now, the new centre of power lay with the imperial court under Emperor Meiji, backed by the four most powerful clans – the Choshu, Satsuma, Hizen and Tosa (who would also relinquish their land and power to the emperor). This final step consolidated the Meiji Restoration.

In the following sections of this chapter, you will explore the nature of the change that occurred in Japan because of the Meiji Restoration. Importantly, you'll also probe the unexpected and perhaps unwanted consequences of rapid modernisation, and reflect on how this might relate to the world in which you live today.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How and why did feudalism under centuries of shogunate (military) rule give way to restoration of power under Emperor Meiji?

1. Categorising historical information

SOURCE 4.10 Emeritus Professor of Amherst College Ray A. Moore comments on possible reasons for samurai discontent

> Historians have offered various explanations for [widespread samurai discontent towards the end of the Tokugawa period], including political conflicts over national policy within the ruling Tokugawa coalition of daimyo, the spread of formal education and growing respect (at least in principle) for individual ability among the samurai, the feeling, of intellectual isolation, and, by comparison with the merchants, economic decline of the samurai.

Ray A. Moore, 'Samurai Discontent and Social Mobility in the Late Tokugawa Period', *Monumenta Nipponica*, 1969, 24(1/2), pp. 79–91

List the explanations historians have made for widespread discontent in the late Tokugawa period according to historian Ray A. Moore. How well do these 'categories' of explanation reflect what you have just learned above? Scan back through this section to make your evaluation.

2. Think: Pair: Share – taking a position on an attitudinal scale about Japanese mobilisation

In the 1860s, Japan faced a historical crossroad. This activity proposes two possible routes Japan could have taken. Choose your own point on the scale, then find a classmate who's chosen a different point. Discuss your reasons for choosing differently. Does either of you shift because of your discussion? Follow up with a class discussion, including any other possible routes you can envisage.

REVOLUTIONARY POSITION: Japan should mobilise behind the emperor, make peace with the foreigners and accept foreign contacts and influences.				CONSERVATIVE POSITION: Japan should mobilise behind the shogun and militarily defeat the foreign powers and resist foreign influences.
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree	strongly agree

3. Summarising using an infographic

Now use your thinking from the work you did in questions 1 and 2, and create an infographic using relevant events and developments that you have encountered in this section of the chapter. Your infographic should address the question: *How and why did feudalism under centuries of shogunate (military) rule give way to restoration of power under Emperor Meiji?* In your infographic, include:

- an informative, interesting and clear sequence of information that reflects the subject matter (two sides of the internal conflict at the time) and historical concepts (change, continuity and/or motives, causes, effects)
- a graphic representation of information or symbolism (use of images, diagrams, graphs, icons)
- a discerning and minimal use of written text (words).

You may like to use an online infographic generator like Canva.

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SUB-QUESTION 2: In what ways did Japan modernise after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and what were the domestic consequences of these changes?

Japan is now one of the most technologically advanced and modern nations in the world. With a quick look around your home, you can undoubtedly see the many quality modern technological products designed and manufactured by Japanese companies, aimed at making your life easier or more enjoyable. Therefore, Japan's modernisation since 1867 could be judged as successful based on the quality of its technologically advanced products and the large share of the global market that those products command.

However, as you might suspect, there are criteria other than simply economic growth that can be applied to any assessment of a nation's successful modernisation. In addition to economic growth, 'modernisation' includes the growth of the social, political and cultural life of a nation's people in a positive way. In preparation for your reflection on this sub-question at the end of this section, keep these criteria in mind as you navigate through this section.

In which direction did the emperor steer Japan upon restoration to power?

After his accession, the emperor exerted his 'divine' authority in April 1868, outlining his vision for Japan's future by making one of the most famous statements in Japanese history: the Charter Oath.

Source **4.11** The Charter Oath, 1868

SOURCE 4.11 The Charter Oath, 1868

By this oath we set up as our aim the establishment of the national wealth on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws.

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion.
2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state.
3. The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling so that there may be no discontent.
4. Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature.
5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.

The Charter Oath, 1868. Translation in W. Theodore de Bary, Ryusaku Tsunoda and Donald Keene, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1964, p. 137

Responding to the Charter Oath

The Charter Oath clearly pointed Japan in a new direction.

1. Study the introductory sentence and the five clauses. Find evidence to support the following statements:
   - **a.** The oath committed Japan to forming a parliament for governmental decision making.
   - **b.** The oath pledged that modern Japan would do away with the feudal class system and that citizens would have the freedom to pursue their own vocations.
   - **c.** The oath pledged that Japan would adopt modern ideas based on the rule of law and the concept of justice.
   - **d.** The oath dedicated Japan to the pursuit of knowledge from whichever country had the expertise – in fact, it gave Japan a policy avenue to later implement compulsory education.
2. How might different people in Japan have reacted to the oath?

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In what ways did Japan modernise industry?

The plan to seek knowledge 'throughout the world' began rapidly. Once Japan had restored the emperor to power in 1868, it embarked on the most rapid industrialisation and Westernisation program in history. Historian John W. Dower (2008) claims that Japan was motivated to 'build a strong state and rich industrialized nation capable of resisting Western pressure and exploitation'.

How accurate do you evaluate Dower's claim to be, based on what you've learned from the contextual study?

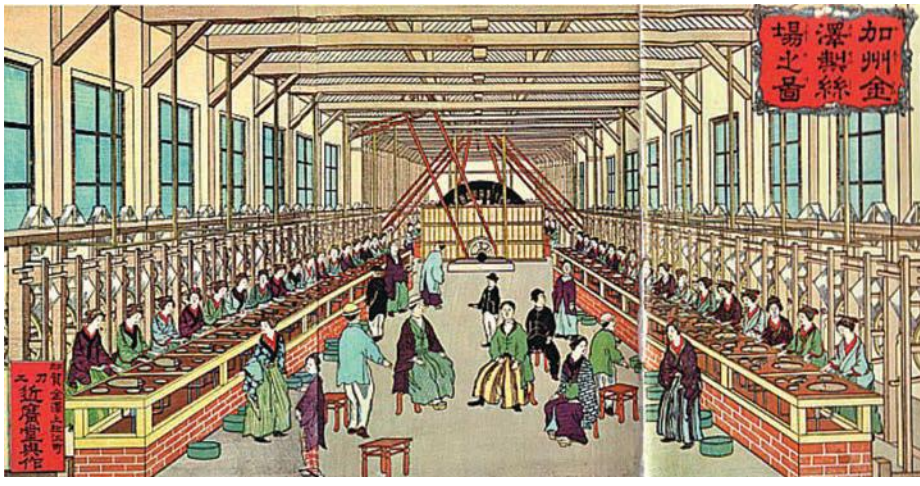
Modernisation through industrialisation became a key objective in the Meiji period. In one sense, the Japanese were lucky to have come to it quite late – much of the Western world had been living through the Industrial Revolution and had already undergone significant modernisation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To capitalise on this existing knowledge, groups of promising young Japanese men were sent to Europe and the United States. They studied the government and banking systems of the United States, the education system and army of Prussia, and the navy of Great Britain. Furthermore, experts in mining, engineering, shipbuilding, textiles and weaponry were invited to Japan from Britain, France, Holland, Italy and Switzerland. These experts supervised new Japanese factories and mines and trained Japanese technicians.

Mechanisation of textile, cotton and wool production was supported heavily by Japanese Government investment and its importation of spinning and mill equipment. This meant that the modernisation of the textile industry occurred rapidly. Heavy machinery was often paid for by the government and then sold to Japanese private companies at extremely reduced prices to speed up the modernising process. Source 4.12 shows how one artist represented a Meiji-era textile factory.

Source **4.12** Print of Japanese textile factory in the 1880s

Responding to the illustration

1. Can you identify in the illustration any evidence to support the earlier claim that Western-style heavy machinery/ technology was subsidised by the Meiji government?
2. How would you describe the representation of women in this illustration? How would you describe the representation of men? What might this suggest about Japanese society at the time?
3. What might have been the artist's purpose for creating this print, and how is it useful for contributing to an answer to this section's sub-question?



SOURCE 4.12 Japanese textile factory in the 1880s. In Harold Marcuse, 2006, *Opium Wars in China: Imperialism in Japan*.

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The National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (a graduate school in Tokyo) explains in a 2017 lecture published online that silk production was a traditional industry in Japan dating back to ancient times, but when Japan opened its ports and resumed foreign trade in the mid-nineteenth century, Japanese silk suddenly found an enormous overseas demand, especially in the United States. Therefore, silk spinning became automated in big factories. Between 1870 and 1900, industrial production of silk more than doubled while artisanal production remained the same. In fact, industrially produced silk became Japan's top export item for nearly a century, was a stable source of foreign exchange for Japan and contributed significantly to the industrialisation of the country. Meiji Japan's flourishing textile industry is the origin of its modern dominance in the global fashion industry today through high-profile brands such as Uniqlo, Sacai, Comme des Garçons and even the streetwear brand BAPE.

By 1893, as Oxford University's Saarang Narayan writes in her 2016 article 'Women in Meiji Japan', the silk industry had become Japan's largest export industry and women made up the majority of factory employees. Narayan further explains that by 1913 the industry was comprised of approximately 800 000 women workers, which were similar numbers to those of women working in the English textile industry at the same time.

The accounts in Sources 4.13 and 4.14 are from two such women who were among several hundred Meiji silk-reeling factory workers interviewed by local historian Yamamoto Shigemi. You met the sister of one of the women in the chapter's opening narrative.

Sources **4.13** and **4.14** Interviews with factory workers

SOURCE 4.13 Unnamed Japanese interviewee, born in 1882, describes her life

From morning, while it was still dark, we worked in the lamplit factory till ten at night. After work, we hardly had the strength to stand on our feet. When we worked late into the night, they occasionally gave us a roasted sweet potato. We then had to do our washing, fix our hair, and so on. By then it would be eleven o'clock. There was no heat even in the winter, and so we had to sleep huddled together … I was told that the girls who went to work before my time had a harder time. We were not paid the first year. In the second year I got 35 yen, and the following year, 50 yen. I felt that it was not a place for a weak-willed person like me. If we didn't do the job right we were scolded, and, if we did it better than others, the others resented it. The life of a woman is really awful.

Yamamoto Shigemi, *Aa nomugi t ge*, 1977, p. 176

SOURCE 4.14 Interviewee Sakanoue Jitsu recalls the autumn of 1907

Soon after I went to work in the factory my younger sister Aki came to work there too. I think she worked for about two years, and then took to her bed because of illness. At that time there were about thirty sick people at the factory. Those who clearly had lung troubles were sent home right away. Everyone feared tuberculosis … Aki was also sent home and died soon after. She was in her thirteenth year … I can never forget her sad eyes as she left the factory sickly and pale.

Yamamoto Shigemi, *Aa nomugi t ge*, 1977, p. 149

Responding to the interviews

1. List evidence from the sources that is useful to support the claim that conditions in these Japanese silk factories made work difficult and even detrimental to workers' health.

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2. Why do you think working conditions such as those mentioned above have been made illegal in many countries like Australia today? Why might conditions such as these still exist in some countries?
3. Conduct research online. Locate evidence of working conditions in textile factories in Britain, Europe or the United States in the nineteenth century during the Industrial Revolution. Copy and complete the following table to list any similarities or differences.

Japan vs _____	
Characteristics in common	**Key differences**

You will have found that many of the working conditions throughout the Industrial Revolution, especially in Europe, were quite similar to those described in Japanese silk factories in Sources 4.13 and 4.14. You may have discovered that in Britain children also were a large source of labour for industrial factories and coal mines.

Like Britain, with Japanese industrialisation came the demand for coal. Coal mining was an important part of Meiji Japan's modernisation as it fuelled the booming transportation sector, particularly steamships and railways. San José State University economist Thayer Watkins (2018) demonstrates the scale of growth in these sectors by offering the following statistics for Japanese coal production and consumption. As you analyse the statistics for trends over time, consider when you might expect working conditions within Meiji coal mines to have been at their most onerous.

SOURCE 4.15 Thayer Watkins, 'Meiji Restoration/Revolution', San José State University Department of Economics

Year	Coal production (metric tonnes)	The size of the Japanese merchant fleet (number of steamships)	Railroad mileage in Japan (track kilometres)
1875	600000	26	29
1885	1200000		386
1895	5000000	169	3380
1905	13000000	797	7564
1913	21300000	1514	
1914			11426

To explore this growth further, you will now investigate working conditions in Meiji Japan's coal mines during its industrial revolution.

SOURCES 4.16 and 4.17
Hashima Island

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The wave of industrialisation occurring in Japan during the Meiji period established coal, copper, silver and gold mines, opened shipbuilding yards and built munitions factories. Initially, the Japanese Government was the key player in Japan's modernisation. As you learned previously with the textile industry, the Meiji government provided subsidies to a variety of commercial enterprises to fund innovation and expertise. But this changed with the Meiji government's introduction of the *Regulations on the Transfer of Factories* on 5 November 1880.

Canadian diplomat and historian E. Herbert Norman, in his book *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* (2000), explains that the policy allowed the government to sell certain industrial plants or factories to private **conglomerates** at a reasonable price. These influential conglomerates, which are still closely connected with the government, included Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, Yasuda, Kawasaki, Furukawa, Okura and Asano. The first four of these groups were known in Japan as the *zaibatsu* (financial clique). Some of these groups you may recognise as brand names behind products still sold in Australia today. According to statistics provided by Hidemasa Morikawa in his 1992 book *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall of Family Enterprise Groups in Japan*, by 1895 Mitsubishi's annual income was more than that of the next top six *zaibatsu* put together. Its closest competitor was Mitsui, with approximately half Mitsubishi's annual income.

conglomerate a large corporation run as a single business, but made up of several firms (acquired through mergers or takeovers) supplying diverse goods and/or services

The *zaibatsu* were responsible for the manufacture of different products and large-scale infrastructure projects sponsored by the Meiji government. Over time, they began to develop overlapping interests in industry, transportation and banking. For example, when the Meiji government needed military transport, Mitsubishi provided it. Another example of a major *zaibatsu* infrastructure project was the railway. Within just two decades of Commodore Perry's arrival in 1853, Japan had built a railway approximately 40 kilometres long from Tokyo to Yokohama, allowing travel of a distance of 29 kilometres in 53 minutes – much faster than on foot or horseback. Australian National University economist Dr John Tang explains that by 1907 the Meiji government had nationalised the rail industry, and the domestic rail network had expanded from 29 to 7152 kilometres; the number of locomotives from 10 to 1924; and the annual passengers carried from 495 000 to 101 million.

SOURCE 4.18 Illustration of a train departing Shinbashi Railway Station, Utagawa Kunisada III, 1873

What are the several signs of modernisation and Westernisation in this illustration? How useful do you think this source is in assessing the rapidity of this change?

The rapidity of Japan's industrialisation throughout this period is a marvel of history. For example, the Meiji rail industry managed to produce domestically an impressive 75% of its railroad carriages within decades of its first train. Similarly, Meiji Japan produced 2.3 million kilograms of cotton yarn in 1884 and had progressed to produce an astonishing 302 million kilograms by 1914.

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By the beginning of the twentieth century, Japan had adopted Western ideas and technology, and it had progressed industries such as mining, engineering, shipbuilding, textiles and weaponry to a standard equivalent to those of the European powers and the United States. The Industrial Revolution in Europe had taken 150 years, yet, remarkably, Japan had gone from rice paddies to modern factories in less than 40 years.

How did Japan fund its modernisation and how was the economy affected by it?

In an article titled 'The Financial Policy of the Meiji Government', economist Takeda Takao (1965) explains how the ambitious modernisation Japan undertook in the Meiji period was funded. Takeda points out that the funding was 'fundamentally of the same character as that found in the countries of western Europe, typically in the case of England'. That is to say, 'capitalist industrialization was the basis, or axis, of modernization in Japan', and was funded largely after 1873 through reforms in land tax. In Source 4.19, Takeda describes these changes.

Source **4.19** Economist Takeda Takao's description

SOURCE 4.19 Takeda Takao's description of how modernisation was funded

(1) The basis of assessment: As we have noted above, the former Land Tax was levied on the basis of the produce of the soil, but as a result of this reform the tax came to be levied on the basis of an assessed land value. These land values were arrived at by finding the average yield of the relevant type of land by means of large-scale land surveys and capitalizing these values with the rates of interest customary in the locality.

(2) The rate of tax: The former Land Tax had varied between 40% and 50% of the harvested crop from fief to fief, and also according to the state of the harvest in each year, but as a result of this reform the rate of tax was set at 3% of the assessed land value over the whole country, and it was made a general principle that no variations in the rate of tax should be made in accordance with the state of the harvest from year to year.

(3) Form of payment: The former Land Tax had been paid mainly in kind, but as a result of this reform all payments came to be made in money.

(4) Taxpayers: Under the former Land Tax, the persons responsible for the payment of the tax differed from locality to locality in accordance with custom, ... but as a result of this reform the taxpayer became the landowner, whose rights of ownership were confirmed by the issue of Land Certificates (*Chiken*).

... By this means the income from this tax rose from approximately ¥20 million in 1872 to approximately ¥68 million in 1875, an income which was three times as great, and, moreover, was of a stable character.

Takeda Takao, 'The Financial Policy of the Meiji Government', *The Developing Economies*, 3(4), 1965, pp. 427–49

Responding to the source

1. For each reform described, explain in your own words how it would have provided an economic benefit to Japan at the time.
2. The last sentence in the source outlines explicitly how effective these changes (reforms) were. But can you think implicitly of anyone who might have been disadvantaged by these changes?
3. How useful are your responses to questions 1 and 2 for contributing to a response to this section's sub-question and the depth study's key inquiry question?

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As you would have found by analysing Source 4.19, the new system now made landowners pay tax according to the value of their land, rather than the quantity of crops produced as had been done in the past. This ensured that the government had a regular annual tax income that was not affected by agricultural yields. In other words, even in poor seasons, farmers had to pay the same level of tax determined by the government. But on the other hand, farmers for the first time could own their land, and understood that if they worked hard they could reap the fruits of their labour. Japanese commentators at the time labelled farmers as the 'fertilisers of the nation'.

Furthermore, Japan's currency was also reformed in this period. With the opening of trade with the West, there was a range of different currencies in circulation. In 1871, the Meiji government instituted decimal currency. This currency is still used today in Japan and is known as the yen.

capital wealth in the form of money or other assets owned by a person or organisation or available for a purpose such as starting a company or investing

capitalism an economic system that promotes the unrestricted growth of wealth in the hands of private individuals and companies based on market forces of supply and demand. Government intervention in the economy is disapproved of and extremes of wealth and poverty can occur.

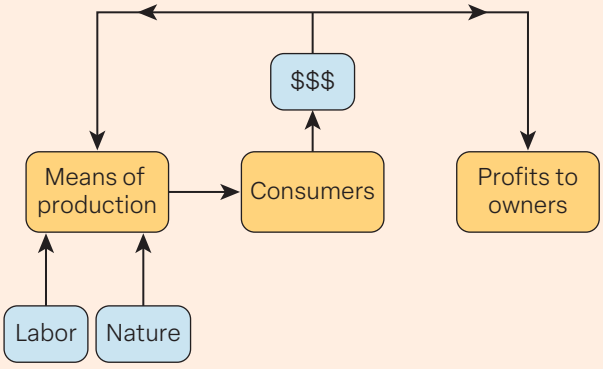
The income generated by reform of the Land Tax and growth in industry, due largely to the relationship between the Meiji government and the *zaibatsu*, created **capital** that could be invested or lent for future projects. This meant that Japan was well on its way to creating a modern economy based on **capitalism**. However, the domestic investment generated by the *zaibatsu* meant Japan was less reliant on foreign investment from the West to modernise. It could finance its own transformation without borrowing heavily from the West. Through government subsidies to the *zaibatsu* or continued internal funding of industrial projects, the profitability and power of the *zaibatsu* increased. They played a significant role in the Japanese economy over the following century.

Professor Konosuke Odaka of Hosei University (2000) argues that Meiji industrial projects were achieved by appropriately combining existing traditional technology with imported Western technology. He calls this 'hybrid technology'. Interestingly, Takafusa Nakamura of Tokyo University (1997) proposes that indigenous Japanese industries were often modified by Western technology, which led to a faster rate of industrial output. He terms this as 'new modern industry'.

Activity 4.2

How capitalism works

Reread the four paragraphs above and then explain how they relate to the economic model of capitalism shown here.



SOURCE 4.20 Capitalism, as seen by Adam Smith. Source: Eglash, Ron. (2016). Of Marx and Makers: an Historical Perspective on Generative Justice. *Teknokultura*, 13(1). 10.5209/rev_TK.2016.v13.n1.52096.

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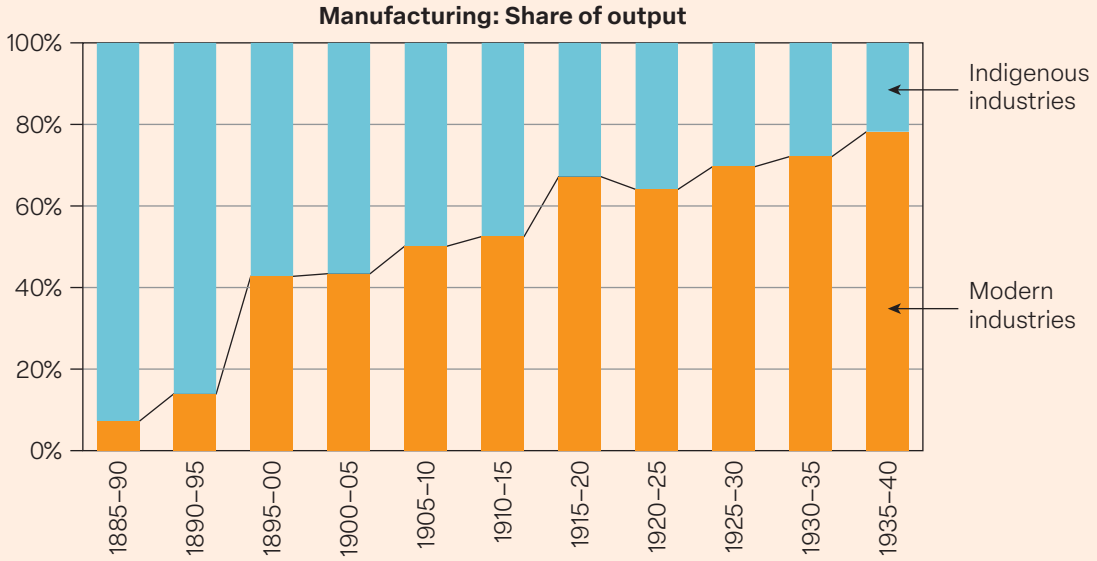
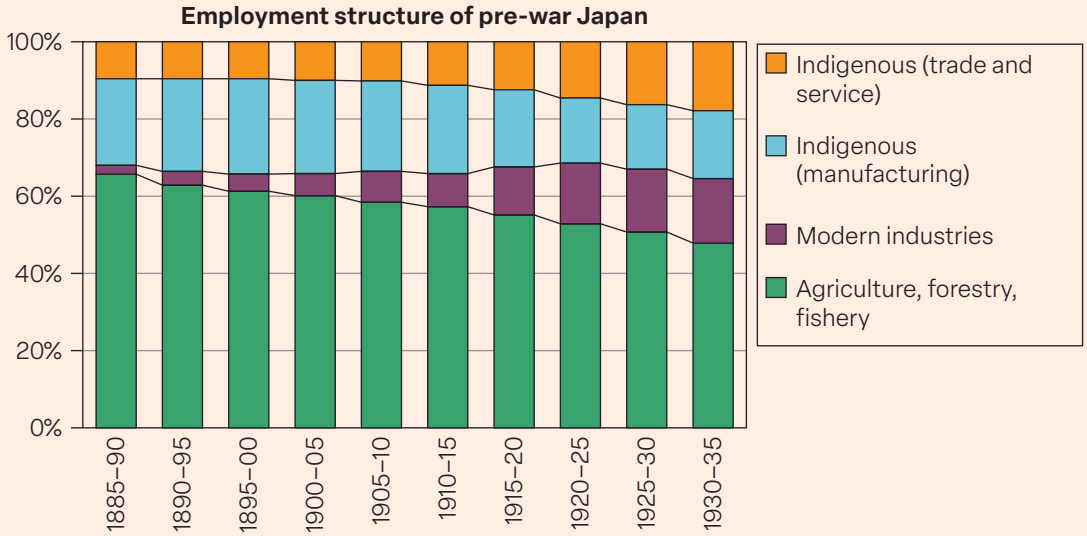
Activity **4.3**

Work with Meiji economic statistics



SOURCE 4.21 Manufacturing share of input throughout and beyond Meiji-era Japan



SOURCE 4.22 Employment statistics throughout and beyond Meiji-era Japan. Takanori Matsumoto and Miyako Okuda, 'Nationwide Development of Indigenous Industries in Prewar Japan', in Nakamura (1997).

1. List the explicit trends you see in each of the graphs and suggest possible reasons for these.
2. Note any nuances, peculiarities or anomalies within the data and suggest possible reasons. For example, why might modern industries have risen (in contrast to the trend) between 1900 and 1910 and again further in 1915 and then lessened after 1925? What was happening in the world at the time that may have contributed to this? Is this trend also reflected in the manufacturing statistics?

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SOURCE 4.23 Portrait of Emperor Meiji, 1873

Note how soon after the Meiji Restoration this portrait was painted. How would you describe Emperor Meiji in this depiction? How would you expect this image to be viewed by the samurai? How might this portrait support the assumption that 'the emperor supported a departure from the reliance on the samurai class for security and the development of a professional Japanese military in the manner resembling the European powers'?

What role did the samurai play in Japan's modernisation?

Earlier in the contextual study, you explored the significance of the samurai in feudal Japan. The rapidly industrialising Japan in the late nineteenth century was placed in a dilemma. What would become of a seemingly antiquated warrior class that didn't have the military capacity to protect the nation? Did it have a place in the modern world?

Adding to this, the Meiji government had assumed the financial commitment of paying samurai stipends. This was a hangover from the Tokugawa system, where the warrior class was paid by the *bakufu* to ensure the loyalty of the *daimyo*. These payments were crippling Meiji Japan's new treasury. It seemed modern Japanese society now had a different 'parasite'. The Japanese Minister of the Right, Iwakura Tomomi, offered a unique perspective about the fate of the samurai. In the early stages of the Meiji Restoration Iwakawa (cited in Livingston et al.; 1973) suggested three actions be taken regarding the samurai to achieve two ends: solve the issue of the crippling stipends spent on the idle class, and utilise the skills of the samurai to make them useful producers in the development of industry. He pointed out that the samurai strength of spirit nurtured through generations, made them 'equal to any task.' He proposed the following:

- samurai with some capital be given financial aid by the government
- samurai with ability be placed in charge of the new enterprises
- samurai with physical strength be employed as workers.

? Conduct online research into the contextual background of Iwakura Tomomi. How reliable and useful might Iwakura's perspective be in addressing the question: 'What role did the samurai play in Japan's modernisation?'

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As the samurai could no longer provide military protection, Japan had to look elsewhere to assure its security. With the focus on modernisation through the adoption of Western technology, Japan clearly understood the practical connection between wealth, power and security in the world of **realpolitik**. Therefore, in addition to industrial projects mentioned earlier, the Meiji government naturally sought a strong, professional military in the manner resembling the Western powers of the time. Japan's newly formed Imperial Army was notably modelled on that of Germany (in style, formation and the role of the military in government). The slogan, 'rich country, strong military' (*fukoku kyohei*) became famous in the Meiji emperor's new Japan. However, this slogan did not include the samurai.

In 1872, the Meiji government made an announcement that sent shock waves through the ranks of the samurai.

realpolitik a political philosophy or theory that attempts to explain, model and prescribe how nation-states (countries) interact with one another – international relations. It takes as its assumption that power is (or ought to be) the primary end of political action, whether in the domestic or international arena. In other words, internationally a nation that wields power doesn't have to consider the needs (in a moral sense) of a 'weaker' nation when interacting politically within the international system.

Source **4.24** Imperial government announcement about conscription, 1872

SOURCE 4.24 Imperial government announcement on military conscription, 1872

... in our country in the ancient past everyone was a soldier. In an emergency the emperor became the Marshal, mobilizing the able-bodied youth for military service and thereby suppressing rebellion. When the campaign was over the men returned to their homes and their occupations, whether that of a farmer, artisan, or merchant. They differed from the soldiers of a later period who called themselves warriors, living presumptuously without working ...

[Because of the Meiji Restoration], warriors who lived without labour for generations have had their stipends reduced and have been stripped of their swords; on the other hand, the four classes of the people are about to receive their right to freedom. This is the way to restore the balance between the high and the low and to grant equal rights to all. It is, in short, the basis of uniting the farmer and the soldier into one. Thus, the soldier is not the soldier of former days. The people are not the people of former days. They are now equally the people of the empire ...

When the State suffers disaster, the people cannot escape being affected. Thus, the people can ward off disaster to themselves by striving to ward off disaster to the State. And where there is a state, there is military defence; and if there is military defence there must be military service. It follows, therefore, that the law providing for a militia (civilian army) is the law of nature and not an accidental, man-made law.

[This announcement by the imperial government goes on to describe a system whereby all 20-year-old men – samurai and commoner alike – would serve a compulsory three years' military service and would then be entered into the reserves.]

Quoted in W. Theodore de Bary, Ryusaku Tsunoda and Donald Keene (eds), *Sources of Japanese Tradition, vol. 2*, 1st edn, 1964, pp. 704–13

Responding to the source

1. How does the imperial government explicitly describe Japan's organisation of its defences in ancient times (prior to the samurai class)?
2. According to the source, how does the imperial government plan to organise Japan's defences in the future?

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3. Considering the features of evidence 'motive' and 'audience', how are certain expressions used to encourage 'the people' to support the idea of a militia?
4. How are certain expressions used implicitly in the announcement to denigrate the samurai class? Why might this have been done and how would you have expected the samurai class to have reacted?
5. How might this source corroborate or reflect ideas put forward in the Charter Oath (Source 4.11)?

The introduction of universal and compulsory conscription elevated the status of former peasants. Now, for the first time in Japanese history, those once beneath the status of the samurai were considered to be of importance to the country's military and security. Interestingly, for leaders such as Choshu reformer Yamada Kenji, conscription was viewed as being linked with universal education. Kenji stresses in 1873 the importance of surpassing 'the enemy through the knowledge and understanding of the people as a whole … the foundation of a strong army is not simply a matter of giving arms to soldiers but rather to provide an education to the people as a whole … without discrimination of class or rank' (Sakuzo, 1930:17). Many samurai saw this as a threat to their existence. Some samurai reacted with force. There were four major rebellions by samurai between 1873 and 1877.

The final and most serious rebellion put down by the newly formed conscript Imperial Army was the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877, led by Saigo Takamori. Ironically, Saigo was a former imperialist samurai from Satsuma domain who had led the toppling of the Tokugawa Shogunate. He was supportive of Japan's modernisation until the government abolished the samurai class's stipends. Historian Jonathon Clements (2010) notes that Saigo led 20 000 sympathisers against the government's 90 000 new conscript soldiers and was decisively defeated due to the army's modern weaponry.

SOURCE 4.25 *Surrender of the Satsuma Rebels*, 1900

Do you think the artist's own thoughts and feelings about the two sides of this situation are evident in the painting? Explain why this might be and, considering that this painting was created over 20 years after the event, whether you think it affects the source's reliability and/or usefulness for historians studying the Satsuma Rebellion. How might this illustration reflect a turning point in Japanese history?

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Activity **4.4**

Anticipate: Analyse: Evaluate – historical accuracy in film

The Satsuma Rebellion marked the last stand for the way of the samurai. The 2003 Edward Zwick film, *The Last Samurai*, starring Tom Cruise, is said to be based on this historical event.

SOURCE 4.26 *The Last Samurai* Los Angeles premiere, red carpet photo

1. **Anticipate:** Begin by locating the trailer to the film online. As you view it, note down as preliminary research any information that might lead you to believe that the film could be reflective or representative of this period in Japan's history. Together with your class, hypothesise to what extent you anticipate the film *The Last Samurai* accurately portrays the Satsuma Rebellion.
2. **Analyse:**
   - **a.** Conduct research online about the Satsuma Rebellion and record your information in a table like the one below. Use the middle column according to the categories outlined in the left-hand column.
   - **b.** Watch the film. As you view it, record information in the same table. This time, use the right-hand column, again in accordance with the categories in the left-hand column.
   - **c.** Compare the information in the middle and right-hand columns in discussion as a class. Highlight in the table the information that aligns (corroborates) in one colour and information that contests in another colour. Use this analysis to come to a conclusion as a class about how accurately the film depicts the history of the Satsuma Rebellion.

	Evidence from your research on the Satsuma Rebellion (include significant figures, groups, dates, events and places)	**Depiction in the film**
i. Motives and actions of the Satsuma samurai		
ii. Motives and actions of the imperial government and its conscript army		
iii. Attitudes towards samurai at the time (explicit and/or implicit)		
iv. Other insights or interesting information		

3. **Evaluate:** Publish your evaluation in the form of a film review – magazine (written), podcast (audio) or vlog (video) – on *The Last Samurai* that addresses the question: *To what extent does the film* The Last Samurai *accurately portray the Satsuma Rebellion?*

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The samurai were not the only group upset by the introduction of conscription. When reading Source 4.24, you undoubtedly noticed that the imperial government chose its words carefully in an attempt to stay popular with the people. After all, conscription was going to take fit, young men away from their usual jobs on farms and elsewhere. Thus, there were uprisings also by peasants in various parts of the country. Ironically, these too were overcome by conscripted troops, just as the samurai rebellions had been.

By 1880, the power of the samurai was broken. With Saigo Takamori's death came the death of the samurai class and the end of feudalistic ideas. Samurai were forced to cut off the topknot – a symbol of feudal Japan – and adopt a more Western appearance. Songs at the time further cemented this change with lyrics such as, 'if you slap a barbered head, it sounds back civilization and **enlightenment**'. It seemed Japan had truly entered a new era. However, as the view of Iwakura Tomomi implies, some leaders considered the samurai too talented to simply disregard. The government took steps to involve samurai in industry and business as owners, operators, managers and workers. The spirit of the samurai (*bushido*) was not lost either, but was adopted by Japanese business and government bureaucracy as a means to assure a collective commitment in service to the company or the modern Japanese nation-state (Lafayette de Mente, 2004). Thus, the samurai salaryman and bureaucrat that would serve Japan well into the next century was born.

enlightenment a European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasising reason and individualism rather than tradition. It was heavily influenced by seventeenth-century philosophers such as Descartes, Locke and Newton, and its prominent figures included Kant, Goethe, Voltaire, Rousseau and Smith.

Activity **4.5**

Conduct a class debate on conscription

1. List the benefits and disadvantages of conscription. Consider individual and governmental perspectives.
2. Conduct a class debate that addresses whether conscription can ever be justified.

What was the role of education in Japan's rapid modernisation?

According to the global management and consulting firm McKinsey and Company (2022), you're currently living in the advent of 'Industry 4.0 – also called the Fourth Industrial Revolution or 4IR … the next phase in the digitization of the manufacturing sector, driven by disruptive trends including the rise of data and connectivity, analytics, human-machine interaction, and improvements in robotics'. So, how necessary do you think compulsory education is to your success in this ever-changing modern world? Interestingly, an article in *The Economist* (2012) points out that the best thing governments can do during this revolutionary change is to provide better schools. Amid Japan's first industrialisation in the Meiji period, Japanese leaders had the same idea as the leaders of today's 'Industry 4.0'. But the question remains: what lessons can we learn from Meiji Japan that might help you, as the leaders of tomorrow, navigate our ever-changing world of 'Industry 4.0'?

Compulsory education was seen to be crucial for success of the Meiji Restoration. As the Charter Oath of 1868 decreed, Japan sought to 'seek knowledge throughout the world', which in practical terms meant Japan was to adopt ideas and practices from leading Western nations and teach them in Japanese schools. One priority Japan set its sights on was to eliminate illiteracy. The statistics in Sources 4.27 and 4.28 offer a window into the extent to which it achieved this goal.

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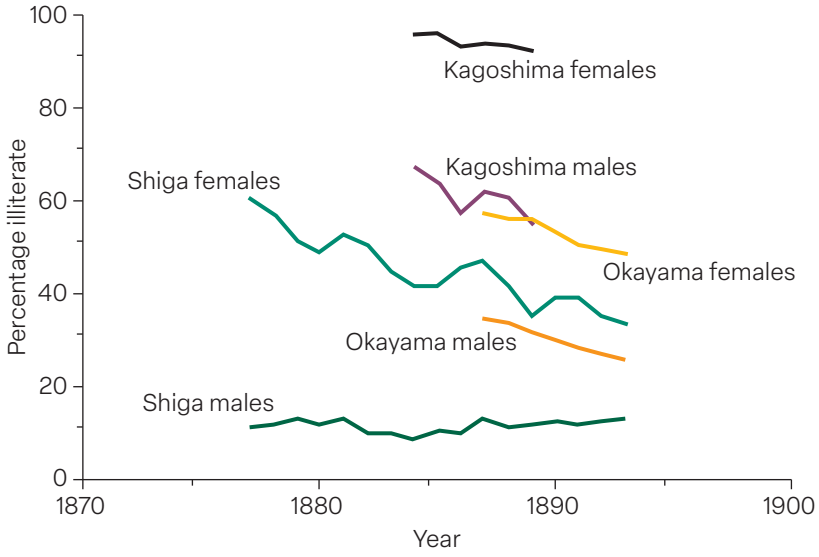
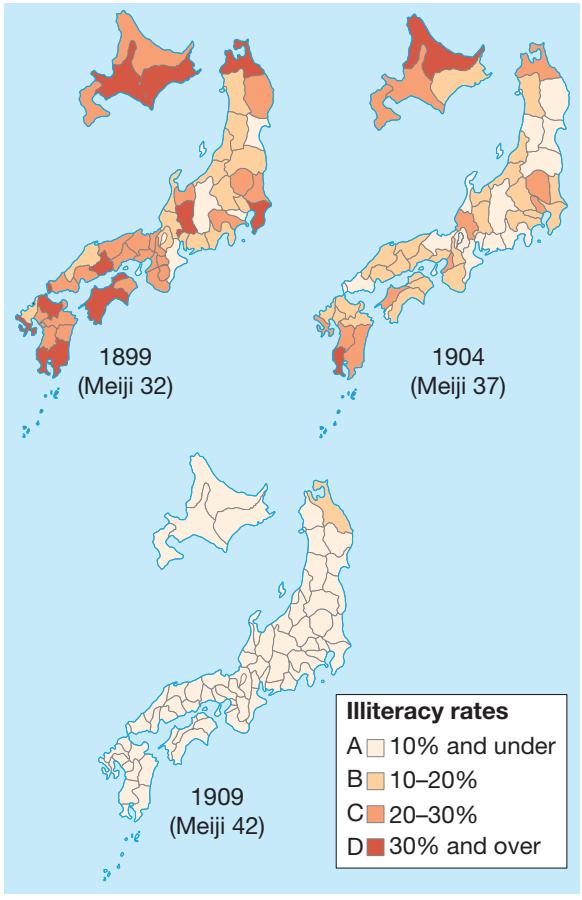
Source **4.27** and **4.28** Statistics on illiteracy during the Meiji period



SOURCE 4.27 Illiteracy rates 1870–1900, selected prefectures. Source: *Monbusho nenpo 1974* (Annual Report of Japanese Ministry of Education 1974).

Responding to the maps

1. Considering the origin, context, motive and audience of both the graph and the map, do you suspect any problems or need for consideration over the reliability of either? How useful do you judge them to be for assessing Japan's level of success in eliminating illiteracy?
2. Looking at the graph, how would you describe the explicit and general trends of illiteracy over time? What might this imply about the effect of the education system?
3. Looking at the map, how would you describe the explicit and general trends of illiteracy over time? What explicit patterns do you see geographically over time? What might this imply about the effect of the education system?
4. What overall conclusion do you draw about the effectiveness of the Japanese education system during the Meiji period and the extent to which it achieved its goal of eliminating illiteracy?
5. What other information might be useful in conjunction (corroboration) with these statistics to draw an even more accurate conclusion?



SOURCE 4.28 Illiteracy rates, 1899, 1904, 1909. Source: *Rikugunsho tokei nenpo 1887–1937* (Annual Statistical Report of the Army Ministry 1887–1937).

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In 1878, the emperor visited schools throughout Japan to assess its success in the adoption of ideas and practices from leading Western nations, and he noticed dramatic changes. Here's how he reacted.

Source **4.29** The emperor's observations about education

SOURCE 4.29 'Imperial Rescript: The Great Principles of Education'

The essence of education, our traditional national aim, and a watchword for all men, is to make clear the ways of benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety, and to master knowledge and skill and through these to pursue the Way of Man. In recent days, people have been going to extremes. They take unto themselves a foreign civilization whose only values are fact-gathering and technique, thus violating the rules of good manners and bringing harm to our customary ways. Although we set out to take in the best features of the West and bring in new things in order to achieve the high aims of the Meiji Restoration – abandonment of the undesirable practices of the past and learning from the outside world – this procedure had a serious defect: It reduced benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety to a secondary position. The danger of indiscriminate emulation of Western ways is that in the end our people will forget the great principles governing the relations between ruler and subject, and father and son. Our aim, based on our ancestral teachings, is solely the clarification of benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety.

For morality, the study of Confucianism is the best guide. People should cultivate sincerity and moral conduct, and after that they should turn to the cultivation of the various subjects of learning in accordance with their ability. In this way, morality and technical knowledge will fall into their proper places. When our education comes to be grounded on Justice and the Doctrine of the Mean, we shall be able to show ourselves proudly throughout the world as a nation of independent spirit ...

Since the practice has developed recently of displaying pictures in classrooms, we must see to it that portraits of loyal subjects, righteous warriors, filial children, and virtuous women are utilized, so that when the pupils enter the school, they will immediately feel in their hearts the significance of loyalty and filial piety. Only if this is done first and then other subjects taught later will they develop in the spirit of loyalty and filial piety and not mistake the means for the end of other studies.

Motoda Eifu, 'Imperial Rescript: The Great Principles of Education [Official Document]', 1879

Responding to the emperor's observations

1. What does the emperor say is the feature of foreign (Western) civilisation and education?
2. Why does he see the adoption of that foreign feature as a 'serious defect'?
3. What qualities does he hope will be encouraged by the display of certain portraits?
4. What do you think he means by the expression 'mistake the means for the end'?
5. To what degree do you think the emperor is upholding the ideals of the Charter Oath here? Give details.
6. Given that the statistics you interrogated in Sources 4.27 and 4.28 reflect the period after this evaluation was made by the emperor, are there any sections of Source 4.29 where the accuracy of the emperor's words is brought into question?

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Clearly the emperor was alarmed by what he saw in Japanese schools during his trip around the nation. The form of education he observed was focused on scientific and technical knowledge that would foster modernisation – what today we call STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics).

Eleven years after his trip, in 1890, the emperor issued another Imperial Rescript on Education. In this he called for the reinforcement of Japanese tradition, reverence for the emperor, and loyalty to the state and to the family. In essence, the two rescripts on education suggest that the emperor (and perhaps other Japanese) was ambivalent about the Meiji modernisation. He was concerned about a moral degradation in Japan from focusing solely on a 'STEM' education; interestingly, this parallels the many critics of an educational approach like this even today and perhaps provides a valuable lesson as we navigate the 'Fourth Industrial Revolution'. In essence, while the benefits of modernisation were obvious, the rescripts indicate that the emperor was asking students to develop Western scientific and technical knowledge while maintaining education in humanitarian and traditional Japanese religious values.

Activity **4.6**

Debate the value of modern education

In Source 4.29, the emperor lamented the way in which schools taught 'technique' without reference to or inclusion of morality. You live now in a time of dramatic technological change like that of Meiji Japan. Debate the following:

Does your school provide all students with BOTH:

- *the essential knowledge and skills for a productive life in this digital age*

AND

- *the values and ethical (spiritual, social, economic and political) understanding necessary to use your knowledge and skills responsibly, sustainably and in a rewarding way for a fulfilling life in this digital age?*

Among the many reforms that took place during the Meiji period, those regarding education contributed the most to the enlightenment of the Japanese people. By 1906, school attendance was as high as 95%, and Japan boasted one of the highest literacy rates in the world. With universal education came the desire for democratic participation for many Japanese citizenry. Some historians link the introduction of state education to Japan's democratisation over time.

How did Japan reform its political and judicial system by 1890?

Meiji modernisation also involved changes to Japan's political system. While the Charter Oath outlined the direction in which the emperor would progress Japan, it didn't provide the political structure necessary to govern modern Japan. By 1881, calls for a representative government could not be ignored by the emperor and his closest advisers (government officials mostly from the domains of Choshu and Satsuma). As a result, the emperor promised a new constitution for Japan. On 11 February 1890, the new constitution was endorsed.

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Source **4.30** The ceremony promulgating the constitution

SOURCE 4.30 1890 illustration of the ceremony promulgating the constitution

Responding to the illustration

How does this scene reflect the following key attributes of the new constitution?

a. The Meiji Constitution of 1890 was 'bestowed' on the government by the emperor.

b. It established a constitutional monarchy strongly influenced by German legal models.

c. The constitution declared the emperor to be 'sacred and inviolable'.

Ito Hirobumi, a well-respected government official from Choshu, was tasked with the challenge of drafting the new constitution. In many ways, Ito symbolised the Meiji period. As a young man he was strongly anti-foreigner and had taken part in a bombing raid on the British Legation in Edo (Tokyo). However, he also realised that Japan's survival depended on Western-style modernisation. He travelled to England in 1863 before the Restoration and was impressed with the industrial progress he saw. After the Restoration, Ito became one of the *genro* (influential Privy Councillors surrounding the emperor at his court). When looking for inspiration in drafting Japan's constitution, he rejected the US Constitution as too **liberal**, but was impressed with the British and German constitutional monarchies. What remained to be seen was how democratic modern Japan's political system would become. You will examine this point in Activity 4.7.

liberalism a political view based on liberty and equality. Liberals generally support civil rights, democracy, secularism, gender equality, internationalism, and the freedoms of speech, the press, religion and markets.

bicameral a legislative body that has two chambers (houses of parliament)

ACTIVITY **4.7**
Meiji political system

In many ways, the Constitution of 1890 took Japan towards **bicameral** parliamentary democracy (similar to that of the Australian federal parliament), but there were significant limitations. For example, it excluded most men and all women from the electoral process. Only wealthy male property owners could vote (about 1% of the population) and the Diet was effectively answerable to the power of the emperor. Historian Louis Cullen (2003:221) explains that Japan took these two key steps to cope with what it perceived as 'the risks inherent in introducing parliamentary democracy':

1. Emphasise the authority of the emperor (necessary to maintain Japanese traditional values and avoid complete adoption of liberal ideas).
2. Protect the ruling interests of the *genro* or Privy Council.

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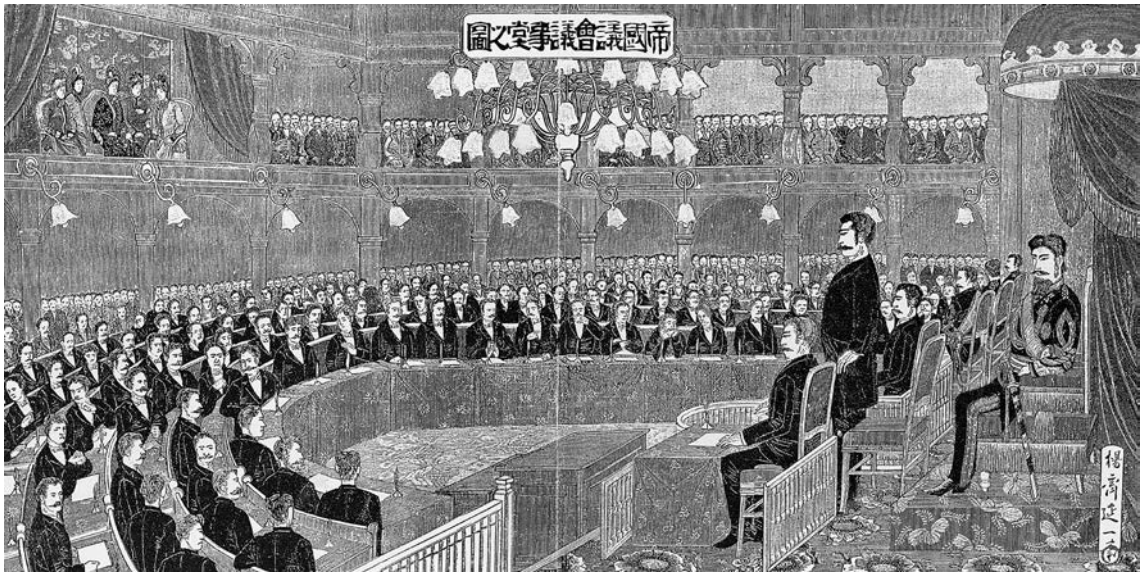
In essence, the system was an **oligarchy**. The Meiji leaders weren't ready in 1890 to completely hand over control to the people by way of an indirect representative democracy similar to that which we experience in Australia today. Therefore, greater power was placed in the hands of the emperor and cabinet ministers compared with that of the two houses of parliament.

oligarchy a country or organisation controlled by a small group of people



SOURCE 4.31 *Interior of the New Japanese Parliament House*, illustration, *The Graphic*, 1891

In what ways are 'Westernising' influences evident in the scene? This illustration was published in *The Graphic* – a British magazine – on 24 January 1891. How do think a British audience would have reacted to this illustration?

Additionally, one of the main reasons for the introduction of the constitution was the reform of the judicial system. The Tokugawa *bakufu's* justice system was seen as unjust and too inconsistent. Therefore, in 1890 a new legal system was drafted based on the French penal code. A commercial and civil code was also introduced based on both French and German models.

In a significant development in 1894 that symbolised just how far Japan had progressed, Britain acknowledged the regulated and just approach to the rule of law and agreed to forgo its extra-territoriality clause. By 1899, many other Western nations followed suit. Through the sufficient adoption of modern ideas in government and the rule of law, it seemed Japan had effectively broken free of the unequal treaties.

Summing up: The domestic consequences of the Meiji Restoration

By the turn of the twentieth century, Japan was a vastly different place from what it had been only four decades earlier. It had developed modern political and judicial systems, become focused heavily on industrialisation, and managed to do away with the unequal treaties of the past. For the first time in history, an Asian nation was interacting on equal terms with the West. All Japan seemed to need now was an empire to validate its status among powerful nations. In the next section of this depth study, you'll investigate how the world reacted to the powerful rise of an Asian nation for the first time in modern history.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

In what ways did Japan modernise after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and what were the domestic consequences of these changes?

As previewed at the beginning of this section, you were introduced to criteria against which to assess the success of a nation's 'modernisation':

- positive economic growth
- positive social conditions
- positive political participation
- a positive cultural life.

1. Revise your notes and source interrogations for this section and categorise them according to one or more of the four criteria above.
2. Use the traffic lights system (Red = negative change; Yellow = no change; Green = positive change) to address this section's sub-question: *In what ways did Japan modernise after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and what were the domestic consequences of these changes?*

SUB-QUESTION 3: How did Meiji modernisation influence Japan's foreign policy and affect its international relationships?

At the turn of the twentieth century, European imperialism was well entrenched in a scramble to gain new colonies and territories around the world. Africa was carved up primarily among the French, British, Belgians and Germans; India was occupied by the British; and South-East Asia had French, Spanish and Dutch colonies. China, once perceived as the jewel of Asian civilisation, was constrained by unequal treaties at the hands of the British. In this context, Japan saw two possible futures – become an imperialist itself or be subject to an eventual European takeover.

Why did Japan become imperialistic?

Massachusetts Institute of Technology's John Dower (2008) characterises the international system at the turn of the twentieth century as a 'dog eat dog world'. He argues that 'the bedrock of international stature was empire and clearly defined spheres of influence; diplomacy was never absent the warships'. In other words, Japan came to realise that *fukoku* (a rich country) always possessed *kyohei* (a strong military) in a world of realpolitik.

SOURCE 4.32 French political cartoon, 'China – the cake of kings and … of emperors', from *Le Petit Journal*, 16 January 1898

What is happening in this cartoon? What might the cake represent? Who do the six figures represent? For each figure, write one phrase or sentence that describes their interest, attitude and/or action. How would you describe Japan's place at the table? In summary, what is the implicit message(s) this source is intending to communicate to its audience?

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In 1885, prominent Meiji leader Fukuzawa Yukichi (whose head is printed on the 10 000-yen banknote) described Japan's road ahead in an influential essay titled *On Throwing Off Asia*. Fukuzawa pointed out that Japan 'must not wait for neighbouring countries to become civilized'. He believed that Japan needed to 'join forces with the civilized countries of the West' and 'deal with [China and Korea] as Western people do' (Dower, 2008). In the same year, Japanese Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru declared 'in my opinion what we must do is transform our empire and our people, make the empire like the countries of Europe and our people like the people of Europe. To put it differently, we have to establish a new, European-style empire on the edge of Asia' (Mackerras, 1997:196–7). These words perhaps offer historians and students of history insight into the roots of the Meiji government's expansionist tendencies. It seemed to Meiji leaders that an imperial takeover (militaristically, if required) and subsequent modernisation of China and Korea were necessary to assure Japan's power in East Asia. A modern military (an army formed from a German model and a navy based on the British naval system) was the key to making this happen. Source 4.33 shows how one Japanese artist depicted Japan's military modernisation and capacity in 1890.

Source **4.33** Japan's military modernisation and capacity

SOURCE 4.33 *Observance by His Imperial Majesty of the Military Manoeuvres of Combined Army and Navy Forces*, by Toyohara Chikanobu, 1890

Responding to the illustration

1. What seems notably modern about this scene?
2. What might be the implied message or purpose for representing Emperor Meiji as the figure standing above all others overseeing the manoeuvres?
3. How might the 'combined army and navy' manoeuvres depicted in this illustration convey a perspective of imperial ambition?
4. Why might the artist have portrayed the Japanese forces here so 'impressively' (motive)?
5. How would you expect the audience (the Japanese people) might have felt in 1890 when viewing this illustration?
6. Considering your responses to questions 1–5, how would you evaluate the source's accuracy in reflecting and usefulness for understanding Japan's military modernisation and capacity in 1890?

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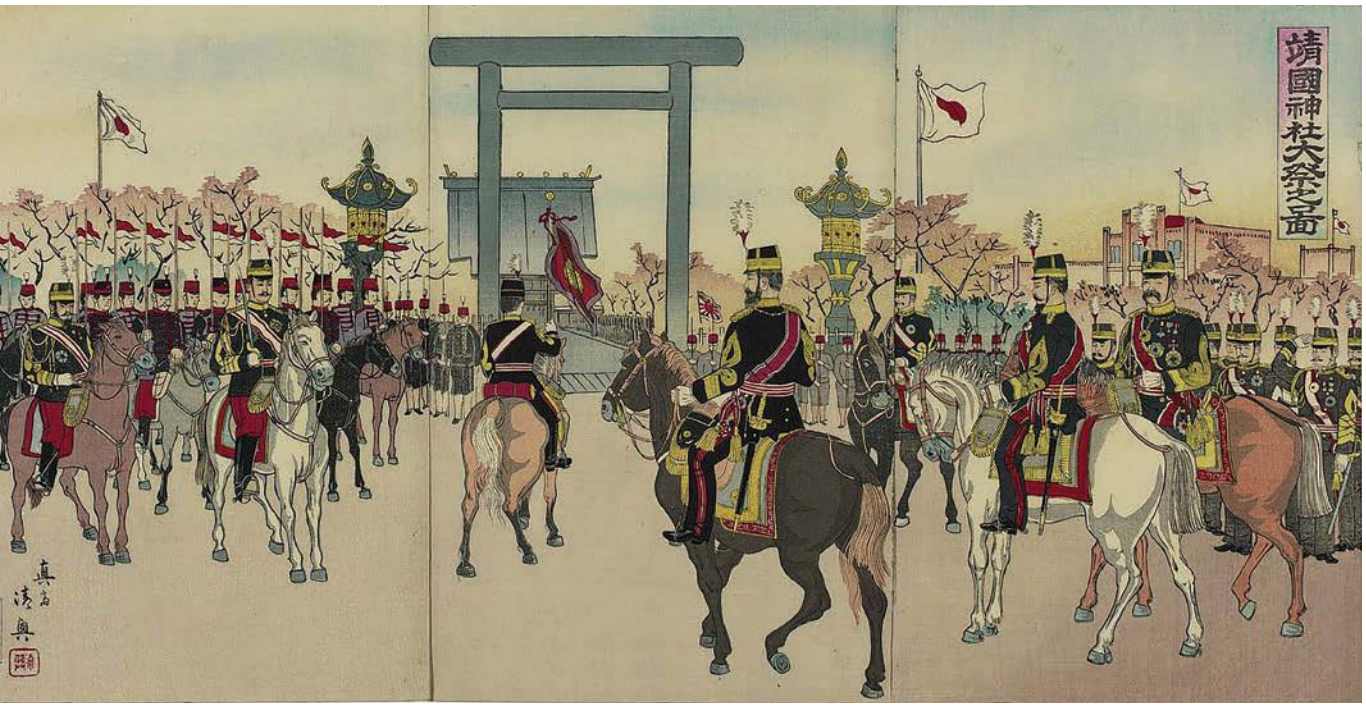
Even though Japan had not gone to war with foreign powers, the emperor was frequently portrayed as the great supreme commander overseeing military manoeuvres, as shown in Source 4.34. At the same time, other artwork produced throughout the Meiji period often depicted the emperor engaged in everyday recreational or civilian activities dressed in military uniform and adorned with sashes and medals.



SOURCE 4.34 *Grand Festival at Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo*, illustration, Shinohara Kiyooki, 1895. The shrine was founded by Emperor Meiji in June 1869 and houses the souls of those who died fighting for the imperial cause in the 1850s.

How might shrines like this generate public support for the military? This shrine was established to promote a sense of spiritual glory in dying for the emperor. Does Australia have an equivalent memorial? How might the combination of military and religious elements make a ceremony very powerful? Do you think religion has a place in military remembrance?

Queensland historian Russell Cowie, in *Imperialism, Racism and Reassessments*, stresses the importance of Japan's national unity fostered by a 'cult of Shintoism' and 'the inculcation of patriotism under a semi-divine emperor' (Cowie, Collins & Ryan, 1994:125). Dower (2008) refers to this as a 'potent emperor-centred **nationalistic** ideology' and aligns it closely with a strong sense of **militarism**. Cowie (1994) further explains that this ideology cultivated within the people an 'aggressive and vigorous national spirit' under the emperor, expressed in a 'determined drive for supremacy'. He sees this as a key feature in Japan's motive for empire, which justified such significant spending on its military. By 1890, one-third of Japan's budget was devoted to military preparations in pursuit of empire. (By comparison, the most powerful country today in the world – the United States – at the time of writing this book spends only one-fifth of its budget; however, this is 2.5 times that of its closest rival, China, and it spends more on the military than the rest of the world's military budgets collectively.)

nationalism advocacy of or support for the political independence of a nation or people and their support for the nation's interests

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

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Also at the heart of Japan's imperialist thirst, according to the University of California's Steven Vogel (2002:66–8), was the pursuit of wealth (*fukoku*) and great power status equal to the West (*kyohei*). For Japan to become rich, though, it needed both raw materials (rubber and metals) and markets. Foreign expansion and the establishment of overseas colonies would satisfy this need and Japan's newly formed imperial military was the tool to achieve it.

Around 1880, a popular song emerged in Meiji society. It went like this:

Source **4.35** Popular Japanese song, 1880

SOURCE 4.35 Popular Japanese song, 1880, translated by historian George Sansom

In the West there is England,

In the North, Russia.

My countrymen, be careful!

Outwardly they make treaties,

But you cannot tell

What is at the bottom of their hearts.

There is a Law of Nations, it is true,

But when the moment comes, remember,

The Strong eat up the Weak.

Responding to the song

1. Who do you think might be the target audience of this song? Why do you think this?
2. What do you think the author means by the lyrics: 'Outwardly they make treaties/But you cannot tell/What is at the bottom of their hearts'?
3. Do you think the author is making any reference to the Charter Oath in the song? Explain.
4. To what extent does this source support or challenge MIT Professor John Dower's (2008) earlier statement about the world being a 'dog eat dog world'? Does this imply Japan subscribed to the Social Darwinist attitude of 'survival of the fittest' at the time?
5. Furthermore, in the last section you learned the definition of realpolitik, or political realism. Does this song reflect this political theory and, in conjunction with your assessment of its attitude to Social Darwinism, how useful is the source in evaluating what Japan's worldview might have been at the end of the nineteenth century?

As the song in Source 4.35 reveals, despite Japan's rapid program of Westernisation, some Japanese were clearly sceptical about Western imperialist motives. By the late 1800s, many Meiji leaders equated Japan's rising industrial power with the need to flex its militaristic might. Under the guidance of *genro* such as Yamagata Aritomo (an ex-samurai from Choshu serving as War Minister in 1873, Prime Minister in 1889 and Field Marshall in 1898), the emperor was set to lead imperial Japan on the expansion of its sphere of influence in Asia. By the 1890s, modern Japan was ready to flex its imperial muscle, and its eyes were trained on China.

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How did modern Japan first test its militarist might?

Japan was a highly unified, modernising nation by 1890, while its nearest neighbours, China and Korea, were not. To further understand what Japanese leaders thought about their East Asian neighbours during the years following the Meiji Restoration, examine the following statement by Field Marshall Yamagata Aritomo. He made the statement in Source 4.36 in 1910, reflecting on the events of 1883, the year in which Japan greatly increased its military conscription program.

Source **4.36** Yamagata reflects on China

SOURCE 4.36 Field Marshall Yamagata Aritomo writes in 1910 about the events of 1883

... The high-handed attitude of the Chinese towards Korea, which was antagonistic to the interests of Japan, showed our officers that a great war was to be expected sooner or later on the continent, and made them eager to acquire knowledge, for they were as yet quite unfitted for a continental war.

Yamagata Aritomo, 'The Japanese Army', in *Fifty Years of New Japan, Vol. 1*, edited by Okuma Shigenobu, 1910, p. 208

Responding to Yamagata

1. What does Yamagata imply is likely to be the flashpoint that will lead to conflict between Japan and China?
2. What was Yamagata's estimate of whether Japan was prepared for war against China in 1883?
3. How might Yamagata's estimate be used as motivation to justify Japan's increased military conscription program at the time?
4. Evaluate to what degree Yamagata's assessment might be a trustworthy and accurate estimate for historians to gauge Japan's preparedness for war in 1883. Explain your response.

As Yamagata accurately foreshadowed, it was Korea that presented the spark for conflict between Japan and China and provided the opportunity for Meiji Japan to flex its newly developed military might. In 1894, there was an internal rebellion in Korea against the government of its king. China sent troops to support its neighbouring king in order to secure stability. Japan objected to China's actions and sent 200 000 troops into Korea to protect its 'zones of influence'. War between China and Japan was officially declared on 31 July 1894 after Japan attacked and sunk a Chinese troopship six days earlier. Debate still exists about Japan's motives for sinking the troopship. Was it simply resisting what it perceived as Chinese expansion into Korea? Or was Korea used as an excuse for Japanese leaders to wage war on the continent and begin to flex the nation's own imperialist muscle?

The war lasted nine months, on land and sea, and Japan forced a decisive victory over Chinese forces. In early 1895, the Chinese asked for an armistice – a virtual admission of defeat. The Sino-Japanese War was over. Source 4.37 shows how the Japanese victory was portrayed on the other side of the world by one British cartoonist.

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Source **4.37** A British cartoonist's view of Japan's defeat of China

Responding to the cartoon

1. How has the cartoonist conveyed the outcome and significance of Japan's war with China?
2. What attitude towards Japan's victory do you think the cartoonist has intended for its audience? How have they shown this attitude?
3. What level of modernisation on the parts of both China and Japan is implied by the cartoonist? And what insight does this provide about Britain's perspective on Japan and China's ability to challenge Western power at the end of the nineteenth century?

SOURCE 4.37 Cartoon in *Punch*, 29 September 1894

As a result of the conflict, China and Japan signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki, by which Japan received **reparations** amounting to $170 million of gold from China. Here is a further summary of the main provisions of the treaty. As you read the following points, consider 1) how each of the three provisions benefited Japan and humiliated China, and 2) the irony of Japan receiving 'most-favoured-nation status' from China:

reparations the action of making amends by providing payment or rendering assistance to those who have been wronged

- China handed over control of Formosa (modern Taiwan) and the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria.
- China was required to grant Japan the same 'most-favoured-nation' status as it had granted to certain European nations.
- Japanese forces were to periodically occupy the city of Weihaiwei in the Chinese province of Shantung.

The Treaty of Shimonoseki was significant for a number of reasons. First, it demonstrated that Japan's modernisation had been successful – that it could now defeat its larger and traditionally more powerful rival in China. Second, the treaty was ironic in that Japan imposed on China the same unequal treaty that the Japanese themselves resented after Perry forced open the doors only four decades earlier. Third, the treaty increased the West's concern about Japan's power, and the way the West reacted reflected that concern.

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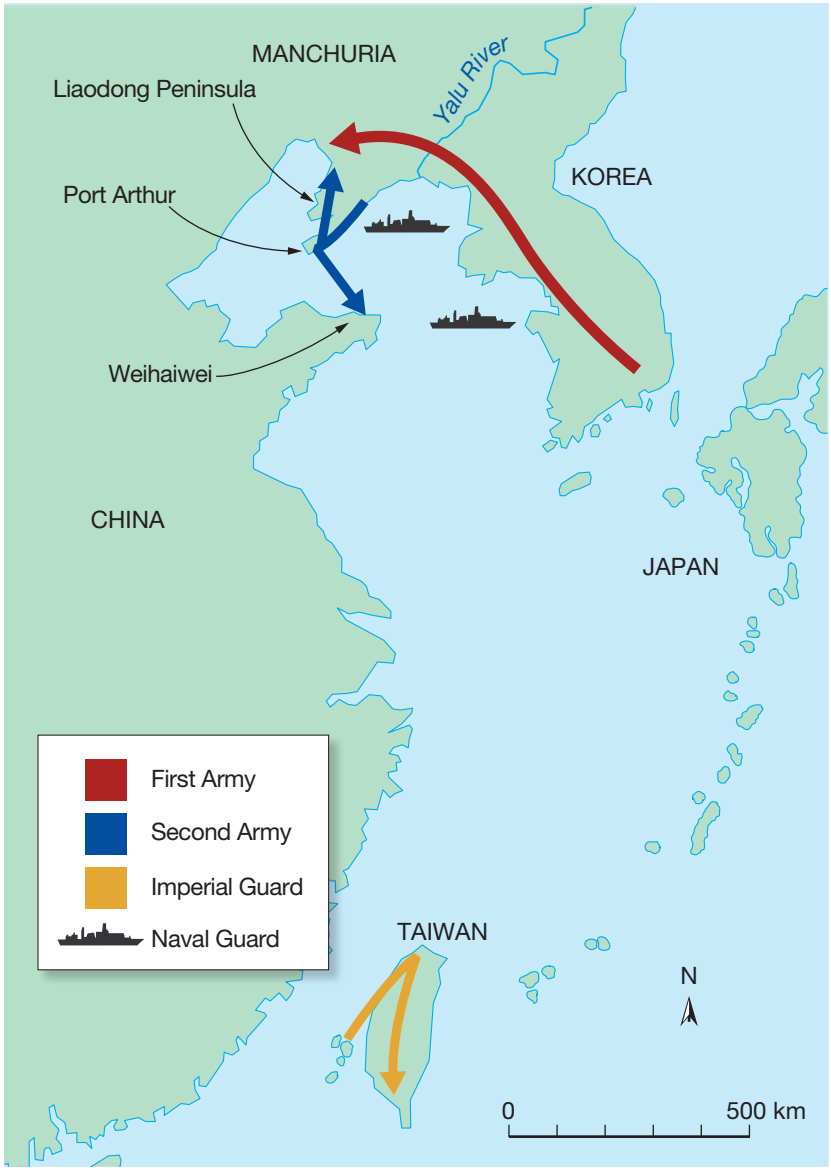

SOURCE 4.38 A map of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–95

Korea was the site of Sino-Japanese conflict over many years. How does the map help you understand why? Why might Japan have wanted to control both Korea and Taiwan (formerly Formosa)?

In a triple intervention, Russia, France and Germany shocked the Japanese Government when they protested to the terms of the treaty. Japan felt powerless to rebuke the protest and was forced to give up control of the Liaodong Peninsula (including the important town of Port Arthur). The intervention caused great resentment in Japan against the foreign powers. It appeared to Japan that it was still not seen as an equal by the West. Perhaps the seeds of Japan's involvement in World War II were sown here.

The situation was made worse just five years later, when, hypocritically, Germany, France, Britain and Russia all seized, occupied and leased crucial territories in China. Worst of all in the Japanese eyes was Russia's occupation of the territories won by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War: the Liaodong Peninsula and Port Arthur. This was a major factor in increasing tensions between Russia and Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century, setting the stage for further conflict to come.

How was Japanese power finally acknowledged by the West?

Greek writer and Japanophile Lafcadio Hearn, in his 1896 book *Kokoro*, wrote that the 'real birthday of the new Japan … began with the conquest of China'. The question now for Japanese leaders was, what next? Yamagata Aritomo believed that the victory over China would be hollow if Japan didn't take the lead in East Asia and extend its influence further in the pursuit of acceptance by the Western powers.

Japan's first opportunity for acceptance by the West came in 1902. In that year, Japan signed its first 'equal' treaty of modern times, the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. But what might have motivated Japan to sign a treaty with Britain? And how might the other European powers have felt about the treaty? You'll begin to explore these questions by interrogating a political cartoon from the French *Le Petit Journal* from 6 April 1902.

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Source **4.39** Cover of *Le Petit Journal*, 1902

Responding to the cartoon

1. In this allegorical cartoon, how has the artist depicted:
   a. the new alliance between Japan and Britain
   b. the reaction of Russia and France
   c. possibly, Japan's reaction to them?
2. Considering the caption, 'En Chine. La France et La Russie. – Pas si vite! Nous sommes là' ('In China. France and Russia. – Not so fast! We're here!'), what seems to be the French cartoonist's perspective about this new alliance between Japan and Britain and their intentions to claim equal rights in slicing the Chinese cake?

SOURCE 4.39 Political cartoon on the cover of *Le Petit Journal*, 1902

After suffering the humiliation of giving back the territories won in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan was keen to find a European ally to lessen the chances of this happening again. Britain, with its superior navy, was a natural fit. Moreover, the treaty was intended to counter the apparent threat to Britain and Japan by Russia. Russia can be seen in the cartoon (Source 4.39) in allegorical form, together with France watching critically the alliance being concluded.

The signing of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty in 1902 was a momentous event in Japanese history. It signalled membership into the international 'club' of powerful nations. In less than 50 years since Japan was humiliated into ending centuries of isolation after the arrival of Commodore Perry, it was accepted as an equal to a Western nation. But just two years later, in 1904, Japan again would have its mettle tested. Only this time, it would stand toe-to-toe with a major world power: Russia.

How did the world react to Japan's war against Russia?

The Russo-Japanese War followed years of Japanese opposition to Russian activities in northern China. After gaining control of Liaoyang Peninsula and Port Arthur through the Triple Intervention of 23 April 1895, Russia declared that it had exclusive control of the economic resources of the area. Russia also later argued that Japan should give up its influence over, and interests in, part of Korea. When diplomatic negotiations broke down in 1904, Japan launched a surprise attack on the Russian fleet anchored in Port Arthur. War was declared soon after on 8 February 1904.

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Sources **4.40** and **4.41** Japanese illustrations of the Russo-Japanese War

Responding to the illustrations

1. What evidence appears in *In the Battle of the Sha River* showing that the Japanese military in 1904 was modern and well-equipped?
2. In what way might *News of Russo-Japanese Battles* imply that despite Japan's remarkable modernisation in the Meiji era, it had not lost spiritual connection with its traditional samurai past? Why might the artist have chosen (motive) to portray 'Superior Private Ohashi Keikichi of the Imperial Guard Infantry' in this way?
3. Based on your analysis of the explicit detail and any implied meaning illustrated in the prints, what might be the message communicated to the Japanese public (audience) in these illustrations?
4. Clearly these prints convey a Japanese military perspective, but based on your responses to questions 1–3, how reliable do you judge them to be about the nature of the Russo-Japanese War? Furthermore, how useful do you evaluate these prints to be for understanding the nature of the Russo-Japanese War? (First, take into account any considerations about reliability while addressing this question, and also think about what other sources might be useful to get an even clearer view of the war's nature.)

SOURCE 4.40 *In the Battle of the Sha River, a Company of Our Forces Drives a Strong Enemy Force to the Left Bank of the Taizi River* by Yoshikuni, November 1904

SOURCE 4.41 *News of Russo-Japanese Battles: Superior Private Ohashi Keikichi of the Imperial Guard Infantry* by Migita Toshihide, 1904

The modern and well-equipped Japanese military was quick to record early victories in the war. There was a mixed reaction to Japan's actions around the world at the time. Source 4.42 on the next page is how an editorial from *The Times* newspaper in London describes the events of early 1904.

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Source **4.42** *The Times* in London comments on the Russo-Japanese War

SOURCE 4.42 Editorial in *The Times*, 1904

The story of the last ten days must have fallen on the Western world with the rapidity of a tropical thunderstorm ... That is the trouble at the root of the present situation – the past inability of the West to take Japan seriously ... All this is due to the superficial study of Japan which has characterised Western contact with it. We as a nation alone appear to have formed a shrewder estimate ... But for the rest, they ... thought of the nation as a people of pretty dolls dressed in flowered silks and dwelling in paper houses of the capacity of matchboxes.

The Times, London, 11 February 1904

Responding to *The Times*

1. According to *The Times*, why was the Western world shocked at Japan's rise to power?
2. What stereotypes are explicitly mentioned in the article?
3. Considering the origin, context and audience, which event could the author be alluding to when claiming, 'We as a nation alone appear to have formed a shrewder estimate'?
4. What broader lesson from history is implied in the statement, 'All this is due to the superficial study of Japan which has characterised Western contact with it'? How might this apply to the world today regarding international politics?

In France, writer René Pinon described popular reaction to the war in May 1904.

Source **4.43** René Pinon describes French reaction to Japan's victories, May 1904

SOURCE 4.43 French historian and political journalist René Pinon writes about Japan's victories in 1904

Whether one likes it or not, the '**yellow peril**' has entered already into the imagination of the people ... in a setting of conflagration and carnage, Japanese and Chinese hordes spread out all over Europe, crushing under their feet the ruins of our capital cities and destroying our civilizations, grown anaemic due to the enjoyment of luxuries and corrupted by vanity of spirit.

yellow peril an offensive phrase referring to the perception that Asian populations would expand and Western culture would be overpowered; 'yellow' was a racist term for people from East Asia

René Pinon, 'La Guerre Russo-Japanaise et l'Opinion Europeéne', *Revue des Deux Mondes, vol. XXI*, May 1904

Responding to René Pinon

1. According to Pinon, what do Europeans fear and what has made European civilisations vulnerable? Is this type of fear still apparent in the world today? And if so, is this fear justified? Explain.
2. Considering this source's context, Pinon wrote it in 1904. How do you think he might have felt a year later, after Japan's crushing defeat of Russia?
3. Locate the Wikipedia page on *Revue des Deux Mondes* (and/or other webpages about *Revue des Deux Mondes*). Considering what is written *about* the journal's mission, ideology, values and meaning of its title, is this a perspective of Japan you would expect from this magazine? Use your analysis here to evaluate the extent of the source's reliability.

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The war lasted 19 months. Both sides recorded exceptional casualty rates. At the Battle of Mukden alone (a site on the railway line Russia had built across Manchuria), Russian casualties and losses were estimated at 89 000 soldiers and the Japanese at 71 000. The event that seemed to most shock European nations and people was the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905, when the Japanese fleet crushed the Russian fleet that had sailed from the Black Sea in Europe. You might like to locate and watch on YouTube the dramatic re-enactments of this battle to get a greater sense of its scale and significance.

SOURCE 4.44 Map of the area of conflict in the Russo-Japanese War 1904–05

Port Arthur, Liaoyang and Mukden are linked by a railway that then continues north into Manchuria. Why might railways have been a strategic target of Japanese attacks in the war? Why do you think China would have been worried about the outcome of the war?

SOURCE 4.45 Cartoon titled 'Good Offices', US political magazine *Harper's Weekly*, 24 June 1905. US President Theodore Roosevelt stands between Tsar Nicholas II of Russia and Emperor Meiji of Japan; a scroll reading 'Let us have peace' rests upon 'the drum of war' in the foreground.

What might the title mean? How is the US president depicted differently from the other two, and does that seem to convey a message about this situation? Considering the depiction of the US president, how useful do you think the source is as evidence of how the United States saw its role in the world in 1905?

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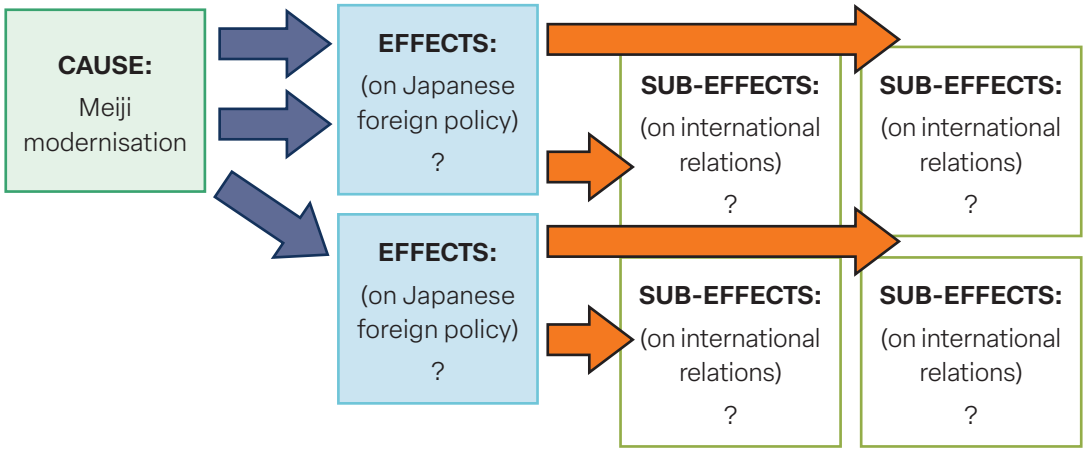
Summing up

On 30 July 1912, Emperor Meiji died in Tokyo. By this time Japan, following the Western model, had become an imperialist power in Asia. Japan's military was modern and well equipped; it overcame China, Asia's most powerful nation at the time, and then quickly, by 1905, astonished the world by convincingly defeating one of the world's most powerful Western nations in Russia. As a result, the West finally took notice of Japanese power, albeit with apprehension about what might be yet to come. At this same time, Asian countries like Vietnam and India, suffering under the colonial yoke of these same Western powers, saw Japan's rise as a hopeful symbol of independence. For them, Japan's successes throughout the Meiji period were amazing and optimistic phenomena.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

How did Meiji modernisation influence Japan's foreign policy and affect its international relationships?

Create a chart like the below to reflect conceptually on your learning in this section.



NOTE: You can add additional boxes to complete this reflection. Also, where you connect arrows becomes as important as what you write in the boxes because it's the cause–effect relationhips that show the depth of your conceptual understanding.

SUB-QUESTION 4: What have historians said about the causes and consequences of Japanese modernisation in the Meiji period?

Russell Cowie

Russell Cowie (1931–2015) finished his academic career as Associate Professor of Education at the University of Queensland, St Lucia, Brisbane. Prior to that he worked as the Assistant to Headmaster at the Anglican Church Grammar School (Churchie) in Brisbane. According to the Queensland History Teachers' Association (2024), Cowie was the most influential force in history education in Queensland over four decades. He led the development of inquiry-based syllabuses, pioneered a new era in history textbooks, helped found the state and national history teacher associations, and presented countless lectures and workshops at conferences. Additionally, he was honoured by the nation in 2013 with the Medal of the Order of Australia.

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Cowie sums up the significance of much of what you have seen so far in this depth study in the 1994 publication *Imperialism, Racism and Reassessments*. He writes that 'within forty years the Meiji modernisation had achieved significant results. Revisions on the "unequal treaties" had been accomplished, the modernised army and navy had achieved successes, and Japan had staked out a clearly defined sphere of influence in North-East Asia. National dignity had been restored' (Cowie, Collins & Ryan, 1994:128). Ironically, though, Cowie also points out that the imperialist inequities bitterly experienced by Japan at the hands of the Western powers in the earlier years of the Meiji period were in turn imposed by Japan on its East Asian neighbours. While other Asian nations looked to Japan to provide a model of modernisation and freedom from Western domination, Japan utilised its modernisation to invade the continent and embark on a program of imperial expansionism from 1894 that set the scene for what would later become the greatest defeat and devastation in its history: World War II.

Shinichi Kitaoka

Shinichi Kitaoka is a Japanese political scientist. He has held varied roles, such as the President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA, 2015–22), President of the International University of Japan, Professor at Rikkyo University (1985–1997) and the University of Tokyo (1997–2012), and Professor at Japan's GRIPS-Tokyo School of Security and International Studies (2012–). Furthermore, Dr Kitaoka held the prestigious position of Japanese Ambassador to the United Nations (2004–06). His area of expertise is the history of Japanese politics and diplomacy, as a political scientist and a historian.

Kitaoka (2019:1) defines the Meiji restoration more as a revolution. In a speech published in JICA-Open University of Japan's 'Seven Chapters on Japanese Modernization', Kitaoka described the significance and legacy of the Meiji 'Revolution' and pointed out that 'there are quite a few aspects of Japan's experience that can be shared with developing countries today'. He offered the following examples as revolution in Japan due to the speed and magnitude of the change:

1. 'The new Meiji government chose to rapidly introduce Western civilization.'
2. 'It abolished the feudal system to establish a centralised political system within three years from the restoration.'
3. 'A modern cabinet system, the Meiji Constitution and the national parliament were installed only 17 years, 21 years and 22 years, respectively, after the restoration.'

Kitaoka summarised the significance of this period.

SOURCE 4.46 Dr Kitaoka summarises the significance of the Meiji period

In the modernisation process, Japan realized greater popular participation in politics, while discarding a host of feudal-era prohibitions and opening the meritocratic way for able people to be assigned and promoted to key positions, regardless of social status. In that sense, the Meiji Revolution can also be defined as a democratic revolution, a liberal revolution and a human resources revolution.

Shinichi Kitaoka, 'Seven Chapters on Japanese Modernization', 2019, p. 2

Louis M. Cullen

Louis Michael Cullen is an Irish diplomat, academic, historian, author and Japanologist. He is Professor of Modern Irish History at Trinity College in Dublin and visiting Research Scholar at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto. He is a leading historian of early modern trade.

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Cullen, in his *A History of Japan 1582–1941: Internal and External Worlds* (2003:210–12), argues that 'Japan was highly commercialised by 1868'. That is, entrepreneurs existed on a 'substantial scale' and supplied significantly large domestic markets; 'the real strength was not Japan's external market, but the huge internal market'. He also points out that Japan had well-developed textile and silk industries that were carried into its modernisation from Tokugawa times. Cullen adds that the great business conglomerates of Meiji Japan – the *zaibatsu* – originated from Tokugawa models and enjoyed significant investment from Japan's newly formed Meiji government. In fact, 'Mitsubishi can date its origins to the years just before the Restoration'. Therefore, Japan's Meiji economy was in a very good position structurally due to its Tokugawa heritage and later governmental investment or subsidies, so that these *zaibatsu* traded, banked, manufactured and shipped prosperously in the pursuit of rapidly modernising Japan.

In terms of living conditions, Cullen uses infant mortality data to assess whether conditions improved or not with Meiji modernisation. Cullen (2003:215) states that infant mortality was 'possibly in the region of 176 per 1000 in 1750–1870 and does not seem to have fallen in the Meiji period: the fall only began as late as the 1920s'. It appears industrialisation in Japan, despite later than the West, still carried with it social ills that Japan could not avoid initially.

Daikichi Irokawa

Daikichi Irokawa (1925–2021) was Professor of Japanese History at Tokyo University of Economics and published numerous works on the Meiji period. One such significant publication was his 1988 book *The Culture of the Meiji Period*. Irokawa was particularly interested in the daily life of the Japanese population and the evolution of their values, and in his work he sought to challenge the differences in understanding (contestability) of Japanese history within the country and internationally.

In a 1992 documentary titled 'The Meiji Revolution' (Episode 2 of PBS's *The Pacific Century*), Irokawa described the significance of Japan's victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05. Irokawa interestingly compared the successes of the Meiji modernisation period with its ability to militaristically match it with the West and become an imperial power in Asia. Furthermore, he explained that modernisation, quest for empire and military might were deeply personal for all Japanese and shared as a nation at the time.

When talking about the Russo-Japanese War, Irokawa stated the following:

SOURCE 4.47 Dr Irokawa on the Russo-Japanese War

> **... it was the first time Japan had gone to war against a Western power. Japanese leaders believed that if we lose this war, all the successes of the Meiji Restoration would have been for nothing. About a million Japanese soldiers went to war, and when you look at the diaries they kept and the letters they sent home, they thought of this as their own war, and that they were fighting it for themselves as well as Japan.**

Daikichi Irokawa, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, 1988

Irokawa went on to explain that there was dancing in the streets of Tokyo when victory was declared by Japan. People came out in the thousands to demonstrate their support for the new Japanese Imperial Military and celebrate Admiral Heihashima Togo's triumphant return to Tokyo. Japanese nationalism and militarism were on full display. According to Irokawa, the Russo-Japanese War was significant and symbolic as it represented for the people of Japan a personal victory as much as it did a collective one.

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Activity **4.8**

Corroborate and contest historical interpretations

Complete a summary table like the one below to identify points of corroboration and contestation between these four historians.

	Key arguments of these historians relating to the depth study key inquiry question under investigation	Areas where these historians agree (corroboration) and disagree (contestation)	How (if at all) these historians' interpretations align with your interpretation based on your study of the topic in the depth study thus far
Dr Russell Cowie			
Dr Shinichi Kitaoka			
Dr Louis Cullen			
Dr Daikichi Irokawa			
Any areas of consideration relating to reliability where contestation exists:			

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

What have historians said about the causes and consequences of Japanese modernisation in the Meiji period?

Share your analysis of the four historians' views recorded in Activity 4.8 with those of your classmates. What arguments, corroboration and/or contestation do you agree on? Where do your analyses differ? Why might that be the case? Did you interpret the historians' perspectives differently?

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, you will synthesise what you have learned in this depth study to answer the key inquiry question: What were the causes and consequences of Japanese modernisation begun in the Meiji period (1868–1912)?

1. Begin reviewing the subject matter of this depth study by watching a short video clip by Feature History, titled 'Meiji Restoration', at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10523.
2. In a small group, create a table like the one on the following page, using a collaborative electronic application such as Google Docs or the collaborative space on One Note, and complete each attribute for *all* the aspects in the left-hand column.
3. As a group, use your table to prepare an argument for a class debate on the following question: *What was the most significant consequence of the Japanese modernisation that began in the Meiji period?*

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4. Your teacher will facilitate a class debate based on the differing group arguments.

Depth study foci of the Meiji Restoration	Cause(s)	Aim/goal	Key players (individuals and/or groups)	Key events and developments	Effects/ outcomes	Best source(s) and the evidence to support this point
Internal discontent with Tokugawa rule						
Rallying support behind the emperor						
Death of the shogun and restoration of power in the emperor						
Modernisation of industry						
Modernisation of the economy						
Changing role of the samurai						
Meiji educational reform						
Modernisation of political and judicial system						
Japanese imperialist and militaristic sentiments						
World reaction to Japanese militarism						

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CONCLUDING STUDY
Reflecting on the Meiji experience

Significance at the time

When Commodore Perry's ships entered Edo harbour on 8 July 1853, Japan's future hung in the balance. The country could easily have become another 'colonial possession' on the world map. Instead, Japan transformed itself through one of the most remarkable episodes in modern history. For Japan, the significance at the time of the Meiji Restoration is crystal clear. Not only did Japan avoid the colonised fate of so many other countries, but it also transformed itself into a modern industrial and military power. Its historical trajectory changed dramatically, with repercussions for the Japanese people and, before long, for the rest of the world.

There were lessons in this for the Japanese. The country retained its independence through strong leadership, a sense of national unity, a commitment to change and a willingness to embrace Western ideas, values and practices. Those factors produced dramatic, planned changes in vital aspects of the Japanese nation: governance, economy, industry, workforce, technology, education, transportation and communication. There was a piquant paradox in all this: Japan's successful Meiji transformation involved much copying (and sometimes modifying) of Western nations' experiences of modernisation and industrialisation. As a 'late adopter', Japan could choose the best to copy, and could avoid the pitfalls and blind alleys that the European nations had encountered earlier.

Among those Western ideas that Japan embraced was a belief in military power based on modern technologies. In one dramatic decade from 1894 to 1905, that military power enabled Japan to defeat Asia's largest country (China) and Europe's long-lived empire (Russia). There were lessons in this for both Japan and the rest of the world. Japan saw how military success brought international acceptance and respect. European nations realised that, for the first time in modern history, an Asian nation had to be taken seriously as a powerful state, rather than a resource for exploitation. (Britain, it seems, had recognised this earlier, forming an official alliance with Japan in 1902.)

The Meiji transformation of Japan demonstrated that Western imperial ambitions could be thwarted. At the time, European empires encircled the globe. But the Japanese example of successful resistance was not emulated at the time. No other colonised nation or territory, it seems, had the same successful combination of factors that kept Japan independent and free.

Although this section of the chapter is framed as 'Significance at the time' and 'Significance for today', there is an almost seamless narrative that connects the two. So much of the change described here propelled Japan's historic impacts on today's world.

Legacy – significance for today

Japan and the two world wars

Japan participated in both world wars. World War II, in particular, had dramatic and ongoing impacts on today's world.

In World War I, Japan played a minor non-military role on the side of Britain and its allies. For example, Japanese ships transported thousands of Australian troops to the Middle East. World War I's disruption of the global economy favoured Japan. With major nations preoccupied with the conflict in Europe and industrial production for the war effort, Japan expanded its exports to the European colonies of South and East Asia.

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The immediate postwar situation also favoured Japan. Not only was it a party to the Peace Conference and Treaty of Versailles, and a founding member of the League of Nations, but it was also one of the four permanent members of the League's Council (along with Great Britain, France and Italy). Historically, this was remarkable, coming only 52 years after the Meiji emperor ascended the throne.

SOURCE 4.48 Emperor Hirohito inspects a Guard of Honour of World War I heroes in London, May 1921

What does this image suggest about Anglo-Japanese relations at the time? What does the emperor's uniform suggest about his role in the new, modern Japanese nation?

During World War I, while battles raged in Europe, Japan had revealed its ambitions for economic and political influence and control in neighbouring territories. In the postwar decade, disputes erupted between Japan and China. In 1933, Japan's military actions in Manchuria drew criticism in the League of Nations assembly, precipitating Japan's withdrawal from the League. This was an ominous portent of a more serious conflict to come.

Unlike in World War I, Japan's role in World War II was massive. A number of factors – still disputed by historians – led to Japan's entry into the war, signalled by the surprise Japanese attack on the US base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii on 7 December 1941. Within days, Japan had aligned with Germany and Italy as the Axis powers, pitted against Britain, its allies and the United States.

While the progress of the conflict will not be described here, one key assertion is offered: there is a trajectory of cause and effect from the Meiji transformation of Japan to Japan's eventual entry into World War II. That trajectory is marked by elements already canvassed in this chapter – nationalism, modernisation, industrialisation, militarisation and imperial ambition – combined with particular political and economic circumstances in the 1930s.

One aspect of Japan's war is noteworthy. In some European colonies in South and East Asia, the invading Japanese were welcomed by some who saw them as liberators from their colonial masters and, perhaps, as creating the possibility of postwar independence. After 1945, some colonial peoples argued that the failure of Britain, France and the Netherlands to protect them from Japanese invasion strengthened the colonies' demands for independence. Indeed, in the two decades after 1945, 26 colonies gained independence from European powers. In some cases – notably Indonesia, Malaya, Burma and French Indo-China – it's likely that the achievement of independence was accelerated by Japan's wartime occupation.

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The aftermath of war

As with World War I, the aftermath of World War II favoured Japan … even though it had been the aggressor! The United States, which had borne the brunt of the war against Japan, determined that Japan should be rebuilt as a strong, prosperous but peaceable democratic nation. Its major motive was to ensure Japan was not a fertile ground in which communism might take root, and, instead, to position Japan as a bulwark against any threat posed by China – where Communist forces were poised to win a civil war – or the Soviet Union. Put simply, Japan became a key strategic element in the Cold War that would dominate international relations for the next four decades.

This Cold War strategy necessitated a stable, productive and prosperous Japan to emerge from the ruins of World War II. On the one hand, Japan was occupied by Allied forces for years after the 1945 surrender, Japanese war criminals were tried and executed, Japan's new constitution had to reject war as a way of solving international disputes, and Japan's military forces could have a defensive capability only.

On the other hand, the United States provided $2.2 billion for reconstruction, and allowed giant industrial corporations, which had materially underpinned Japan's World War II aggression, to continue as the backbone of Japan's industrial might.

Japan's 'economic miracle'

By 1945, Japan's belated 'industrial revolution' involved a large number of industrial enterprises. Some dated back to the *zaibatsu* of the early Meiji period. Following Japan's surrender in 1945, energies focused on peacetime production. There was a shaky start to Japan's export ventures. In the 1950s, Japanese products gained a reputation for poor quality while, in some countries, wartime resentment produced buyer resistance. But, from the 1960s, quality improved and markets became more receptive. Japan's modern industrial processes and Japanese inventiveness combined with a particularly hardworking and loyal workforce to build strong markets around the world. Australians purchased automobiles, entertainment systems and household appliances – noted for their lower prices as well as their quality.

Activity **4.9**

Research familiar Japanese brands

Here is a list of major Japanese industrial corporations whose products are familiar in Australia. The name is its current name, which in some cases differs from its original name. The date is the year of its earliest activity.

Mitsubishi 1870	Toshiba 1875	Yamaha 1887	Kawasaki 1896	NEC 1898
Suzuki 1909	Panasonic 1918	Mazda 1920	Nissan 1933	Isuzu 1934
Toyota 1937	Honda 1946	Sony 1946	Sanyo 1947	

Choose one corporation. Use an internet search to trace its history. Create a report to share with your classmates, responding to these questions:

1. What is the most remarkable thing about this corporation's history?
2. Does this corporation's history reflect the 'spirit of Meiji'?
3. What was the most important factor/development/decision/stroke of luck that contributed to the corporation's success?
4. Does the corporation have an important presence in the world, in Australia or in your life?

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Over the past two decades, Japanese industry has faced strong competition from industrial production based in China, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and India. Just as Japanese exports became popular in Western countries because of product quality and cheaper prices, goods produced in those Asian countries are now lower in price than those from Japan. Most recently, this has become obvious in the competitive markets of electric vehicles (EVs) and electronic devices (computers, mobile phones and TVs). Major European and US companies have opened factories in China – for example, Tesla, the world's leading EV brand. And in a 'twist of history', Toyota now manufactures some models in China.

Meiji, our digital society and ethical challenges

In 1992, historian Frank Gibney claimed that the Meiji Restoration was a phenomenal transformation that 'set in motion forces, economic forces, political forces and cultural forces that are still working amongst us today'.

Technology and ethics

In the 2015 scene in Source 4.49, a soldier is controlling a robot through her own brainwaves. This scene is taking place in China at the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Information Engineering University. Furthermore, a 2023 article in the *South China Morning Post* (Yuanyue Dang, 2023) reports that Chinese scientists for the Ministry of Industry and Technology (MIIT) are developing humanoid robots to 'use in harsh and dangerous conditions' that might well possess capabilities such as making battlefield decisions using artificial intelligence (AI). According to the article, China is looking to become a global leader in this technology by 2027.

Ethical challenges are also being raised about the new driverless cars, which are programmed to make decisions in dangerous situations. The following activity explores an ethical dilemma related to those cars.

SOURCE 4.49 Brain-controlled robot in Zhengzhou, China, 2015. Robots like this are in development with the Chinese military.

What does this image suggest about the level of China's modernisation? How might this technology be used in warfare? What ethical questions might this raise?

Activity **4.10**

Discuss a change in ethical dilemmas

In 2017, Associated Press journalist Matt O'Brien wrote an article in which he presented a classic ethical dilemma known as the 'trolley problem'. This asks you to imagine that you are driving a trolley (tram) on which the brakes have failed: five people are standing on the track in front of you, and will be killed if you hit them, but you can choose to divert to another track on which only one person is standing. What would you do?

O'Brien reimagined the scenario for the driver of a car rather than a trolley, and challenged readers to consider what a self-driving car would do. The report (which you can read in full at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10795) described how researchers are wrestling with this challenge.

1. In a group, discuss your responses to the dilemma posed.
2. Next, discuss how technological developments in robotics, virtual reality and AI continue to produce new ethical dilemmas. Inform your discussion by searching online for debates about 'appropriate technology' and 'appropriate use of technology'. In particular, discuss the mantra that 'if it can be done, it should be done' – that there should be virtually no moral limits on what can be done if it is technologically possible.

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Japan and China

In recent years, debates have arisen about China's 'place in the world'. Some commentators have speculated about whether China today is following a similar trajectory as the one Japan tracked more than a century earlier. In particular, they ask whether China's modernisation and pursuit of its 'One-China Policy' is leading to militaristic and imperialistic expansion. They point to interrelated factors: China's industrial modernisation; its dominant position in world trade; its massive military buildup; its territorial claims in the South China Sea; its political crackdown in Hong Kong; and its thinly veiled threats to Taiwan. All of this is controlled by China's one-party political system, headed by an increasingly autocratic Xi Jinping.

One spectacular development is China's 'Belt and Road' initiative, whereby China forges close ties with nations in a 'belt' that stretches from the Pacific Island nations, through South-East Asia, the Indian subcontinent and the various countries of western Asia to the Middle East and Eastern Europe. States that sign up to this initiative benefit from Chinese-funded infrastructure and development projects, which can be seen also as extending China's influence over those states. This process is labelled '**soft power**'.

soft power a persuasive approach to international relations, typically involving the use of economic or cultural influence rather than 'hard' military intervention

SOURCE 4.50 The Chinese-funded stadium in Honiara

Honiara, capital of the Solomon Islands, hosted the Pacific Games in 2022. Could this be an example of Chinese 'soft power'? Research this stadium project and the 2022 Pacific Games, and find out why the Australian Government was so concerned.

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For decades, two leading US political scientists have debated China's intentions and actions. Professor John Mearsheimer proposes a theory of '**offensive realism**' in global politics (2001). He believes that the ultimate goal of every powerful nation is to maximise its share of world power and eventually dominate their region of the world, while also ensuring that no rival power dominates another area. In an interview for *The Diplomat* (an online international news magazine covering politics, society and culture in the Asia-Pacific region) in 2014, he pointed out that, 'As China becomes more powerful economically, it will translate that economic might into military might and it will try to dominate Asia'. In response to the question 'Can China rise peacefully?', Mearsheimer claims that 'if China continues growing rapidly, the US will once again face a potential peer competitor', and conflict is highly probable.

Professor Joseph Nye disagrees. His theory of **liberal internationalism** identifies international trade with China as the best strategy to avoid conflict. In other words, mutual economic benefit through trade would outweigh the desire for war. This aligns with the 'soft power' agenda of the Belt and Road initiative described in this section.

offensive realism the belief that the international system is anarchic by nature (free of a policing body) and nation-states are disposed to competition and conflict because they are self-interested, power maximising and fearful of other states. Therefore, this environment promotes aggressive behaviour in international politics out of the need for survival.

liberal internationalism a foreign policy doctrine that argues that liberal states should intervene in other sovereign states in order to pursue liberal objectives. Such intervention can include both military invasion and humanitarian aid. It is a contrasting political philosophy to offensive realism.

Activity **4.11**

Undertake a media search about China

1. Individually undertake a media search for stories about China and the world that seem to illustrate the theories of Mearsheimer and Nye.
2. As a class, record your evidence in a collaborative space. On the evidence found, discuss as a class which theory seems the more convincing in explaining China's current role in the world. Also discuss whether it matters which theory turns out to be 'true'.

Start your media search by viewing the short documentary *Mearsheimer vs Nye on the Rise of China* by Bill Callahan, available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10524.

Wrapping up Meiji modernisation

In this concluding study you have reflected on how the forces that influenced Meiji modernisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are relevant to you today. You've done this by wrestling with big ideas relating to rapid modernisation, and you've used insights and ideas formed from your study of Japan to inform your thinking here.

Perhaps you've been surprised to see just how many connections can be made. Perhaps this study has prompted you to think differently about issues relating to your modern life – issues surrounding the use of AI and the ethical or appropriate use of technology in your life. As students living within what's said to be the Fourth Industrial Revolution, you probably know better than most that technology won't cease to advance, but our intersection with it and within it will continue to need reassessment. And this is where your study of history will serve you well, developing your critical literacy tools to evaluate and make sense of the changes in the world around you.

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Chapter 5

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1905–1920s

Aspect: The survival of revolutionary ideals

TONY OGDEN

In late 2022, a bronze statue of Josef Stalin was erected on a park bench next to a primary school in Naberezhnye Chelny, an industrial city in central Russia. It was intended to give passers-by a 'photo opportunity' chatting to the former Soviet leader.

The statue has Stalin leaning into a conversation, inviting engagement from interested citizens. The figure conveys an attitude of thoughtful responsiveness, listening to and casually discussing topics of interest.

SOURCE 5.1 A woman poses with a statue of Josef Stalin on a park bench. Chelninskiye Izvestia, 26 February 2024.

It is hardly the image one might expect of the former dictator, who was responsible for millions of deaths during his rule. However, it is one of over 100 monuments to Stalin that can now be found all over Russia. As part of a state campaign under President Vladimir Putin, Stalin is being officially rehabilitated in Russia to the extent where, in a poll of Russian citizens in 2023, 47% said they regarded Stalin with 'respect'.

How is it possible that nearly a century after he came to power, Stalin still holds such a place in the minds of many Russians? What factors make Stalin so attractive to Putin and the present Russian regime? Why would many Russian people be attracted to his legacy?

In this chapter, you'll investigate how such a situation might be possible, by examining Stalin's role in the revolutionary upheaval of 1917, how he transformed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union) after Vladimir Lenin's death, and what the consequences of his leadership were for the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. And you'll find out why, a century later, some people are concerned that Russia's enduring inheritance from Stalin is, in the words of one journalist, 'subordination, conformity, individual isolation, and dislocation; a legacy where the main things are fear … submission, and other social evils' (Coalson, 2024).

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The road to revolution

There were in fact two 'Russian Revolutions' in 1917, and their causes were dramatic and complex. In this contextual study, you'll go back to their origins, deep in tsarist Russia.

What was Russian society like prior to the February revolution?

The history of Russia before 1917 is one of **autocratic** governments and lack of personal freedom in a difficult environment. In this period, the Romanovs were the royal dynasty, providing successive **tsars** who ruled Russia from 1613.

Geographical problems

Russia's geography has always proved a challenge for those who rule the country. This map of the Russian Empire before the revolutions suggests the reasons. Note the scale of distance, the important line of latitude and Russia's borders with other nations.

autocratic a political system such as a monarchy or dictatorship where the ruler is not restricted in any way by a parliament, constitution or elections

tsars autocratic hereditary rulers of Russia prior to the February 1917 revolution

Source **5.2** The Russian Empire at the time of Tsar Nicholas II

SOURCE 5.2 Map of the Russian Empire at the time of Tsar Nicholas II (1894–1917)

Responding to the map

1. What specific problems would the Romanovs have faced in ruling such a large country in the nineteenth century? Think about such aspects as administration, communication, security, economy, infrastructure, national identity and social cohesion.
2. The Russian Empire included a number of now independent countries, especially in the south and the west. Can you identify some of these countries from the map?

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Social problems

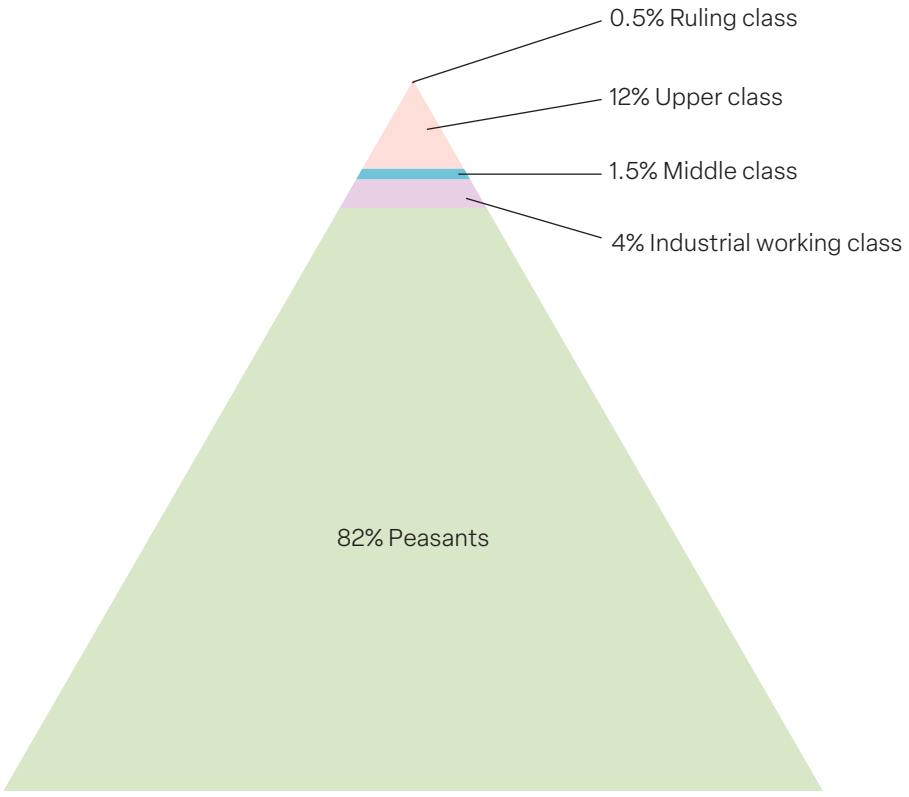
At the time of the tsars, living conditions for most people were very difficult. In many places, communications and transport were sometimes nonexistent, especially in winter. Information took days, often weeks to arrive. Life spans were short in the harsh conditions; even by 1900, the average life expectancy in Russia was barely 35 years, similar to life expectancy in medieval Europe centuries before. Famine and disease were common, and literacy rates were minimal.

In such a harsh environment, firm autocratic rule by regional monarchs had always been used to provide some effective government over such a vast territory. Even by 1800, Russia had not experienced the modernisation and social reforms that had occurred in much of Western Europe. There still existed a vast economic gulf between rich and poor, with the majority of people being uneducated peasant farmers, or serfs, living under a **feudal system**, even after such systems had disappeared from Western Europe. As in medieval Europe, social status in Russian society was based on birth, not merit.

feudal system a hierarchical social, political and economic system in which people were given land and protection by people of higher rank in exchange for labour and/or military services

While the plight of the serfs had continued for centuries, a new element – the industrial proletariat, or working class – emerged in Russian society during the nineteenth century. The population breakdown of the main social classes in Russia at that time is shown in Source 5.3.

Sources **5.3** and **5.4** Russia's social structure



SOURCE 5.3 Russia's social structure according to the 1897 official census

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SOURCE 5.4 The members and characteristics of Russia's classes in 1911

Class	Members	Characteristics
Ruling class	• Tsar (emperor) • Other members of the royal family • Government officials	• The Tsar ruled by **divine right**; other members retained hereditary or appointed positions at the discretion of the Tsar.
Upper class	• Hereditary landowning nobles • Wealthy merchants • Church leaders • Leaders of bureaucracy • Army officers	• Privileged, leisurely existence largely insulated from the harsh realities of life endured by the rest of the population
Middle class	**Bourgeoisie**: • small business owners • factory managers • skilled workers • clerks and white-collar workers **Intelligentsia**: • educated thinkers • writers and artists	• Generally comfortable existence • Economically secure but with few political rights
Industrial working class	**Proletariat**: • factory workers	• Worked long hours, with poor wages • Overcrowded housing • Often dangerous working conditions
Peasants	• Rural farm workers	• Generally illiterate and uneducated • Under feudalism, peasants and serfs were subject to the will of the landowning nobles

Responding to the sources

1. Which sectors of the population might have found this situation unsatisfactory? What types of changes might they have wanted?
2. What avenues, if any, might have existed for achieving change?
3. How might the Romanov royal dynasty have tried to maintain order and stability? Do you get a sense that Russia was 'ripe for revolution'? Explain your response.
4. Which class or classes do you think would be most likely to lead a revolution? Why?

divine right common belief among European monarchs that they were born to rule through God's will

bourgeoisie the wealthy middle class that emerged in the cities and towns after the Industrial Revolution; seen by Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin as oppressors of the workers

intelligentsia the educated writers, artists and thinkers who were often responsible for new and progressive ideas

proletariat urban working class mainly consisting of factory and industrial workers

Who were the tsars and how did they rule?

From 1547 until 1917, Russia was ruled by strong autocratic sovereigns, known as tsars (or czars). The first of these was the paranoid and ruthless Ivan IV, known as 'The Terrible'. He adopted the idea that the tsars were directly appointed by God and thus were not accountable to anyone. This concept of divine right defined the character of the Romanov dynasty, which began in 1613 with Tsar Michael I.

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Activity **5.1**

Research the tsars of Russia

Research the tsars of Russia, from Ivan IV to Alexander III:

1. What types of people were they?
2. How did they rule?
3. What were their achievements?
4. Given the challenges in ruling Russia, how successful do you think they were?

Autocratic rule

The tsars ruled by exercising control over the main institutions of society, particularly the government, police and church. In a democracy, these institutions are all independent; in a totalitarian state like imperial Russia, they were expected to carry out the will of the ruler. For instance, the tsar's chief advisers and cabinet ministers were appointed by the tsar and swore an oath of loyalty to the tsar personally, not to Russia. The tsar also suppressed dissent using a secret police force, the **Okhrana**, which kept suspected enemies of tsarism under surveillance. By the late nineteenth century, its targets included socialist agitators and **anarchists**. The Russian Orthodox Church was under state control as well and was used to legitimise the autocratic position of the tsar in the minds of the masses by reinforcing his divine right. Nicholas II, a firm believer in divine right, became tsar in 1894.

Okhrana the tsar's secret police; used by the tsar to identify, surveil and eliminate opposition

anarchism the political belief that state authority is usually repressive, and that society should be organised around smaller self-managed communities. Some extreme anarchists attempt to damage the state through violence.

Why was there an uprising in 1905 and what was its outcome?

Alexander Kerensky, who became leader of Russia in 1917, said about Nicholas II: 'His mentality and circumstances kept him wholly out of touch with his people. From his youth he had been trained to believe that his welfare and the welfare of Russia were one and the same thing, so that "disloyal" workmen, peasants and students who were shot down, executed or exiled seemed to him mere monsters who must be destroyed for the sake of the country' (Malone, 2015:19).

The events of 1905 highlighted this lack of empathy.

Bloody Sunday

The year 1905 was a momentous one for Russia. From the 1890s, Russia had been hit by famine and economic recession. On the morning of 9 January, a massive protest was organised in the Russian capital, St Petersburg, by Father George Gapon, a Russian Orthodox priest and union leader. A crowd of over 20 000 men, women and children marched on the Winter Palace, carrying a large framed portrait of Nicholas II, as well as banners and religious icons (images). Their aim was to present the tsar with a petition requesting reforms in working conditions, the right of free speech, and representation in government through democratic elections to the constituent assembly. The tone of the petition was deferential; the tsar, after all, ruled by divine right and had to be treated with respect.

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The reaction of the tsar's military was, however, far from peaceful. A cavalry charge cut down many of the protesters with swords, and then volleys of rifle fire killed and wounded even more. The day became known as Bloody Sunday. Father Gapon's response was evidence of the impact this event had on the tsar's support: 'Then I understood. It was horrible … Horror crept into my heart. The thought flashed through my mind, "And this is the work of our Little Father, the Tsar"' (Gapon, 1906).

War with Japan

The rest of 1905 became even worse for Nicholas. Apart from continuing riots and strikes at home, Russia engaged in a war with Japan in 1904–05. It was ended by the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905. After sailing halfway around the world, the Russian Black Sea fleet was ambushed by the smaller but better-led and more modern Japanese fleet. Within a day, the Russians were humiliatingly defeated. In Russia, the defeat was catastrophic news for the tsar. Unrest among the dispirited military continued in July when sailors on the battleship *Potemkin* mutinied over poor rations and treatment by their officers.

communism a political and economic system in which land, industry and other means of production are owned and controlled by the society as a whole and the total wealth of the society is distributed according to need

October Manifesto a series of reforms reluctantly proposed by Nicholas II in October 1905 in order to end unrest and opposition to his rule

Bolsheviks the more radical majority wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, led by Lenin

Mensheviks more conservative minority wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Party

Political opposition

Political opposition to the tsar also increased. The main parties that formed in this period are outlined in Source 5.5.

SOURCE 5.5 The members and characteristics of Russia's political parties in 1911

Party	Aims	Members	Supporters
Social Democratic Workers' Party	Revolution, inspired by the German **communist** philosopher Karl Marx	**Bolsheviks** (majority, more radical) **Mensheviks** (minority, more moderate)	Urban working classes
Socialist Revolutionary Party	Socialist land reform and elected representative governments	Democratic socialists	Rural peasants
Constitutional Democratic Party, or Kadets	Reform rather than revolution	Conservative middle-class democrats	Urban middle class, business owners and landowners
Octobrists	Supported the **October Manifesto**	Conservative monarchists loyal to the tsar	Wealthy landowners and business owners

While discontent among rural peasants continued, urban unrest was increasing too. Workers became more organised, setting up councils called **Soviets** to represent them, and calling for full worker participation in an elected legislature. Workers' unions organised strikes that paralysed power, water supplies and transport. In August 1905, Nicholas convened the **Duma**, a representative congress, but it did little to stem the increasing discontent.

Soviets revolutionary workers' councils formed by the Bolsheviks in cities and towns all over Russia, the largest of which was the Petrograd Soviet

Duma Russian parliament

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The October Manifesto

Faced with continuing criticism and unrest, on 17 October 1905 Nicholas proclaimed the October Manifesto in an attempt to save his position. The main reforms of the October Manifesto were to:

- grant all citizens the right to free speech and assembly
- allow all citizens to vote in elections to the Duma
- guarantee that all laws passed must have the approval of the Duma.

These reforms should have ensured big changes in Russian politics and in Nicholas' role. They contradicted the tsar's long-held belief in divine rule, but were a pragmatic response to the increasing dissent.

Revolutionary activity did continue after Bloody Sunday, but it gradually seemed to lose popular support, especially after Nicholas published the October Manifesto. However, it was soon evident that the promised reforms were not taking place, and by the time of Russia's entry into World War I in 1914, the social, economic and political problems facing Nicholas had not gone away. Despite his reluctant promises of reform, he became even more repressive in his determination to keep dissent and public anger under control. The war was to make a significant difference to this state of affairs. By late 1914, Russia was faced with two challenges. Internationally, there was the turmoil of involvement in a world war, and at home there was the continuing agitation for political change. These two challenges set the scene for the Russian revolutions of 1917.

Why did the revolutionary impetus increase from 1914 to 1917?

Between 1914 and 1917, Russian involvement in World War I against Germany and a deteriorating domestic situation all but sealed the fate of Tsar Nicholas and the monarchy.

Russia at war

When war broke out against Germany and Austria in August 1914, there was initial enthusiasm from most of the Russian population, and as patriotism took hold, support for the tsar rose. However, it didn't take long for the reality of Russia's unpreparedness for war to become apparent. In three key battles from August 1914 to September 1915, Russia lost 470 000 men compared to Germany's 71 200. The Russian army was poorly equipped, and surrender was common; the preference of Russian troops to be captured, rather than fight to the death for the sake of their motherland, was an indication that their commitment to the conflict, and to the tsarist state, was rapidly diminishing. Anti-German feeling was strong in Russia during the war. Tsarina Alexandra was of German descent, and when Russia went to war with Germany, many Russians suspected her of having divided loyalties; some even suspected her of being a traitor. Her perceived influence over Nicholas led to suspicion and criticism, which further weakened the tsar's position.

Rasputin

To further complicate the situation, a scandal had been brewing in the Russian royal court. It centred on Tsarina Alexandra and the mysterious Grigori Rasputin, a self-promoting peasant from Siberia who had gained a reputation in some circles as a holy man with mystical powers. Through personal charisma, he managed to convince the tsarina that only he could save her son, Alexei, who suffered from haemophilia.

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Almost immediately after Rasputin's introduction to the royal family, rumours began to spread about the nature of his relationship with Alexandra and his influence over the monarchs. Rasputin was eventually murdered by Russian nobles in 1915, but while his death removed one of the sources of discontent with the Romanovs, there were wider issues. In Russian society, people faced daily struggles to survive. Rasputin's death was unlikely to improve their standard of living.

SOURCE 5.6 A cartoon from around 1916 showing Rasputin, Tsar Nicholas II and Tsarina Alexandra. The inscription reads: 'The Russian Tsars at Home'.

How has the cartoonist emphasised the nature of Rasputin's personality, and his role in this situation? What claim about Rasputin seems to be implied by this cartoon?

Activity **5.2**

Research the life of Rasputin

Rasputin's association with the royal family would be the gift of a lifetime today to tabloid newspapers, commercial television and social media. Research Rasputin's life and compose a post for one of these media formats that reveals an aspect of his sensational relationship with the Romanovs. Your article could focus on his reputed magical powers, his relationship with Tsarina Alexandra, his death or some other controversial aspect.

The tumultuous history from 1905 to 1917 laid the foundations for revolution in Russia. A combination of factors caused the revolution to occur in February 1917.

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Social and economic problems

Of all the issues facing Russia, the one that affected people the most was the lack of improvement in their daily lives. Despite token attempts at reform, people in the cities and rural areas were still facing the same problems. Food shortages meant that riots were common in the cities, especially in winter. Scarcity of fuel and raw materials such as coal affected industrial production and resulted in a lack of essential supplies. Prices of food and goods outstripped wages due to shortfalls in production. All these issues meant that the daily lives of industrial workers became increasingly desperate, resulting in increased strikes and dissent.

The February revolution

Given these complex and interrelated problems, what happened next seemed almost inevitable. In February 1917, a series of strikes and protests rocked the capital city, Petrograd (previously called St Petersburg), driven by poor wages and food shortages. The demonstrations grew to massive numbers by 26 February. Nicholas, who was away from Petrograd at army headquarters, sent a message ordering his troops onto the streets to stop the disorder. However, this time, the troops refused to fire on the people and instead joined them in their protests.

The tsar abdicates

During February, mutinies increased among the military and riots worsened. Tsar Nicholas ordered the Duma to be dismissed, blaming it for allowing the riots to occur. But some members of the Duma sided with the revolution and formed a **Provisional Government**. At the same time, soldiers and workers formed the Petrograd Soviet, which was to play an important role in events later in the year. Nicholas probably realised that all was lost when the train carrying him back to Petrograd was forced to detour by armed revolutionary soldiers. On 2 March 1917, Nicholas **abdicated**. He wrote in his diary: 'All around me there is treachery, cowardice and deceit'. The Provisional Government took over the administration of Russia, and the rule of the Romanov dynasty, in power by divine right since 1613, had come to an end.

Provisional Government the new government of Russia formed after the tsar abdicated in March 1917

abdicate when a monarch resigns as leader of their country

Activity **5.3**

Create a timeline of events in this contextual study

Using the text and your online research, compose a timeline of all significant events described in this contextual study, and make a note for each, explaining how it propelled or thwarted the historical development towards eventual revolution in Russia. Highlight the three events that you think most important. With a classmate, compare and discuss your timelines.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: What were the causes and consequences of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917?

With Nicholas' abdication, there were now two centres of power in Russia: the Provisional Government, comprised mainly of upper-class liberals who believed in a constitutional democracy, and the Petrograd Soviet, which had become the leader of the many similar workers' councils established in cities and towns across Russia. The two groups coexisted uneasily; the Provisional Government led by Kerensky theoretically controlled the state, but much more power was held by the Soviets, which appealed directly to the interests and grievances of workers, peasants and war-weary soldiers throughout the country. The situation was increasingly ready for Lenin and the Bolsheviks to lead a second revolution that would change Russia forever.

In this depth study, you will investigate the causes and consequences of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

This depth study unfolds through a series of sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.

The sub-questions are:

1. Why did a second revolution occur in October 1917?
2. What was the basis for Lenin's version of communism?
3. How did Lenin approach the challenges faced in the early years of the new Soviet Union?
4. What differing visions for the future of the Soviet Union did Stalin and Trotsky have?
5. How did Stalin develop and sustain a repressive authoritarian regime in the Soviet Union?
6. What have historians said about the causes and consequences of the Russian Revolution?

SOURCE 5.7 Lenin returns from exile to cheering crowds at the Finland Station in Petrograd, March 1917. Painted by Mikhail Sokolov (1875–1953) in the mid-1930s.

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SUB-QUESTION 1: Why did a second revolution occur in October 1917?

Lenin's return from exile

The Bolsheviks had little involvement in the February revolution, as most were in exile. Lenin himself had spent the years since 1906 moving around Europe, writing and organising pro-Bolshevik sentiment. When the February revolution broke out in 1917, he was in Switzerland, and decided the time had come to return to Russia. In a remarkable event, the German Government enabled Lenin and the Bolshevik leaders to return to Russia in a special sealed train in March 1917. There was no doubt that the Germans saw the likely benefit in sending back to their enemy a potentially destabilising influence.

Source **5.7** Painting of Lenin by Sokolov

Responding to the painting (see previous page)

1. What impression of Lenin do you think the artist has created? How?
2. Do you think the artist has deliberately chosen to include particular 'types' of people in the crowd? Explain.
3. It's thought that the character behind Lenin is Stalin. But Stalin was definitely not on that train in 1917. How might you explain Stalin's appearance in this mid-1930s painting?
4. Are historical paintings, by their very nature, likely to be less reliable than photographs as sources of evidence?

On his return to Petrograd, Lenin was greeted by cheering crowds. In a defining speech, he outlined his **April Theses**, which included ending Russia's participation in the war, ending cooperation with the Provisional Government, confiscation of all large private estates, establishing a government of Soviet workers' councils rather than a parliamentary democracy, and promising 'peace, land, bread'. Through ceaseless travel, speaking and writing to promote the revolutionary cause, he galvanised support for the Bolsheviks. By August, 200 000 Russians had joined the Bolshevik party. Groups of armed workers – the Red Guards – were also formed. Along with Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, Lenin began to organise the revolution that would put the Bolsheviks in power. However, the Bolsheviks still lacked majority popular support and were outnumbered by other socialist parties in the Soviet.

April Theses a series of 10 major objectives proposed by Lenin upon his return from exile that inspired the Bolsheviks to further action

Activity **5.4**

Investigate Lenin's return to Russia from Germany

Lenin's return from exile in Germany is a dramatic event in itself, and it had significant repercussions. Research the events that saw Lenin making his way back to Petrograd in a sealed train in March 1917. Why did the Germans allow this, and what were the circumstances of Lenin's journey?

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The overthrow of the Provisional Government

The Provisional Government enacted a number of significant reforms between February and October 1917. Freedom of speech was declared, political prisoners were released, the Okhrana was abolished, as were the death penalty and exile to Siberia, and an eight-hour working day was introduced. It also promised to call nationwide elections for a Constituent Assembly, which would replace it as the legitimate government.

However, the Provisional Government had not been chosen by popular vote and did not have widespread public support. Significantly, internal economic problems of inflation, food and fuel shortages, and peasant seizures of land, were not dealt with effectively. Despite the escalating casualties, Kerensky also refused to withdraw Russia from the unpopular war with Germany. Lenin realised the potential for a Bolshevik-led revolution to take power from an increasingly weak and unpopular government.

In the summer of 1917, Russia was rocked by a wave of Bolshevik-inspired strikes and demonstrations, known as the July Days, which directly challenged the Provisional Government. The military authorities set troops against the demonstrators, leaving more than 700 people killed and wounded. The failure of the uprising forced Lenin into hiding once more; Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders were arrested.

In September, Kerensky became alarmed that Lavr Kornilov, the Commander of the Russian army, was planning a military coup. Kerensky freed Trotsky and allowed the Red Guards to be armed to help defend Petrograd. The attack never eventuated; however, the Kornilov Affair resulted in a surge of support for the Bolsheviks, who gained credibility for saving the city from a possible military takeover and return to the pre-revolutionary order. The position of Kerensky and the Provisional Government was now critical, as support disappeared from all sides.

? **Note the sentence about 'saving the city'. In history, politics and life generally, can 'perception' sometimes be more powerful and influential than what 'really happened'? Discuss.**

Convinced that the Provisional Government could no longer rely on the support of the army, Lenin and Trotsky made their move. On the night of 24 October, the Red Guards began to take control of the main locations in Petrograd. The Provisional Government, located in the Winter Palace, was lightly guarded and little resistance was shown when Red Guards stormed the palace at 2.10 a.m. The Provisional Government ministers surrendered without a fight. Kerensky fled to the American embassy, where he was given protection. The Petrograd Soviet was now in control. This would become known as the October Revolution, or the Bolshevik Revolution.

Lenin and Trotsky's victory in Petrograd was only the beginning of the Bolsheviks' attempt to establish control over all of Russia. The Bolsheviks needed some form of electoral support to legitimise their takeover, including from the majority of Soviets. The national Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets meeting on 26 October officially approved the new regime, giving it legitimacy among the workers' councils. This meant Lenin did not have to consider any coalition governments with other more moderate socialist groups, like the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks. He wanted the Bolsheviks to govern alone.

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Source **5.8** Lenin at the Congress of Soviets

SOURCE 5.8 Painting of Lenin speaking at the Congress of Soviets, the day after the storming of the Winter Palace

Responding to the painting

1. Note the people present, and the physical surroundings. Does this combination symbolise the idea of proletarian revolution? Explain your response.
2. What impression of Lenin do you think the artist has created? What aspects of the painting contribute to this?
3. From the depiction of the scene, what types of emotions can be inferred from the delegates at the Congress of Soviets? What might have contributed to these?
4. This painting is by an unknown artist. Do you think the artist was simply trying to record a historical event or might there be some other purpose to the painting? Explain your response.

Activity **5.5**

Highlight the differences between the two revolutions

Construct a table to highlight the differences between the two revolutions of 1917 – in February and October. Use two columns, one for each revolution. Consider such categories as aims, causes (long and short term), participants, events and results.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

Why did a second revolution occur in October 1917?

Analyse the differences between the Bolsheviks and the Provisional Government. Copy and complete the following table, using the information provided, and any further research.

Provisional Government	Bolsheviks
Strengths/advantages:	Strengths/advantages:
Weaknesses/mistakes:	Weaknesses/mistakes:

1. What do you think was the *most significant* weakness/mistake of the Provisional Government that contributed to its overthrow in the October Revolution? Explain.
2. What do you think was the *most significant* strength/advantage of the Bolsheviks that contributed to their success in the October Revolution? Explain.
3. Share/compare your answers with a classmate, and discuss.

SUB-QUESTION 2: What was the basis for Lenin's version of communism?

Marx, communism and historical change

The Bolsheviks were proponents of Marxism, the social, political and economic philosophy developed by the German philosopher Karl Marx, who in 1848 had written the **Communist Manifesto** with Friedrich Engels. Marx believed that all history was based on a dialectical struggle (conflict between two interacting and opposing forces).

Communist Manifesto the 1848 book by Marx and Engels that outlined the basic ideas of how class struggle would lead to a communist society

In Source 5.9, Marx describes the 'big picture' of his vision of historical change.

Source **5.9** Marx's vision of historical change

SOURCE 5.9 Marx describes the process of history

> Long before me, bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle between the classes. ... My own contribution was (1) to show that the existence of classes is merely bound up with certain historical phases in the development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; [and] (3) that this dictatorship, itself, constitutes no more than a transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

'Letter from Marx to Joseph Weydemeyer', archived from the original on 22 February 2014. Dated 5 March 1852, in Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Collected Works Vol. 39*, 1983, pp. 62–5.

Responding to Marx

1. Considering this extract, do you think Marx saw his ideas as a radical new historical concept? Where does he see his ideas within the overall process of history?
2. What did Marx see as the purpose of the historical phase of the dictatorship of the proletariat?
3. Explain how his words might have given encouragement to revolutionary groups like the Bolsheviks, who faced a seemingly entrenched oppressive state in Russia.

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Historically, Marx envisaged a process of 'dialectical materialism', a series of class struggles between those who controlled production and those who did not. The feudal society that had existed during the Middle Ages had, by the late nineteenth century, been replaced in Europe by a society shaped by industrial capitalism. The power of aristocratic landholders declined, replaced by the middle class (bourgeoisie), which owned much of the industrial and commercial enterprise in society and accumulated most of the wealth. Industrialism produced a new, exploited class – the proletariat. Marx believed that the class conflict resulting from this exploitation would see the **capitalist** society replaced, either by slow transformation or by revolution. The outcome of that dialectical process, according to Marx, would be the emergence of a utopian communist society in which there would be no need for political parties or social classes, and where people would work according to their abilities and be paid according to their needs.

capitalism an economic system that promotes the unrestricted growth of wealth in the hands of private individuals and companies based on market forces of supply and demand. Government intervention in the economy is disapproved of and extremes of wealth and poverty can occur.

Why would the last phrase about 'work', 'abilities' and 'needs' have been radical in pre-revolutionary 'Russia'? Do you think that idea is embraced widely in Australian society today?

Marx and Engels, in their landmark *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, realised that change to a classless society would need to be led by knowledgeable and active believers in their manifesto. Those 'communists' would be members of the proletariat who were 'advanced and resolute' and understood 'the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement' (Marx & Engels, 1967:95).

Marx and Engels emphasised that 'communists' shared the ideals and goals of the working class generally. While communists might lead revolutionary change, all proletarians would participate in the building of the new, classless society. Marx and Engels envisaged, in the probably tumultuous post-revolutionary situation, a temporary phase termed the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. They adopted the ancient Roman word '*dictatature*', meaning a legal, temporary caretaker system that protected society. Today, the term 'dictatorship' has a much darker meaning. Eventually, as society became more equal and class divisions disappeared, a centralised, dominant and controlling government would no longer be necessary and, in the words of Engels, the state would 'wither away'.

Lenin, the Bolsheviks and Marxism

Lenin and the Bolsheviks embraced Marxist ideas, but Lenin adapted them to suit what he believed were unique conditions in Russia, which was far less industrially developed than countries like Germany, France and Britain. Despite the fact that Russia's economy was heavily reliant on agriculture and the millions of rural peasants who worked the farms, Lenin believed that the success of the revolution depended on the urban workers, who needed to drive the industrialisation of Russia required to match the development of Western capitalist countries.

Why would urban workers be more likely than rural peasants to lead a revolution in Russia in 1917?

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Although Lenin's ideas basically accorded with those of Marx, they also diverged in a number of areas. Like Marx, Lenin believed in dialectical materialism as an explanation of long-term change. Lenin also believed that the eventual outcome of the class struggle should be a classless society based on common ownership of the means of production. However, he also believed that in countries like Russia, the dialectic would involve revolution and not the gradual change that could be effective in the more liberal nations of Western Europe.

Like Marx, Lenin believed that the working classes needed leadership. For Lenin, that meant a political party – the Bolsheviks – who would be the 'vanguard' force in planning and leading the revolution. In the months following the overthrow of the tsar, Lenin developed the Bolsheviks into a 'vanguard' revolutionary force. Already, you've learned how the Bolsheviks dominated the most important worker organisations – the Soviets – and how the Petrograd Soviet was instrumental in the October Revolution.

The October Revolution saw Lenin diverge from Marx's revolutionary ideas. Lenin showed no interest in sharing power with anyone outside the Bolsheviks. There would be no 'dictatorship of the proletariat', but instead a 'dictatorship of the party'. As well, there would be no 'withering away of the state'. Instead, Lenin embarked on the building of an all-powerful, centralised state apparatus that matched the darker meaning of the word 'dictatorship'. It eventually led to the popular labelling around the world of 'communism' and 'Marxism' as synonyms for '**totalitarianism**'.

Having seen now that Lenin was developing his own interpretation of Marxism, **Marxist-Leninism**, you will be able to explore in sub-question 3 the programs and actions of the new Bolshevik/Soviet government. As you will find out, Lenin's version of Marxism was very specifically adapted for the demands of maintaining control over the new Soviet state.

totalitarianism a system of government that does not allow any opposition to the state; a dictatorship

Marxist-Leninism Lenin's adaptation of Marx's theories to suit what he believed was necessary to complete the revolution in the Soviet Union

Activity **5.6**

Research the life and works of Karl Marx

Few philosophies have had as great an impact on modern world history as Marxism.

1. What were the major influences that inspired Marx?
2. How did his ideas spread through Europe and influence so many followers in the late nineteenth century?
3. What were the main events in his private life that influenced him?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

What was the basis for Lenin's version of communism?

How did Lenin's version of Marxism diverge from Marx's original theory of communism?

Using information provided, and any further research, write a paragraph assessing how Marxist-Leninism differed from the ideas in Marx's original *Communist Manifesto*. Explain why Lenin adapted Marx's ideas given the circumstances that he faced in 1917.

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SUB-QUESTION 3: How did Lenin approach the challenges faced in the early years of the new Soviet Union?

How did the Bolsheviks consolidate power?

The political challenge

Lenin responded to pressure from workers' organisations to proceed with the elections for the Constituent Assembly that the Provisional Government had promised. Just over half of the 80 million eligible Russians voted. The results of the first democratic elections ever held in Russia, in November 1917, were as follows:

SOURCE 5.10 Results of the first democratic elections, 1917

Party	% of vote	No. of seats
Socialist Revolutionaries	48	410
Bolsheviks	24	175
Minor parties	20	99
Kadets	5	17
Mensheviks	3	16

The majority of voters were peasants who supported the Socialist Revolutionary Party's land reform policies. Although the Bolsheviks received only a quarter of the vote nationally, they had great support from urban working-class voters. Lenin's reaction was dramatic.

Source **5.11** Lenin's dramatic reaction

SOURCE 5.11 Lenin takes a dramatic step, November 1917

> As long as behind the slogan 'All power to the Constituent Assembly' is concealed the slogan 'Down with the Soviets', civil war is inevitable. For nothing in the world will induce us to surrender the Soviet power. And when the Constituent Assembly revealed its readiness to postpone all the painfully urgent problems and tasks that were placed before it by the Soviets, we told the Constituent Assembly that they must not postpone for a single moment. And by the will of the Soviet power, the Constituent Assembly, which has refused to recognise the power of the people, is dissolved. The Soviet Revolutionary Republic will triumph no matter what the cost.

Lenin, as quoted in Michael Lynch, *Reaction and Revolution: Russia 1881–1924*, 2005, p. 105

Responding to the source

1. What did Lenin do with the Constituent Assembly?
2. How did he justify this action?
3. How was this likely to affect the Bolsheviks' relationship with the other parties, especially the Socialist Revolutionaries?
4. What does this action indicate about Lenin's view of his role as leader of Russia? What does it also indicate about the Bolsheviks' hold on power at that stage?
5. How might supporters of democratic change in Russia have viewed Lenin's actions?

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Land reform

Lenin also moved quickly on the issue of land reform. Recognising the popularity of the Socialist Revolutionary Party's agrarian policies with the peasants, Lenin issued the Decree on Land in November 1917.

Source **5.12** Lenin's Decree on Land

SOURCE 5.12 Lenin's Decree on Land, 8 November 1917

1. Private ownership of land shall be abolished for ever ... All land, whether state, crown, church, factory, private, public, peasant, etc. shall be confiscated without compensation and become the property of the whole people and pass into the use of those who cultivate it.
2. The right to use the land shall be accorded to all citizens of the Russian State (without distinction of sex) desiring to cultivate it by their own labour, with the help of their families, or in partnership, but only as long as they are able to cultivate it ... Peasants who, owing to old age or ill health, are permanently disabled and unable to cultivate the land personally, shall lose their rights to the use of it, but, in return, shall receive a pension from the State.

In Yuri Akhapkin (ed.), *First Decrees of Soviet Power*, 1970

Responding to Lenin's decree

1. How does this land decree accord with Lenin's communist ideology?
2. What effect would this decree have on landowners? Would they get anything in return for having their lands taken?
3. How might some elements of the decree in paragraph two be regarded as socially progressive in a Western society at that time?
4. What potential for chaos do you think the decree might create? Why?
5. Can you imagine living in a society in which all private ownership of land had been abolished? What (if any) might be the advantages and disadvantages for that society? What more would you need to know, to imagine and evaluate the abolition of private ownership of land?

Ending the war with Germany

Russia's involvement in World War I, initiated by the tsar and supported by the Provisional Government, was totally contrary to the international revolutionary ideals of Marx and Lenin. To Lenin, the war represented false claims of nationalism and was perpetuating the existing class structure. In newspaper articles published in 1914, Lenin spoke of 'the necessity of using weapons not against one's own brothers, the hired slaves of other countries, but against the reactionary and bourgeois governments and parties of all nations'. In his book *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1920), Lenin defined the war as being 'imperialist (that is, an annexationist, predatory war of plunder) on the part of both sides; it was a war for the division of the world, for the partition and repartition of colonies and spheres of influence of finance capital, etc.'.

For Lenin, the important thing was not to win the war but to end it. Only then could an international revolutionary alliance of workers have a chance of overthrowing the bourgeois regimes of Europe. Lenin was prepared to accept the harsh terms proposed by Germany as a means of ending the war quickly, and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed on 3 March 1918. As a result of this treaty, Russia had to pay Germany three million roubles in reparations, and also gave up territory that contained:

- 17% of Russia's population (62 million people)
- 32% of its farmland
- 89% of its iron and coal reserves
- 54% of its industries
- 26% of its railways.

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Source **5.13** The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

SOURCE 5.13 Map of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

Responding to the map

1. What would the losses of land and raw materials mean for Russia?
2. From the map, you can see the extent of the territory that Lenin gave up. However, some sources say that he wasn't too concerned at the time with losing them, as he was confident they would return to Russia later. As a communist revolutionary, how might he have been hoping to regain these territories in the longer term?
3. What consequence would Russia's withdrawal from the war against Germany have had for the British and the French? How might this have affected their relationship with the new communist government in Russia?
4. Since 2014, what two areas on the map have become disputed territory? How?

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As it turned out, the surrender of Germany in November 1918 and the Treaty of Versailles the following year meant that the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was revoked, although Russia did not regain all of its lost territory.

Social reforms

The Bolsheviks introduced a number of sweeping social changes in the first few months after their seizure of power. These included the following:

- Women were given full legal equality to men.
- A complete separation of church and state (e.g. marriage was now to be a civil ceremony) was instituted.
- Divorce could be easily attained by either partner.
- The state provided crèches and kindergartens to make it easier for women with children to work.
- Private banks and their funds were nationalised.
- Education for all was to be provided by the state.
- Russia's Julian calendar, which was 13 days behind the Western Gregorian calendar, was abolished on 31 January 1918. The new day therefore became 14 February instead of 1 February.

? **Lenin's reforms reflected Marxist principles to varying degrees. Which of these reforms seem to reflect Marxist principles?**

Activity **5.7**

Analyse the Bolshevik reforms

Copy and complete the table below, listing the seven reforms and indicating the probable purpose of each reform, its likely supporters and its likely opponents. Then discuss which of these reforms from a century ago would not be out of place in modern-day societies, including Australia.

	Bolshevik reform	Probable purpose	Likely supporters	Likely opponents
1	Women given full legal equality to men			
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				

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Cheka the Bolsheviks' secret police, used to eliminate opposition

Political repression

Along with these reforms, the regime also introduced repressive measures against political opposition. The Kadets were banned and a state police force, the **Cheka**, was set up. Sources 5.14 and 5.15 give an insight into how it operated.

Sources **5.14** and **5.15** How the Cheka operated

SOURCE 5.14 An order to all Soviets, 22 February 1918

> … The [Cheka] asks the [local] Soviets to proceed at once to seek out, arrest, and shoot immediately all members … connected in one form or another with counter-revolutionary organisations … (1) agents of enemy spies, (2) counter-revolutionary agitators, (3) speculators, (4) organisers of revolts … against the Soviet Government, (5) those going to the Don to join the Kaledin-Kornilov band and the Polish counter-revolutionary legions, (6) buyers and sellers of arms to be used by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. All these are to be shot on the spot … when caught red-handed in the act.

In J. Bunyan and H. Fisher, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1918*, 1965

SOURCE 5.15 Statement from Felix Dzerzhinsky, Commander of the Cheka, July 1918

> The Cheka is not a court. The Cheka is the defence of the revolution as the Red Army is; as in the civil war the Red Army cannot stop to ask whether it may harm particular individuals, but must take into account only one thing, the victory of the revolution over the bourgeoisie, so the Cheka must defend the revolution and conquer the enemy even if its sword falls occasionally on the heads of the innocent.

E.H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1923*, 1978

Responding to the sources

1. What do these statements tell you about the nature of the Cheka?
2. To which previous Russian organisation might it be compared?
3. What does Dzerzhinsky claim is the purpose of the Cheka?
4. Note the list of six counter-revolutionary targets in the first source, and the action the Soviets are asked to take against them. Do you think there could be a danger of this order being abused by some Soviet members? Explain your response. Could Dzerzhinsky's words add to that danger? Explain your response.
5. According to Dzerzhinsky, how far was he prepared to go in pursuing the defence of the revolution?
6. You might think these two sources describe extraordinary, unreasonable ideas and actions. Why, at the time, might Lenin have believed they were necessary?

The Bolsheviks' concerns about counter-revolutionaries were added to by a fresh threat that emerged, this time from outside Russia.

Why did a civil war develop in Russia and what were its consequences?

Foreign intervention

Lenin was determined that the Bolsheviks would be the only party that could lead Russia's revolutionary transition to a communist state, and then enable the international class struggle to sweep across the rest of Europe. This prospect terrified the capitalist governments of European countries, which, with victory over Germany now likely, turned their attention to the Bolshevik threat.

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Together with some anti-Bolshevik Russian groups that Lenin had banned or marginalised by abolishing the Constituent Assembly, foreign forces mounted a direct military challenge. Between March and December 1918, British, Czech, US and French forces entered Russian territory to confront the Bolshevik Red Army. Western fears of communism in the aftermath of World War I are exemplified by the following illustration in Source 5.16 by the artist Adrien Barrière, which appeared during the French elections in 1919.

Source **5.16** Anti-communist election poster, France 1919

Responding to the poster

1. Explain three ways in which the colour red could be interpreted as having a particular meaning or significance in this poster.
2. What adjectives would you use to describe the appearance, emotional state and intent of this Bolshevik character? Explain.
3. Do you think this poster would make people more likely to vote against socialist parties in the French election? Is there any way it might be counter-productive?

SOURCE 5.16 Anti-communist election poster, France 1919. The slogan reads: 'How to vote against Bolshevism?'

Reds versus Whites

The foreign intervention was generally ineffective. Western nations were reluctant to commit to a full-scale offensive as the long war against Germany was drawing to a close. By 1920, most foreign forces had withdrawn and the conflict had become an internal one between the Bolsheviks and their opponents. The Reds were the communist Red Army, led by Trotsky. The Whites comprised the traditional conservative forces in Russia, such as peasants, landowners and various middle- and upper-class groups, as well as political parties like the Socialist Revolutionaries who wanted to defeat the new Soviet Government.

Facing the threat from the Whites, Trotsky saw that the very survival of the revolution was at stake. He toured the front lines in an armoured train, constantly encouraging the troops with speeches and propaganda, and enforcing discipline. He became the figurehead of resistance for the Red Army, a vital role that helped win the war for the Reds.

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Sources **5.17** and **5.18** Trotsky and the Red Guards

SOURCE 5.17 Photograph of Trotsky addressing Red Guards during the civil war

SOURCE 5.18 Silent film footage of Trotsky addressing members of the Red Guard in 1919 (00:17)

Responding to the photograph and video

1. What impression do you get of Trotsky's leadership style from these sources? Is there any significance in his appearance and where he is standing in relation to the troops in the video?
2. Do the stances and expressions of the assembled people in the photograph give any sense of what they think and feel about Trotsky and his words? Explain your response.
3. Compare the uniforms of Trotsky, the officers (the men closest to Trotsky in the video) and the assembled soldiers. Unlike the uniforms of most countries in World War I, there is little to tell the different ranks apart. Why would this be the case in the Red Army?
4. To enforce discipline, Trotsky had deserters executed and enforced other harsh punishments. Why do you think he still retained the support of the troops?

The fate of the tsar

One problem Lenin had to confront was what to do with the Romanovs. After Tsar Nicholas' abdication, he and his family had been held under guard in Ekaterinburg, and by July 1918 the Whites began to approach the town. The risk of the royal family being freed and becoming a rallying point for the anti-Bolshevik forces was too great. At 10.30 p.m. on 16 July, Tsar Nicholas and his family were awakened and taken to the cellar of the building where they were being held captive. There were 11 in the tsar's group: himself, Tsarina Alexandra, their four daughters and their son, their family doctor, their cook, a servant and a maid. They were met in the room by an armed local detachment of the Cheka, led by Yakov Yurovsky. In 1934, in a speech at a political reunion, Yurovsky recounted what happened next: the execution of the Romanovs. See the Interactive Textbook for Yurovsky's account, and a dramatic painting of the event.

SOURCE 5.19 Yurovsky's account of the execution of the Romanovs (with questions)

News of the murder of Nicholas and his family caused outrage and shock around the world; most of the royal families of Europe were related to the Romanovs, and there were fears that similar events could happen in their countries. It increased the urgency of foreign intervention in Russia to help bring down the Bolshevik regime. In turn, that provoked an extreme reaction by the Bolsheviks.

Red Terror

The activities of the Cheka were given full rein after an assassination attempt on Lenin in August 1918 by a Socialist Revolutionary. This convinced Lenin that counter-revolutionary forces were still fully operational and dangerous, and needed to be repressed. A policy of Red Terror was implemented, where any perceived enemy of the state could be arrested or executed without trial.

SOURCE 5.20 Execution of the tsar at Ekaterinburg (with questions)

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A Bolshevik newspaper claimed there would be revenge for the attempt on Lenin's life: 'Without mercy, without sparing, we will kill our enemies in scores of hundreds. Let them be thousands; let them drown themselves in their own blood. For the blood of Lenin … let there be floods of the blood of the bourgeois – more blood, as much as possible' (Malone, 2015:207).

To Trotsky, the terror also had a wider ideological purpose in hastening the success of the revolution: 'The Red Terror hastens the destruction of the bourgeoisie … Without the Red Terror, the Russian bourgeoisie, together with the world bourgeoisie, would throttle us long before the coming of the revolution in Europe. One must be blind not to see this …' (Trotsky, 1920).

The purpose of the Red Terror campaign was to eliminate possible counter-revolutionary groups, but its main effect was to terrify any potential opposition into submission. Hundreds of thousands died as a direct result. The Red Terror was matched by the White Terror, as both sides in the civil war committed atrocities. Both soldiers and civilians were victims, and peasants, in particular, suffered as their food supplies were often confiscated.

Source **5.21** Bolshevik propaganda cartoon

Responding to the cartoon

1. Describe the contrast between the civilians on the left and the military personnel on the right. What do you think the artist intended his audience to think and feel about each group? Who do you think that audience would be?
2. Who is the person standing next to the White general? Why might he have been included in the poster?
3. What features make this image propaganda rather than just depiction?
4. Search online to find out whether a scene such as this could have occurred in Russia at that time.
5. In 1920, posters were an effective means of making public statements and communicating messages to influence a wide audience. How and why are posters used today in Australia? Do you think they can be effective? Do they use similar graphic techniques?

SOURCE 5.21 A Bolshevik propaganda poster from the civil war. The text reads: 'Retreating, the Whites are burning crops'.

War Communism and the Reds' victory

Even greater loss of life resulted from the economic policies imposed by the Bolsheviks during the civil war. These policies were collectively known as **War Communism**. The disastrous losses of farmland and industry in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had created food shortages, a problem exacerbated by the conscription of peasants and labourers and the forced confiscation of food as the civil war intensified. All production was directed towards the war effort. Private trade and business were banned, as the state took over all aspects of the economy.

War Communism policy that directed all economic production towards serving the revolution's survival during the civil war

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The result was an economic disaster, as food production collapsed and famine set in. It is estimated that 95% of the 10 million deaths during the civil war were as a result of starvation and disease. There were reports of cannibalism from some areas, but these were suppressed in the press. Lenin himself regretted the necessity of this policy, writing in 1921 that 'War Communism … was forced on us by extreme want, ruin and war'.

Sources 5.22–5.24 show some of the effects of War Communism.

Sources **5.22–5.24** Effects of War Communism

SOURCE 5.22 Bodies of famine victims being carried away in carts, 1921

SOURCE 5.23 The population of Petrograd, 1914–20

Year	City population in millions	Births per thousand of population	Deaths per thousand of population
1914	2.2	25	21
1917	2.5	18	25
1918	1.5	15	44
1919	0.8	15.5	81.5
1920	0.6	12	95

From L.A. and L.M. Vasilievski, *Kniga o golode*, 1922, pp. 64–5

SOURCE 5.24 A historian comments on War Communism

There is no word of strong enough force to use when one comes to the situation in Russia in those years. Total industrial output fell to around 20 per cent of pre-war levels … Total output of finished products in 1921 was 16 per cent of 1912 levels. Production in key sectors was down to around 29 per cent in mining, 36 per cent in oil, less than 10 per cent in the metal industries, 7 per cent in cotton textiles, 34 per cent in wool. Transport [mainly rail and river] also collapsed to about 20 per cent of the pre-war level. Agricultural production … surpluses became smaller and smaller. The grain harvest in 1921 was only 48 per cent of the 1913 figure.

Christopher Read, *From Tsar to Soviets: The Russian People and Their Revolution 1917–1921*, 1996, p. 192

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Responding to the sources

1. Photographs can have a much more powerful impact than written descriptions. What aspects of the photo in Source 5.22 make it a powerful image? What does this source indicate about the nature and extent of the famine of 1920–22?
2. Explain what Source 5.23 indicates about the main effect of War Communism on the city of Petrograd from 1917 to 1920, compared with 1914.
3. Write a paragraph using these three sources to describe the effects of War Communism on Russia. Highlight any strengths and possible inadequacies of these particular sources.

During 1920, the Reds progressively defeated the White armies, and foreign powers withdrew their support. By early 1921 the war was over.

Sources **5.25** and **5.26** The Red victory

SOURCE 5.25 A historian sums up the reason for the Reds' victory

> Much was due to the driving initiative, the disciplined order and the ruthlessness of the Bolsheviks themselves. They possessed in Lenin a leader of great strength and astuteness, and in Trotsky an organiser of extraordinary capacity. The policy of terror subdued opposition and aided their cause, but the victory was not due to terrorism. The Bolsheviks were faced by a motley array of oppositionists, who had little in common. It was difficult to maintain effective co-operation between socialist revolutionary leaders and army generals of the old regime. There was little co-operation of policy or strategy between the White leaders, and this lack of unity was to prove fatal to the counter-revolutionary cause.

Gordon Greenwood, *The Modern World*, 1973

SOURCE 5.26 A propaganda poster from 1920: 'Comrade Lenin Cleanses the Earth of Filth'

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Responding to the sources

1. According to Greenwood, what factors on each of the Red and White sides contributed to the result of the war? What does he believe was the major reason for the Red victory?
2. Who or what do the four figures being swept away represent? How were these figures affected by the 1917 revolutions and their aftermath?
3. With reference to details in the cartoon, what does this poster suggest about the role of Lenin in the war and in the revolution itself?
4. What might be meant by Lenin's being depicted standing on a globe?
5. By 1920, when the poster was published, how much of the poster's message had become reality?
6. At whom was the cartoon probably aimed? With what intention?

What was Lenin's approach to recovery after the civil war?

Despite the victory in the civil war, the communists still had many problems to overcome. The effects of War Communism had not been confined just to civilians; in March 1921, the sailors at the Kronstadt naval base near Petrograd mutinied, demanding an end to food shortages, as well as a more democratic government. These sailors had previously fought for the Bolsheviks in the revolution; now they were challenging the communist state. The revolt was put down by the Red Army with the leaders executed or fleeing to Finland, but the Kronstadt uprising was symptomatic of dissatisfaction with Lenin's policies from within the party itself. The revolution was still far from universally popular.

The New Economic Policy

In March 1921, Lenin faced not only the Kronstadt mutiny but also continued peasant revolts against grain requisitioning and unrest from urban workers dissatisfied with food shortages and a lack of democracy. As the strikes increased, Lenin realised that the Bolshevik revolution was itself facing a revolution. He admitted as much to the Tenth Party Congress: the situation with the peasants was a dangerous one, far more dangerous than the threat posed by the Whites and their foreign allies in the Civil War. Eventually the Congress decided to abandon the unpopular restrictions of War Communism and restore free trade under the **New Economic Policy (NEP)**.

New Economic Policy (NEP) a policy that allowed reintroduction of private enterprise after the civil war

Kulaks wealthier peasants who benefited from the New Economic Policy; they were later persecuted by Stalin as they resisted collectivisation

While the government kept control of the banks, transport systems and major heavy industries, under the NEP state control of the economy was relaxed and significant amounts of private enterprise were allowed. Grain requisitioning from peasants was ended; they were now taxed a small proportion of their crops but were allowed to sell the remainder on the open market. As a result, a new class of wealthy peasants appeared, known as **Kulaks**. Free-market trade was permitted again and privately owned small businesses were allowed to make profits. Food rationing was also abolished. Despite the improvement in the economy, many Bolsheviks opposed the NEP on ideological grounds; however, the policy remained until replaced by Stalin's first five-year plan in 1927.

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In an address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Political Education Departments in 1921, Lenin explained the basis for the NEP, particularly the rationale for allowing foreign capitalists and investment into Russia.

Source **5.27** Lenin justifies foreign capitalism in the NEP

SOURCE 5.27 Lenin's address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Political Education Departments, 1921

> Get down to business, all of you! You will have capitalists beside you, including foreign capitalists ... and leaseholders. They will squeeze profits out of you amounting to hundreds per cent; they will enrich themselves, operating alongside of you. Let them. Meanwhile you will learn from them the business of running the economy, and only when you do that will you be able to build up a communist republic. ... Owing to the present circumstances the whole world is developing faster than we are. While developing, the capitalist world is directing all its forces against us. ... Owing to our cultural backwardness we cannot crush capitalism by a frontal attack. ... The state must learn to trade in such a way that industry satisfies the needs of the peasantry, so that the peasantry may satisfy their needs by means of trade. ... Only then shall we be able to create large-scale industry.

Lenin, *The New Economic Policy*, Marxists.org

Responding to Lenin

1. What problems does Lenin foresee by allowing foreign capitalist investment into the Soviet Union? Why is it necessary to allow this to occur?
2. How does Lenin describe the Soviet Union's economic development compared to the rest of the world? What does this necessitate in terms of the progress of the revolution?
3. What sort of reaction do you think this justification might have received from many in the Bolshevik party?

How had Russia changed under Lenin by 1924?

In 1922, Lenin established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union), consisting of Russia and six former provinces of the Russian Empire. By then, political opposition had been abolished, a massive, centralised state bureaucracy was implementing Soviet policy, and the Cheka's successor, the OGPU, was enforcing control. Then, in January 1924, Lenin died following a stroke. The Communist Party was the unchallenged authority in the Soviet Union. But Lenin's death ignited a struggle for leadership of the party between Trotsky, who was Lenin's choice as successor, and Josef Stalin.

It's interesting to ask what had been achieved by the time Lenin died. In Sources 5.28 and 5.29, you can see a poster published in 1918, a year after the Bolshevik Revolution, and also read a historian's description of the Soviet Union in 1924.

SOURCES 5.28 and 5.29 After the revolution (with questions)

Activity **5.8**

Make a social media account documenting the Russian Revolution

Look at the websites *Project 1917* and *#1917LIVE* and then create your own (simulated) Facebook, X or Instagram feed for an event of the Russian Revolution. You can work in pairs or small groups to create profiles for different real or fictional characters (e.g. peasants, revolutionaries).

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

How did Lenin approach the challenges faced in the early years of the new Soviet Union?

1. Create and complete a table like the one below, listing what you see as five significant problems Lenin faced in establishing the Soviet Union, and his responses and solutions to them. Compare your selections and answers with the rest of the class.

Problems	Solutions/Responses

2. Examine Lenin's actions as leader of the Soviet Union. Analyse the extent to which these actions reflected the original ideas of Karl Marx. To what extent did he depart from these and why? Give examples. Do these actions reflect your definition of Marxism-Leninism?
3. Construct a timeline of the most significant events in Lenin's life from February 1917 to February 1924, and make a note for each, explaining how it was significant in helping to either enable or consolidate the revolution in Russia. Highlight the three events that you think were the most important. With a classmate, compare and discuss your timelines.

SUB-QUESTION 4: What differing visions for the future of the Soviet Union did Stalin and Trotsky have?

Stalin versus Trotsky

Lenin wanted Trotsky to succeed him; he had a less favourable view of Stalin. This was clearly evident from letters Lenin wrote in 1922 assessing the qualities of the leadership contenders.

Source **5.30** Lenin assesses Stalin's leadership potential

SOURCE 5.30 Letter from Lenin in 1922

> Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary-General, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands – and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand … has already proved [his] outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present Central Committee … Stalin is too rude, and this defect … becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General.

Lenin, Letter to the Congress of Soviets, 24 December 1922

Responding to the source

1. What have you learned already about Trotsky that suggests he had 'outstanding ability'?
2. Why might Lenin consider 'rudeness' an 'intolerable' trait in a leader?

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Stalin, a skilful and ruthless politician, emerged as the sole leader of the Communist Party after Lenin's death. Despite Trotsky's close association with Lenin during the revolution and his renowned leadership of the Red Army during the civil war, his outspoken criticism of some Party members made him unpopular.

Trotsky and Stalin differed ideologically on the future of the revolution. Trotsky's belief was that the Soviet Union had a duty to push forward with spreading the communist ideal of 'permanent global revolution' to workers around the world. Stalin, on the other hand, argued for a policy of 'socialism in one country' – that is, concentrating on building up the Soviet Union's economy and military so that it was able to become a major world power able to withstand foreign aggression.

Stalin's talent for political manipulation saw Trotsky expelled from the Communist Party in 1927, and eventually sent into exile in Europe and later to Mexico, where he was murdered by a Stalinist agent in 1940. By 1929, Stalin had removed all his political opponents and was unchallenged as leader. Through the use of terror, censorship and propaganda, Stalin created a totalitarian dictatorship, in which he was effectively worshipped as the saviour of the Soviet Union and Lenin's spiritual successor.

Sources **5.31** and **5.32** Rewriting history

The following two photographs show the same scene: Lenin addressing troops in Moscow in 1920. The original image shows Trotsky and Kamenev, both rivals of Stalin, standing on the steps at the lower right of the platform. The second photo was issued in 1927.

SOURCE 5.31 Original photo of Lenin addressing troops in Moscow, 1920

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SOURCE 5.32 1927 adjusted photo of Lenin addressing troops in Moscow, 1920

Responding to the photographs

1. Compare the two photographs. What has changed?
2. How might this difference be explained? Who might have done this, and why?
3. What lesson is there in this about using photographs as sources of historical evidence?
4. Historians know that Stalin was responsible for the doctored photograph. But could you make a case for the other photograph being the doctored one and, if so, who could be responsible?
5. If you search online for terms like 'Stalin doctored images', you will find many other examples of this sort of activity. It was a main theme in George Orwell's 1949 novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which described a Stalinist-like state in the fictitious country of Oceania, where the state was controlled by Big Brother. Today, is it likely that politics and history are being manipulated and falsified in more modern ways? If so, how? Can the current phenomena of 'fake news' and artificial intelligence (AI) be compared with this Russian case from 1927?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

What differing visions for the future of the Soviet Union did Stalin and Trotsky have?

After the death of Lenin, which approach (Trotsky's permanent global revolution or Stalin's socialism in one country) do you believe would have been more practical for the Soviet Union to pursue? Which would have seemed more true to Marxist ideals? Explain.

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SUB-QUESTION 5: How did Stalin develop and sustain a repressive authoritarian regime in the Soviet Union?

Today the term 'Stalinism' is often used synonymously with oppressive, dictatorial regimes that terrorise their citizens. Stalin's time as Soviet leader was marked by economic advances, but also by repressive policies and murderous purges that killed millions and effectively eliminated all opposition to his rule. Stalin himself was born Josef Dzhugashvili in Georgia in 1879, but he adopted the name 'Stalin' (meaning 'Man of Steel') as a pseudonym soon after joining the Bolshevik party. His early years as a revolutionary didn't show any sign of the leadership aspirations that were to follow, as he was regarded as somewhat of a non-intellectual by his colleagues, including Trotsky and, as you have seen, by Lenin. However, eventually his organisational skills became apparent, and he worked his way up through the party machine.

How did Stalin reform the Soviet economy after Lenin's death?

Soviet economic problems

When Stalin came to power, he expressed deep fears about the Soviet Union's future. In 1931 he addressed industrial managers, explaining those fears.

Source **5.33** Stalin justifies the pace of reform

SOURCE 5.33 Stalin's address to industrial managers, 1931

It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo somewhat, to put a check on the movement. No, comrades, it is not possible! The tempo must not be reduced! On the contrary, we must increase it as much as is within our powers and possibilities. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world.

To slacken the tempo would mean falling behind. And those who fall behind get beaten. But we do not want to be beaten. No, we refuse to be beaten! One feature of the history of old Russia was the continual beatings she suffered because of her backwardness. She was beaten by the Mongol khans, ... the Turkish beys, ... and the Japanese barons. All beat her – because of her backwardness, cultural backwardness, political backwardness, industrial backwardness, agricultural backwardness. They beat her because to do so was profitable and could be done with impunity ... Such is the law of the exploiters – to beat the backward and the weak. It is the jungle law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak – therefore you are wrong; hence you can be beaten and enslaved. You are mighty – therefore you are right; hence we must be wary of you. That is why we must no longer lag behind.

[Now] that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in our hands, in the hands of the people, we have a fatherland, and we will uphold its independence. Do you want our socialist fatherland to be beaten and to lose its independence?

If you do not want this, you must put an end to its backwardness in the shortest possible time ... there is no other way. We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall go under. That is what our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. dictate to us.

Seventeen Moments in Soviet History: An Online Archive of Primary Sources, Michigan State University

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Responding to Stalin's address

1. Why does Stalin insist that the tempo of industrial and social change must not be reduced?
2. Do these reasons seem convincing? Why?
3. Does this speech suggest that Stalin was a student of history? Explain.
4. If you were a student in 1931 listening to Stalin's speech, how would you react? Would this speech inspire you, or have a negative effect? Why?
5. Refer to Lenin's 1921 speech (Source 5.27) in sub-question 3, justifying the NEP. What similar justifications for encouraging increased economic output do you notice in these two speeches?

As part of his policy of 'socialism in one country', Stalin believed the Soviet Union must become economically self-sufficient and industrially powerful enough to ensure its security from hostile foreign states. Stalin recognised that the Soviet Union was well behind the developed Western industrialised countries and believed that this would have to change to meet any possible future threats to the revolution's survival. His chief priority was increasing industrial output, but there was also a need to modernise and increase agricultural production, which was well behind Western levels. In order to increase Soviet industrial output and military strength, while at the same time increasing agricultural output, Stalin formulated a series of **five-year plans**.

five-year plans state plans that set targets for agricultural output in a given period, based on prescribed quotas

collectivisation the forced amalgamation of the Soviet Union's many small farms, mostly privately owned by peasants, into larger, more efficient state-owned collective enterprises using mechanised production methods

Kolkhoz a type of large collective farm

Agriculture

To modernise agriculture, Stalin wanted to amalgamate the Soviet Union's many small farms, mostly privately owned by peasants, into larger, more efficient state-owned collective enterprises using mechanised production methods. This policy was known as **collectivisation**. It was a major objective of the first five-year plan. As you have seen, the NEP had by 1927 resulted in most agricultural land in the Soviet Union being privately owned by wealthier peasants, or Kulaks, a situation that was contrary to the aims of the revolution. Stalin accused the Kulaks of hoarding grain and obstructing the aims of the revolution, effectively justifying their elimination. From 1929 to 1930, thousands of Kulaks were arrested, imprisoned, exiled or executed by the Bolsheviks as collectivisation was implemented, with the confiscation of their land, livestock, grain and equipment.

The collective farms, known as **kolkhoz**, varied in their size and organisation. Most were based around a traditional village, containing about 70 to 80 families, and were overseen by a Communist Party official. Farms had to deliver a set quota of product to the state, up to about 40% of total production. Any surplus could be shared among the kolkhoz families based on their productivity levels.

The results of forced collectivisation were disastrous. Peasant resistance, including the destruction of their own crops and animals rather than turning them over to the state, resulted in a fall in agricultural production, and from 1932 to 1934 a devastating famine resulted, with millions of deaths, especially in previously prosperous regions like Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Despite requests from local officials to relax the quotas on grain and livestock requisitioning, Stalin refused; he had long held that the peasants were not ideologically supportive of the revolution, and their resistance seemed to be proof of this.

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Stalin was convinced they were hiding supplies, and resistance to meeting quotas was met with force. Peasants who tried to prevent their produce being confiscated were arrested or shot. Rumours spread of cannibalism, of children being abandoned by their parents, and other horrors brought on by starvation. Estimates of the death toll from starvation and disease ranged up to seven million.

To encourage support for collectivisation, a strong propaganda campaign was launched.

Source **5.34** Propaganda poster, 1931

Responding to the poster

1. What sort of message is this poster intended to convey? Perhaps you can refer to the typography, colours and the expressions on the characters in the poster.
2. Why do you think such posters might have been an important part of Stalin's drive towards collectivisation?
3. Compare the message of this poster with the events previously described in the text. What inconsistencies are there?
4. Are posters like this effective in a democracy? Explain. What circumstances need to be present for posters like this to be effective?

SOURCE 5.34 Propaganda poster created by A. Sverdlova in 1931: 'Come friend, join us in the Kolkhoz!'

Some concessions were made to peasants: they were allowed to sell surplus produce from their own crops in a collective farm market, and some improvement was made in education standards on the farms. However, many peasants felt that the regime had let them down and was treating them as the poor relation compared to the industrial workers. It also resulted in millions of peasants leaving the farms for work in the new industrial towns, creating a labour shortage in agriculture. A popular joke at the time went as follows:

Q: How do you deal with mice in the Kremlin?
A: Put up a sign saying, 'collective farm'. Then half the mice will starve, and the rest will run away.

This population migration was, however, necessary for Stalin to achieve the enlarged industrial workforce he needed in the cities.

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Source **5.35** A communist collective farm

SOURCE 5.35 Sowing on a communist collective farm on the steppes of the Ukraine, USSR. Ca. 1935–40.

Responding to the photograph

1. Prior to collectivisation, peasants in the Soviet Union owned 25 million (mainly small) holdings, producing 85% of the food, but consuming 80% of what they grew. Collectivisation introduced farming equipment on a large scale, as in the image in Source 5.35. How would these methods have differed from the traditional ways of peasant farming? How would these new farming methods eventually ensure greater productivity?
2. Today Russia is the world's largest wheat exporter. Modern agriculture in developed countries relies on large-scale production technology. Was Stalin justified in enforcing collectivisation on the basis of national productivity and wealth?

By 1936, it was estimated that 90% of farms had been collectivised. Apart from the human cost, economically it had not been a success; production of grain, and numbers of sheep, cattle and goats all fell from 1928 to 1935. However, the process, Stalin argued, had been necessary to move Soviet agricultural production into the twentieth century. It also ensured that the new industries in the cities had a sufficient workforce. By pressing ahead with this policy, despite the reservations of some party members, notably his rival Nikolai Bukharin, Stalin had also managed to assert his political dominance and consolidate his own power within the Communist Party.

Industry

Industrialisation of the Soviet economy was Stalin's main priority. A state planning commission, Gosplan, administered a series of five-year plans that set production targets and quotas to be fulfilled. The emphasis of the first plan (1928–32) was on the development of heavy industries and increasing production of iron, steel, oil, coal, chemicals and other goods used to further industrial development and infrastructure such as roads, factories, power stations, mines, tools and machinery. The production of tanks and aircraft was also prioritised. Consumer goods were not yet a priority, although production of these increased in the late 1930s.

There were problems, such as a lack of skilled labour (a large percentage of the labour force were unskilled former peasants) and the need to source specialist positions such as engineers from overseas. Deficiencies in infrastructure such as roads, railways and housing made transportation and relocation of goods and workers into new areas difficult. Many production quotas were unrealistic, and managers often forged output results to ensure they weren't punished for missing targets.

In order to motivate workers, propaganda was used to highlight inspiring instances of heroic worker efforts to produce above and beyond their required targets. A famous example was Alexi Stakhanov, a coal miner who in 1935 was reported as cutting 16 times the average amount of coal for his shift. He was feted as a hero of the Soviet Union and given many awards.

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? Research Alexi Stakhanov's story. Were his achievements all they were made out to be? Why is it important for totalitarian governments to have heroes like this?

An example of propaganda intended to boost support for the five-year plans is the dramatic poster, from about 1934, in Source 5.36. The main slogan reads, in part: '1917–1934: Stalin leads us to victory'.

Source **5.36** Propaganda poster, around 1934

Responding to the poster

1. What sort of 'victory' is the poster referring to? Give examples of details in the poster that support this.
2. Who is the figure in the upper left of the poster? Why might he be depicted in a poster glorifying Stalin at this particular time? What is significant about his position in the poster and the way he is posed?
3. How might this poster's message be received differently by various social classes in the Soviet Union? Which class do you think it was mainly aimed at? Why?

SOURCE 5.36 A propaganda poster from about 1934 promoting Stalin's five-year plans

The table in Source 5.37 shows the production output of key industries during the period of the five-year plans.

Source **5.37** Industrial production, 1932–40

SOURCE 5.37 Table showing industrial production in 1932, 1937 and 1940, with percentage increase

Product	1932	1937	1940	% increase 1932–40
Coal (million tonnes)	64	128	166	159
Steel (million tonnes)	0.68	2.4	2.8	311
Cement (million tonnes)	3.5	5.4	5.7	53
Oil (million tonnes)	21	28	31	48
Machine tools (thousands)	20	48	58	190
Tractors (thousands)	51	66	66	29
Trucks (thousands)	24	180	136	467
Electricity (billion kWh)	13	36	48	269

John Laver, in *AQA History: The Impact of Stalin's Leadership in the USSR, 1925–1941*, 2008, p. 59

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Responding to the data

1. What overall result is shown by the statistics in the table? Which industries show the greatest production increase?
2. Why would each of these industries have been keys to the success of the five-year plans? What aspects of industrial development do they each support? What problem would you foresee if even one of these industries failed while others succeeded?
3. From what you learned about Stalin's fears for the Soviet Union when he first came to power, why are these particular industries crucial in supporting Stalin's priorities for establishing 'socialism in one country'?

Despite the fact that statistics and reporting of production figures were frequently exaggerated due to a fear of repercussion or a desire for reward, there is no doubt that the Soviet economy grew significantly during the period of the first three five-year plans. Coal, steel, oil and electricity output all increased significantly. This was important, as they provided a basis for a successful war economy. Many manufacturing centres were built east of the Urals. When war with Germany began in June 1941, those centres were out of the reach of German bombers, and the trucks, tanks, aircraft and artillery that they produced effectively enabled the Soviet Union to resist and then drive out the German invaders from 1942 to 1945.

Activity 5.9

Analyse the effectiveness of Stalin's economic reforms in agriculture and industry

Compare the different approaches to the reforms in each industry and the outcomes achieved. Were these programs worth the costs involved?

How did Stalin establish political control in the Soviet Union?

The Stalinist state

In the early 1930s, there was significant opposition within the party to Stalin's leadership. Collectivisation and rapid forced industrialisation had caused massive social and economic disruption, and many Bolsheviks in the **Politburo** (party executive) did not trust Stalin's competence. Stalin, suspecting traitors at every turn, now sought to eliminate any perceived threats to his leadership.

The Great Terror

In December 1934, Sergei Kirov, the head of the Leningrad Soviet and a popular figure in the Communist Party, was murdered under suspicious circumstances. Kirov had recently spoken out against Stalin's forced industrialisation and collectivisation policies. In the Politburo, he was seen as being a rival to Stalin for the post of General Secretary of the party, and to many a likely successor. Whether or not Stalin was implicated in his rival's murder, it marked the beginning of an organised campaign of widespread **purges** to tighten his hold on power and crack down on any potential or perceived threats, a period known as the Great Terror.

Purges had been used previously by the Communists to rid the party of people who were seen as not ideologically 'correct', or corrupt or inefficient. However, Stalin's purges in the 1930s were a different matter.

Politburo the Communist Party executive, comprising the senior members of the party

purges official campaigns organised by Stalin to eliminate perceived opponents by expulsion from the Party, imprisonment or execution, usually without the need for evidence

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A whole new range of offences to which the death penalty applied were now added to the Soviet criminal code, and the charges could often be vague, with dubious evidence required. Anyone who was charged with being an 'enemy of the people' was in danger of being arrested, imprisoned or executed. Enforcement of the terror was the responsibility of the **NKVD**, a descendant of Lenin's Cheka. The NKVD was effectively a secret police force with unlimited powers of arrest and interrogation, as well as a responsibility to run the labour camps, or **gulags**, set up to detain political prisoners in remote areas. The terror claimed victims at all levels of society, from ordinary citizens to top-ranking Communist Party officials, army officers and even members of the NKVD itself.

NKVD Stalin's secret police, successor to the Okhrana and the Cheka

gulags prison camps set up in remote areas of Siberia to detain political prisoners

show trials trials of Stalin's opponents where their guilty verdict was in place before the trial had started; even if innocent, victims often confessed their guilt due to psychological pressure or torture

Of all the victims of the purges, it was probably Stalin's perceived enemies within the Party that were his main priority. There were two groups of these 'old Bolsheviks' that threatened his authority. First, there were those on the left, who were supporters of the exiled Trotsky, Stalin's rival for leadership of the party after Lenin's death. Trotsky himself continued to criticise Stalin from exile in Mexico until he was assassinated by an NKVD agent in 1940. Trotsky's most prominent supporters, Kamenev and Zinoviev, were accused of being counter-revolutionaries and were executed. Second, there were those on the right, who had criticised collectivisation and the rapid industrialisation policies as being economically and socially damaging. Bukharin, the most prominent member of this faction, was also executed.

From 1934 to 1938, many other prominent party officials were charged with conspiring against Stalin and executed, most after **show trials** that presented defendants with no real chance of a fair hearing. Many of these people confessed to their crimes, even though they were obviously innocent. This was often due to torture or because they were hoping to spare their families from similar punishment. In any case, the outcome was usually the same: a short trial, a confession and an almost immediate execution by gunshot.

While the most prominent victims of the terror were Party members, other groups in society were also targeted. Independent thought was not tolerated, so intellectuals, academics, artists, writers, poets and anyone who questioned the system was likely to be classed as an enemy of the state. Purges were also used to enforce production targets in the factories; managers who missed quotas were accused of industrial sabotage, as were scientists and engineers whose designs did not meet Stalin's requirements. Especially after 1937, citizens were encouraged to spy on each other, and to report family members and neighbours for suspicious activity, under fear that they might be reported themselves first. Fear caused people to lose their sense of morality; survival was the one aim, overriding traditional loyalties.

Stalin was particularly concerned that the Soviet armed forces might constitute a threat. Thousands of senior officers in the army, navy and air force were either imprisoned or executed. As a result, when Hitler invaded in 1942, the Soviet Union initially lacked experienced military leadership and the war went badly until counter-offensives by new and talented commanders turned the tide. Given that Stalin was so concerned with the security of the Soviet Union, the extent to which he was prepared to undermine his country's defensive capabilities also shows the extent to which he feared for his own position.

Not even the secret police themselves were immune from the purges that they were carrying out. The head of the NKVD, Genrikh Yagoda, was arrested, charged with treason and corruption, and shot along with his family. His replacement, Nikolai Yezhov, became one of the most feared individuals in the Soviet Union.

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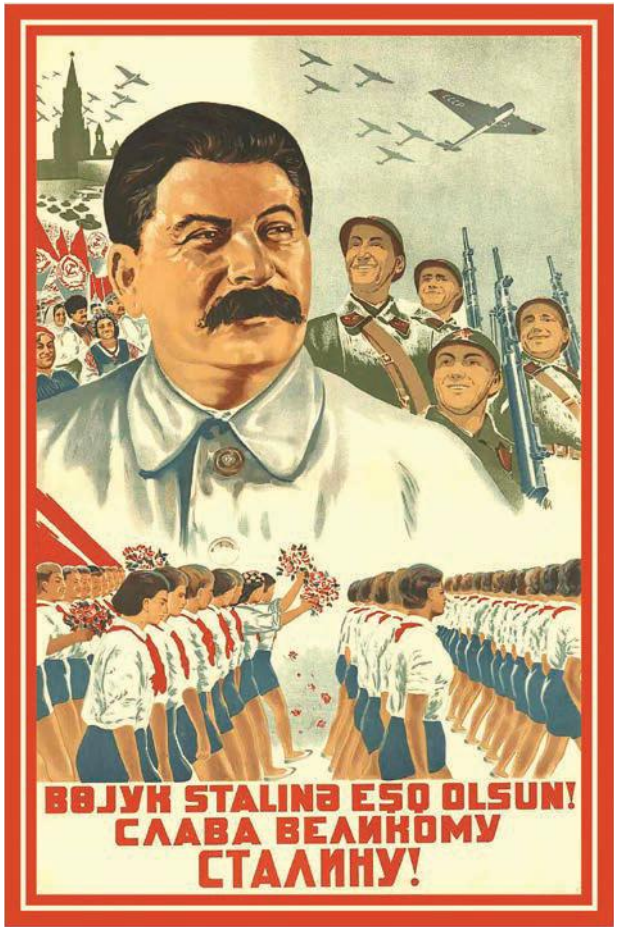
Yezhov justified the deaths of innocent people by saying it was for the good of the country: 'Better that ten innocent people should suffer than one spy get away. When you chop wood, chips fly.' By 1938, as Stalin became satisfied that the purges had temporarily achieved their aim, Yezhov was made a scapegoat for the excesses of the terror and was executed.

During the height of the Great Terror in 1937–38, it is estimated that 1.5 million people were executed. About eight million people were imprisoned in the gulags, of whom about two million died due to the exertions of hard labour in inhospitable conditions or the effects of torture. While not included in the statistics for purges, millions also died from famine caused by collectivisation during the 1930s.

Propaganda

As well as terror, Stalin maintained support through a relentless program of propaganda that promoted a personality cult. Every social, economic or military achievement of the Soviet Union was personally attributed to Stalin, and his image was displayed prominently everywhere.

Source **5.38** Propaganda poster, 1938



Responding to the poster

1. Comment on the depiction of Stalin in this poster. What does his facial expression convey? Is there anything contradictory about this depiction based on what you have learned?
2. In the poster, what is the significance of these features: the way the soldiers are depicted; the women marching; the crowds waving flags; and the aircraft and tanks in the background?
3. This poster was published in 1938. What might be particularly significant about the message it seems to communicate, given what Stalin was doing in 1938?
4. How effective do you think this poster might have been in achieving its purpose? Why?

SOURCE 5.38 Soviet propaganda poster, 1938: 'Hail the Great Stalin!'

In Orwell's allegory of the dangers of totalitarianism, the novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the dictator's face is similarly omnipresent: a poster on a wall 'depicted simply an enormous face, more than a metre wide: the face of a man of about forty-five, with a heavy black moustache and ruggedly handsome features … It was one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move. BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU, the caption beneath it ran'.

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Activity **5.10**

Read a book: *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and *Animal Farm*

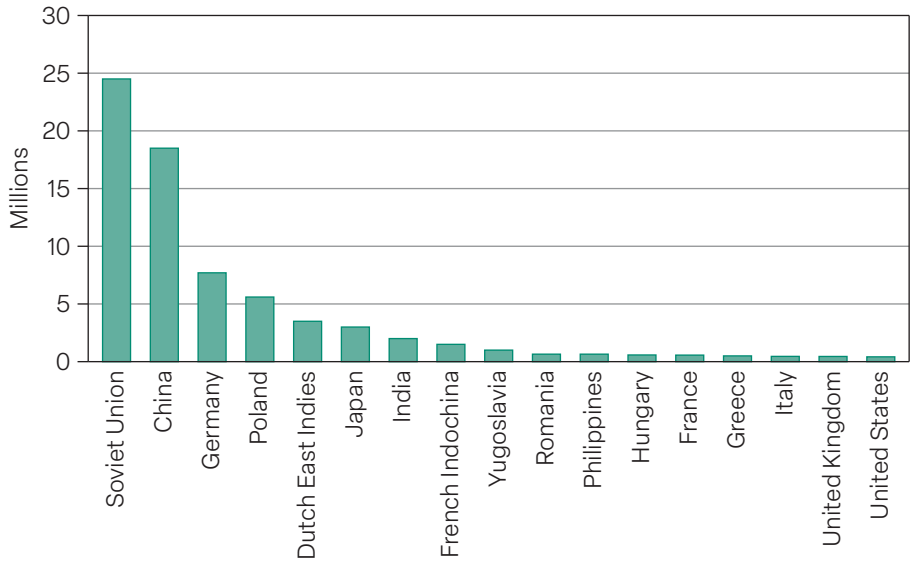
Orwell wrote the dystopian novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (published in 1949), in which the main character struggles to resist the oppression of a Stalinist-like state. Find out what it has to say and why it was important. Orwell also wrote *Animal Farm* (1945), an allegorical account of the Russian Revolution. Read it and see if you can identify the characters and events that are represented in the story. Do you think these are accurate depictions? What were Orwell's political beliefs? What might have been Orwell's purpose in writing these stories? (Note: graphic novel versions of both books are readily available.)

World War II

On 22 June 1941, Stalin was taken by surprise when Hitler launched **Operation Barbarossa** – a massive invasion of the Soviet Union. Initially, Soviet losses were immense in the face of the German advance. However, the benefits of industrialisation due to the five-year plans were proven as the Soviet Union was able to consolidate and resist the biggest invasion force in history to that time. This conflict on the Eastern Front was known as the Great Patriotic War in the Soviet Union, which reflected the fact that the very survival of the country was at stake. Communism, as a theoretically international class-based ideology, was intrinsically opposed to the nationalist, race-based ideology of fascism. Some of the worst atrocities of the war were committed by the Nazis on the Eastern Front, as ethnic cleansing was openly practised. Over 24 million Russians died during the conflict, more than any other combatant nation, but the hard-won Soviet military success at Stalingrad in 1943 was a turning point, and the first military defeat suffered by Germany at that stage of the war. It reinforced Stalin's legacy as the saviour of the Soviet people from fascism, a legacy that is still current.

Operation Barbarossa the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941; at the time the largest invasion force in history

The graph in Source 5.39 shows just how disastrously the war affected the Soviet Union. As a comparison, Australian war deaths were about 40 500.



SOURCE 5.39 Total military and civilian deaths in World War II, by country

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Activity **5.11**

Examine the experience of the Soviet Union at war

The conflict between the Soviet Union and Germany on the Eastern Front in World War II saw some of the greatest battles in history, and the greatest losses of life, yet is hardly touched upon in Western film and television. Research this conflict and analyse the impact it had on the Soviet Union, Stalin's popularity and the role of the Soviet Union after the defeat of Germany.

What is Stalin's legacy?

With the defeat of Germany in 1945, Stalin was positioned as the leader of one of the world's two superpowers, the other being the United States. Over the next 50 years, these two nations would compete for world economic and political supremacy during the Cold War. During World War II, the Soviet Union had been dependent on British and American supplies to resist the Nazis; by 1953 it was a nuclear-armed rival to the United States, a world superpower influential across the globe. Within 10 years it had become the first nation to put a satellite and then a human into orbit.

Stalin was responsible for an almost unimaginable social and transformation in Russia. He took it from a backward peasant society vulnerable to the threat of foreign invasion to a nation which was able to defeat Hitler's invading armies. On his death in 1953, Stalin was remembered as a national hero by millions of Russians, and as a tyrant by many others. His legacy of industrial development and wartime victory over Germany was tempered by the millions of deaths incurred by famine and repression during his rule. However, as the British historian Ian Kershaw says, 'could the Soviet Union have industrialized, militarized and organized so rapidly to defeat Hitler's armies had Stalin not been in power? It seems highly unlikely.'

In 1956, Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, shocked many in the Communist Party when he denounced Stalin for developing a 'cult of personality' and blamed him publicly for failings in domestic and foreign policy and a reign of terror that had led to millions of deaths. Others followed in denouncing him as a de-Stalinisation program was implemented in the Soviet Union. For many on the political left, Stalin was also responsible for ensuring that socialism itself was widely regarded as 'guilty by association' with totalitarian communism. Particularly in Western nations, socialism was regarded as not just an economic system that redistributed wealth in a democracy to alleviate inequality; it was now associated, especially by liberal and right-wing politicians, with political dictatorship and the repression of individual rights. This is discussed further in the concluding study.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

How did Stalin develop and sustain a repressive authoritarian regime in the Soviet Union?

1. Copy and complete the following table, listing what you see as five significant problems Stalin faced as leader of the Soviet Union, and his responses and solutions to them. Compare your selections and answers with the rest of the class.

Problems	Solutions/Responses

2. Construct a timeline of the most significant events in Stalin's term as leader of the Soviet Union and make a note for each, explaining how it was significant in establishing his position. Highlight the three events that you think most important. With a classmate, compare and discuss your timelines.
3. Analyse the extent to which Stalin's actions as ruler of the Soviet Union reflected the original ideas of Marx and Lenin. To what extent did he depart from these and why? Give examples.
4. Ian Kershaw, in *Personality and Power* (2022), put forward some propositions that he believed held true for a number of political leaders of the twentieth century. Here are three of the propositions:
   a. The scope for individual impact is greatest during or immediately following huge political upheaval when existing structures of rule break down or are destroyed.
   b. Single-minded pursuit of easily definable goals and ideological inflexibility combined with tactical acumen enable a specific individual to stand out and gain a following.
   c. Concentration of power enhances the potential impact of the individual – often with negative, and sometimes catastrophic, consequences.
5. **Activity**
   - Form a group of three. Each of you selects one of the three propositions.
   - Individually, reflect on what you have learned during your study of Stalin.
   - Decide whether your selected proposition seems valid in relation to Stalin.
   - Plan a brief presentation, stating your decision and providing supporting evidence based on your study.
   - Regrouping, individually present your evaluation and invite discussion.
   - Discuss whether one of the propositions seems most strongly valid when applied to Stalin, and whether any seems to have little or no validity.
   - Be prepared for a whole-class discussion.

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SUB-QUESTION 6: What have historians said about the causes and consequences of the Russian Revolution?

What is historiography?

Any historical study of the Russian Revolution (or any other revolution) will be controversial. For a start, historians themselves begin from differing philosophical and political standpoints. These influence the interpretations that historians produce from their studies of historical sources. The study or analysis of the different approaches taken by historians is known as **historiography**. As well, historians rely on comprehensive sources being available for study; in the case of Soviet history, this has proved problematic. For instance, much of the documentary evidence of events in 1917, such as official records, were unavailable to historians, both Western and Russian, until after the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union broke up in 1991. Despite this challenge, the Russian Revolution has been an enormous field of study over many decades. It is possible to describe the historiography of the Russian Revolution as comprising a number of different schools of thought.

historiography the study or analysis of the different approaches taken by historians towards a topic of historical inquiry

What are the main historical viewpoints for the study of the Russian Revolution?

Official Soviet histories

The initial accounts of the revolution written by Russian historians followed the approach of Trotsky's monumental *History of the Russian Revolution*, published in 1930 (except for its anti-Stalinism). This presented a pro-Soviet account of the events of 1917. According to this narrative, the revolution was an inevitable process, reflecting the dialectical process of historical change outlined by Marx. The urban proletariat, led by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, rose up in a 'natural' process to overthrow their oppressors, the bourgeoisie, and established a progressive socialist society. The Provisional Government was depicted as weak and incompetent, and its overthrow fulfilled the will of the people. Georgy Aleksandrov, an adviser in Stalin's government who published an 'official' biography, *Joseph Stalin: A Short Biography*, in 1947, refers to 'Comrade Stalin' throughout and, in keeping with the party line, glosses over any negative aspects of its subject. Stalin is portrayed as 'a poor man from a backwater of the Russian empire, a friend of Lenin, a dashing hero of revolution and civil war, a father to his people – a prince, hero, wise elder and godlike figure to be worshipped and obeyed' (Stites, 1992:66).

Western liberal historians

An important school of Soviet Union history that developed during the mid-twentieth century was the Western liberal school.

Up until the late 1980s, the general Western liberal view of the revolution was a negative one, based on the prevailing anti-communist sentiment in the United States and Europe before and during the Cold War, which polarised international relations after 1945. This school of thought is sometimes known as the totalitarian view, as it focuses on the dictatorship established by Lenin and consolidated by Stalin.

These historians and many other academic studies of this period claimed that the Bolshevik Revolution was a *coup d'état*: an illegal overthrow of a legitimate government carried out by a small group of radicals with no real popular support, which led inevitably to a totalitarian dictatorship. Lenin is seen as an opportunistic and charismatic leader who manipulated the masses and took advantage of the chaos of 1917 to put himself into power as a dictator.

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Stalin is seen as a ruthless director of a system that eliminated opponents and ruled through terror. Historians of this persuasion were usually politically conservative, often influenced by the experiences of émigrés and refugees from the Soviet Union, and preferred liberal democracy in the West as a guarantee of personal freedom. Communism and, misleadingly, socialism, were equated with totalitarianism, and seen as failed ideologies that required terror to coerce the people they oppressed.

Three of the leading Western liberal exponents are Richard Pipes, Robert Conquest and Leonard Schapiro. Pipes claimed that the overthrow of the Provisional Government was not spontaneous but a coup d'etat, the capture of governmental authority by a small group of highly organised Bolsheviks, rather than a popular uprising. He believed that Communism therefore was imposed upon Russia by a conspiracy of a small minority. Conquest similarly believes that the Bolsheviks seized power through an almost purely military operation, carried out by a small number of Red Guards, with little popular support or participation from the working classes, who were neutral at best. Schapiro sums up this perspective as follows:

SOURCE 5.40 Leonard Schapiro, 1955

> **This is the story of how a group of determined men seized power for themselves in Russia in 1917, and kept others from sharing It; and of the consequences which ensued ... when it became evident that they enjoyed but little popular support.**
>
> Leonard Schapiro, The Origin of the Communist Autocracy, 1955

1. To what extent do these historians see the revolution as a popular uprising? What role did the working masses play in the revolution?
2. In their view, who or what was mainly responsible for the success of the revolution?
3. Can you identify any specific terms in these perspectives that could be regarded as indicating a very critical view of the Bolsheviks and Lenin?

Revisionist historians

In response to the Western liberal school of Soviet Union history, a revisionist school developed towards the end of the twentieth century. Three leading exponents of this view are Orlando Figes, Ian Kershaw and Sheila Fitzpatrick. Figes believes that the October insurrection took place amidst a social revolution, which was centred on the overthrow of the Provisional Government and support for the Soviets as the best chance of popular self-rule. The Bolsheviks were able to take advantage of this political power vacuum to seize power in the cities and consolidate their dictatorship. Kershaw believes that Lenin and the Bolsheviks succeeded as they were able to take advantage of the freefalling popularity of the Provisional Government and the social unrest that resulted. Workers were taking over the running of factories, peasants were seizing land, soldiers were deserting, and Lenin saw that the moment was ripe for the Bolsheviks to step up and lead the revolution before the opportunity passed.

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Fitzpatrick sums up this perspective as follows:

Sources **5.41–5.42** Revisionist historians write about Lenin and the Bolsheviks' role in the Revolution

SOURCE 5.41 Sheila Fitzpatrick, 2008

> It may well be that the Bolsheviks' greatest strength in 1917 was not strict party organisation and discipline ... While other formerly radical politicians called for restraint and responsible, statesmanlike leadership, the Bolsheviks stayed out on the streets with the irresponsible and belligerent revolutionary crowd. ... [They] caught the mood of the crowd, and declared their willingness to seize power in the name of the proletarian revolution.

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 2008, pp. 42–3

SOURCE 5.42 Orlando Figes, 1996

> The October insurrection was ... actively supported by a small minority of the population ... But it took place amidst a social revolution, which was centred on the popular realization of Soviet power as the negation of the state and the direct self-rule of the people ... The political vacuum brought about by this social revolution enabled the Bolsheviks to seize power in the cities and consolidate their dictatorship during the autumn and winter.

Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy*, 1996, p. 460

Responding to the sources

1. To what extent do these historians see the October revolution as a popular uprising? What role did the working classes play in the revolution according to these quotes? What part did the Bolsheviks play in the success of the revolution? In their view, who or what was mainly responsible for the success of the revolution?
2. How are the working classes depicted differently by the liberal and revisionist historians?

One aspect of their history that links Pipes, Conquest, Schapiro and other liberal historians is their emphasis on the roles of the leading personalities of the revolution: key political figures like the tsar, Kerensky, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, their ideologies, and how they were responsible for what happened. This 'top-down approach' is common in history, as it focuses on the powerful and the important figures about whom most information is easily available, but during the 1980s it began to be questioned by historians who believed that more emphasis needed to be given to the role of other groups within the revolution. This view sees the Bolsheviks as disorganised, caught up in a wave of local unrest and popular desire for change, rather than revolutionary instigators. This revisionist view 'from below' states that by focusing on the main players, the liberal perspective ignored the significance of how social groups, such as workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors, and 'ordinary' men and women, influenced the leadership of the revolution. In contrast to the prevailing conservative Cold War interpretations, the revisionists were also more leftist in their outlook, focusing less on the concept of a socialist revolution leading inevitably to a totalitarian government.

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Activity **5.12**

Examine the backgrounds and perspectives of historians

The historians quoted in this section, both Western liberal and revisionist, often have interesting backgrounds that explain their perspectives when writing about the Russian Revolution. Research some of these historians to see if any of them have particular experiences that explain their points of view.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 6

What have historians said about the causes and consequences of the Russian Revolution?

From your understanding of the events of the Russian Revolution and Stalinist era, which of these views of Soviet history do you most agree with? Explain your reasons.

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: What were the causes and consequences of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917?

Examine the causes and consequences of the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, and assess the extent to which the ideas that drove the revolution were *maintained and developed*, or *abandoned and replaced*, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin.

In your research, you will need to select and analyse a range of historical sources (up to 12) from various sections of this chapter and, in an essay of up to 1000 words, evaluate and synthesise the evidence from these sources to develop a historical argument and justify your perspective.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Significance and legacy

Today, more than a century after the Russian Revolution, it's worth asking why the revolution of 1917 is significant historically, and whether its impact is still felt in today's world. US author John Reed, in Russia in 1917, famously claimed that the Bolshevik Revolution 'shook the world'. In the following pages, you'll examine whether that shaking continued in the years and decades after 1917.

Significance at the time

The Russian Revolution was a highly significant event at the time, capturing the world's attention. Initially, the fall of a European monarchy in 1917 sent shock waves through the established dynasties of Western Europe, and the establishment of the world's first government based on Marxist ideas caused fear of similar events happening in other European countries. In the decade following the revolution, perhaps most significant was the creation by Stalin of a highly authoritarian dictatorship that used terror tactics to impose its political will, its economic programs and its social policies on the peoples of the Soviet Union. After Germany's defeat in 1945, the Soviet Union emerged as one of two world superpowers, along with the United States, with unprecedented influence over the rest of the world.

A Cold War develops

In March 1946, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, describing postwar Europe, coined a memorable phrase: 'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent'. In his speech, Churchill was describing a dramatic consequence of World War II. The 'iron curtain' referred to the division between Western Europe and the Soviet-controlled states to the east. It became a metaphorical symbol of the emerging conflict and tension termed the 'Cold War'. During the Cold War, from approximately 1947 to 1991, the Soviet Union and the United States competed for power and influence around the globe. This conflict is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 15 of this book; however, the map in Source 5.43 shows how Europe was divided during the Cold War.

During the early Cold War, revolutionary communism spread rapidly to specific places around the world, other than just the countries of Eastern Europe that lay behind the iron curtain. Within 15 years, communist parties established governments in North Korea under Kim Il-sung (1948), China under Mao Zedong (1949), North Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh (1954) and Cuba under Fidel Castro (1959). The threat of communist expansion became a prevailing influence in peoples' lives in the West during the Cold War.

Activity **5.13**

Research the reality of Cold War conflict. How real was the threat of nuclear destruction during the Cold War?

1. Research the extent of the nuclear arms race between the superpowers, and the concept of mutually assured destruction (MAD).
2. What localised wars and conflicts in Asia, the Middle East and Central America can you identify that were examples of 'proxy wars' between the superpowers from 1949 to 1989?

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Source **5.43** Europe during the Cold War

SOURCE 5.43 Map of Europe during the Cold War

Responding to the map

1. Look at the scale of distances on this map. How would the proximity of the rival sides make the situation in Europe even more tense?
2. Where do you think the Soviet Union would be most concerned with keeping a strong occupying force? Why?
3. Yugoslavia, although communist, remained non-aligned during the Cold War, under its strong leader Josip Tito. Research Tito and see how and why he defied Stalin.
4. Some of the countries in the Eastern Bloc (Warsaw Pact) broke up into separate independent nations after the Cold War ended. Can you identify two countries on this map, other than the Soviet Union, that no longer exist? What countries replaced them?

Fear of an invasion by communist Russia or China was matched by a fear of communist infiltration of Western society from within, to control its institutions and bring down democracy. In many Western countries, between the wars and after, communists were prominent in trade unions, and attracted the support of some academics and public intellectuals, who were attracted by Marxist ideological beliefs or saw the Soviet Union as a bulwark against Nazi Germany and fascism.

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Activity **5.14**

Research the effects of communism on Western societies during the Cold War

1. Research the ways in which Australia has been affected by communism in its foreign policy and in domestic politics.
   a. In foreign policy, what was Australia's role in the conflicts in Korea, Malaya and Vietnam? What were ANZUS and SEATO? What was the domino effect? What was Australia's position on the Moscow Olympics boycott?
   b. Domestically, research the following: the 1951 referendum, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) split of 1955, the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) and the Petrov Affair.
2. Research McCarthyism in the United States during the 1950s. Who initiated it and why? What were its effects? Who were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg? What happened to them?
3. Who were the 'Cambridge Five' in England? What does this suggest about the allure of communist ideas and about the nature and extent of espionage during the Cold War?

More information about Gorbachev and the end of the Soviet Union and the Cold War can be found in the Interactive Textbook.

Gorbachev, the end of the Soviet Union and the Cold War

For much of the post-1945 period – while Cold War tensions waxed and waned – little changed politically within the Soviet Union. After Stalin's death in 1953, successive Soviet leaders – Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko – had made little effort to alter the status quo. However, the ascension to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985, and his revolutionary policies of *perestroika*, which restructured the whole Soviet economy by encouraging private enterprises, and *glasnost*, which allowed open criticism of the government, eventually resulted in the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. This momentous event, and the concurrent end of the Cold War, is covered in detail in Chapter 15 of this book.

Legacy – significance for today

A century after the Russian Revolution, its impact is still being felt across the world. Domestic events in Russia itself are again having international repercussions, and the ideological influences of Marxism continue to be relevant, especially in a world that is experiencing massive social and economic inequality.

Russia today: the new tsar

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia was led first by Boris Yeltsin (1991–99), whose leadership was compromised by ill-health and alcoholism, and then by Vladimir Putin (since 2000). Under Putin, Russia's economy has improved significantly, and the standard of living has risen for many Russians. However, Putin has been criticised for eroding human rights and freedom of expression, including controlling the media and repressing political opponents, and developing a personality cult glorifying his image as a man of action. Russia has also become strongly nationalistic, showing an increasing intent to stand up to what it sees as threats from NATO and the West, and to reclaim territory lost after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. In recent years, Russia used military force to suppress independence movements in the state of Chechnya (1994–96) and to annex the Crimean Peninsula from the former Soviet republic of Ukraine in 2014. In February 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, sparking a continuing war with very high casualty rates on both sides.

Since 1800, only Stalin has ruled the Soviet Union/Russia for longer than Putin. However, Putin has little in common with the Bolsheviks ideologically. He has encouraged a favourable view of the pre-revolutionary imperial era and, alongside Western comparisons with Stalin, he has also attracted comparisons with autocrats from that era.

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In many ways, Russia today shows great commonality with aspects of Russia under both the tsars and Stalin, with an authoritarian one-party state, a demagogic leader, a 'dictatorship by the party', a token elected assembly, a police state, the suppression of dissent, a quiescent populace, an ambition to regain traditional territory, a fear of foreign enemies and increased military preparedness.

SOURCE 5.44 Supporters of Ukraine gathered in Lafayette Square near the White House in Washington, DC, on 27 February 2022, to condemn Vladimir Putin and the Russian invasion of Ukraine, then entering its fourth day

What comment about Putin is the demonstrator making with his sign? This demonstration was in the United States. Find out whether any anti-war rallies have been held in Russia since 2022 and, if so, how authorities have responded.

The emergence of 'strongman dictators' with conservative, populist and nationalistic politics, such as Putin, has also been seen in a number of other countries around the world. One of the key factors enabling the rise of totalitarian dictators in the 1930s in Europe was political, economic and social instability, and this is also a problem in many countries today. People can lose faith in democratic governments when their living standards decline, and populist, right-wing leaders who promise a return to order, traditional values and a focus on restoring stability and prosperity to working people can gain significant popular support.

Desperate, politically uncritical people who have lost faith in the system can be easily swayed by appealing, simplistic slogans that seem to capture their aspirations. This is as true today as it was in 1917. Populist politicians have managed to gain popular support by promising easy answers to complex problems like unemployment, inflation, crime, and other forms of social dislocation. Promises to restore the nation to former glories (real or imagined) are extremely attractive at times when people feel they have been let down by their government and need something to feel good about. Minority groups become convenient scapegoats to blame and persecute. It all becomes far easier when the media is compliant or state controlled, so that news becomes propaganda and dissenting voices are no longer heard.

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Activity **5.15**

Examine the rise of authoritarian populist leaders

SOURCE 5.45 A 2020 article on the rise of far-right authoritarianism

> In many countries around the world – from Budapest to Beijing – many familiar elements of 'Putinist' politics could be identified in the first two decades of the twenty-first century ... The rise of [anti-democratic] politics simultaneously in many parts of the world ... suggests that Russia's political development under Putin should be understood as part of a broader global backlash against liberal ideas and liberal order. This reaction took multiple forms, [b]ut the most significant trend has been towards forms of radical conservatism, which have produced right-wing populist movements in parts of the West, and authoritarian regimes in many countries in Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia ... They shared, above all, a profound rejection of a form of liberal internationalism that had come to dominate global discourse and global institutions in the post-Cold War world ... Russia played a central role in this emerging trend of anti-liberal politics.

David G. Lewis, *Russia's New Authoritarianism: Putin and the Politics of Order,* Edinburgh University Press, 2020 https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctv10kmcxz.3?seq=1

Examine the recent rise of far-right authoritarian politicians in the United States, United Kingdom, Brazil, India, the Philippines, Türkiye and many European countries, including Italy, Hungary, France, Germany and others. Also identify examples in Australia.

1. What policies do these politicians espouse?
2. What drives people to support them?
3. In what ways do they pose threats to democracies?

Marxism: the discrediting of a theory?

By the time the Cold War ended, there was a sense that events since 1917, and particularly from 1945 to 1989, had discredited communism and given it a bad name, equating it with political dictatorship, social conformity, lack of freedom and violent suppression of dissent. Marx's vision of a socialist utopia, it seems, had transformed into George Orwell's 1949 dystopian *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, where the smallest details of people's lives were monitored by Big Brother, and anyone who even had thoughts against the state could quickly disappear.

The horrors of Stalinism and Maoism and the brutal regimes of the Warsaw Pact countries meant that many people came to see Marxism and socialism as synonymous with totalitarianism and political repression. As a result, it has since been very difficult in Western democracies for parties with serious left-wing agendas to gain office. Modern left-leaning parties in Britain (e.g. the Labour Party) and Australia (e.g. the ALP) have long abandoned any reference to socialism in their platforms and have instead campaigned on policies of mild social reform within an existing free-market capitalist system. In his address to the British Labour Party conference in September 2017, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn spoke of how he wanted his party to be 'a modern, progressive socialist party'; however, by 2020 his party had replaced him with a less 'radical' leader to ensure more widespread appeal.

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This situation prompts a significant question: can socialism – or even Marxism – still have anything to offer, or is it now consigned to the ideological dustbin of history? Since the end of the Cold War, living standards in most Western democracies have generally risen enough to prevent serious questioning of the capitalist system. The discrediting of communism and socialism because of Stalin's dictatorship also significantly lessened the likelihood of socialist governments being elected in Western democracies. However, the attraction of socialism has not entirely disappeared.

Activity **5.16**

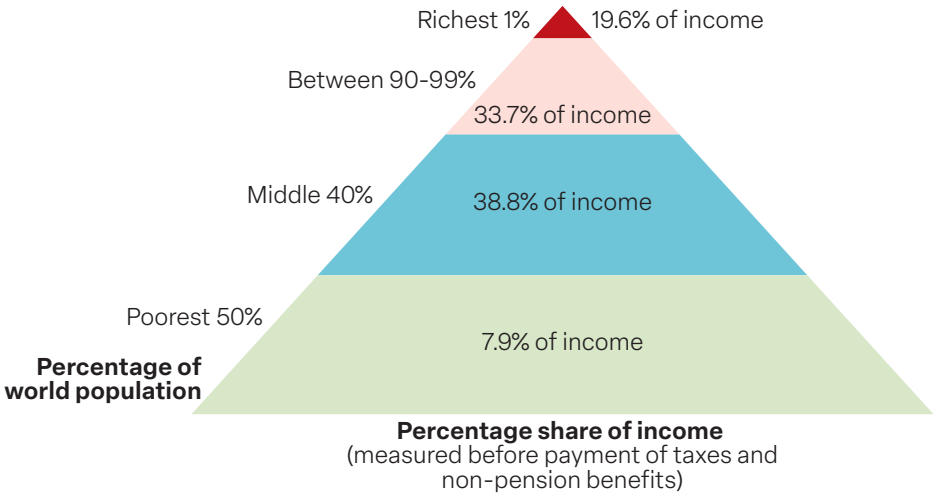
Research communism around the world

Since the Russian Revolution, over 20 countries have had communist governments at some point, mostly since 1945. However, the only communist countries today (based on Marxist-Leninist ideas) are China, Laos, Vietnam and Cuba. North Korea is also a communist state, but it has its own ideology based on loyalty to its founder, Kim Il-sung, and his successors.

1. Locate those countries on a map.
2. Research how the countries became communist. What events were involved? What successes and struggles did they face? What roles did individuals play?
3. For decades after the Russian Revolution, governments in developed Western countries, including the United States, Britain and Australia, were afraid of communist revolutions occurring, or communism gaining popular support. What might explain why this did not happen? To what extent were communist or socialist ideas adopted or influential in these countries?

Inequalities in wealth and power

The American academic Matthew S. Hirshberg believes that the causes of leftist revolutionary movements in the past have not been eliminated, and that 'even if the communist label goes entirely out of fashion (and it hasn't yet), there will be those who advocate socialist alternatives to liberal capitalism as long as there are vast inequalities in wealth and power' (1993). The 'vast inequalities in wealth and power' that Hirshberg speaks of can be seen in Source 5.46, which shows the world distribution of income across richer and poorer groups.



SOURCE 5.46 The distribution of income across richer and poorer groups, World, 2022. Data from *Our World in Data*.

According to this source, what percentage of the world's population has about 53% of the world's total income? What percentage of the world's population has less than 10% of the world's income?

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Throughout the world, extreme wealth is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. But the situation in different countries can be quite varied. As well, newly emerging middle classes (an estimated 430 million people in India) enjoy Western-style consumerism even while the bulk of the population lives very simply, with many experiencing poverty. Free-market capitalism has become entrenched as the accepted economic basis of modern democracies, despite its flaws. It emphasises the primacy of 'the individual' over 'the community', produces class distinctions and massive disparities in wealth, and can result in the underfunding of state-provided functions, such as schools and hospitals. The current crisis in housing and rental affordability and availability in Australia and other Western nations is an example. However, there are rarely calls for capitalism to be abandoned because of the perceptions of what an alternative might look like. Ironically, governments have preferred to bail out and prop up the capitalist system when it fails, such as during economic downturns and stock market crashes.

Activity **5.17**

What if the Russian Revolution had never occurred? A speculation

Consider a world where the Russian Revolution had never occurred. Could Marxist ideas have taken root in industrialised countries and led to the development of strong, stable, Marxist states and societies that produced the major benefits that Marx had envisaged, without some of his more radical proposals and without the demise of democracy?

How likely is it that this could have happened? What conditions would have been necessary in the countries? What sort of societies might have resulted? How might world history during the rest of the twentieth century have been different if the Russian Revolution had never occurred?

Activity **5.18**

Take a position on an attitude scale about equality of outcome

This chapter introduced the socialist concept of a society based on equality of outcome. That is quite different from modern societies around the world, including in Australia, where equality of opportunity is seen as a core value.

Look at the attitude scale and choose a point on the scale. Think about why you chose that point. Next, find a classmate who chose a quite different position. Discuss your choices and your reasons. Then join a class discussion of this topic.

The best society is one based on **equality of opportunity**, which values individual freedom, competition, attainment and reward. This results in different classes in terms of wealth, status, material wellbeing, access to services, and influence.				The best society is one based on **equality of outcome**, which values dignity, cooperation and community. All people are essentially the same in terms of wealth, status, material wellbeing, access to services, and influence.
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree	strongly agree

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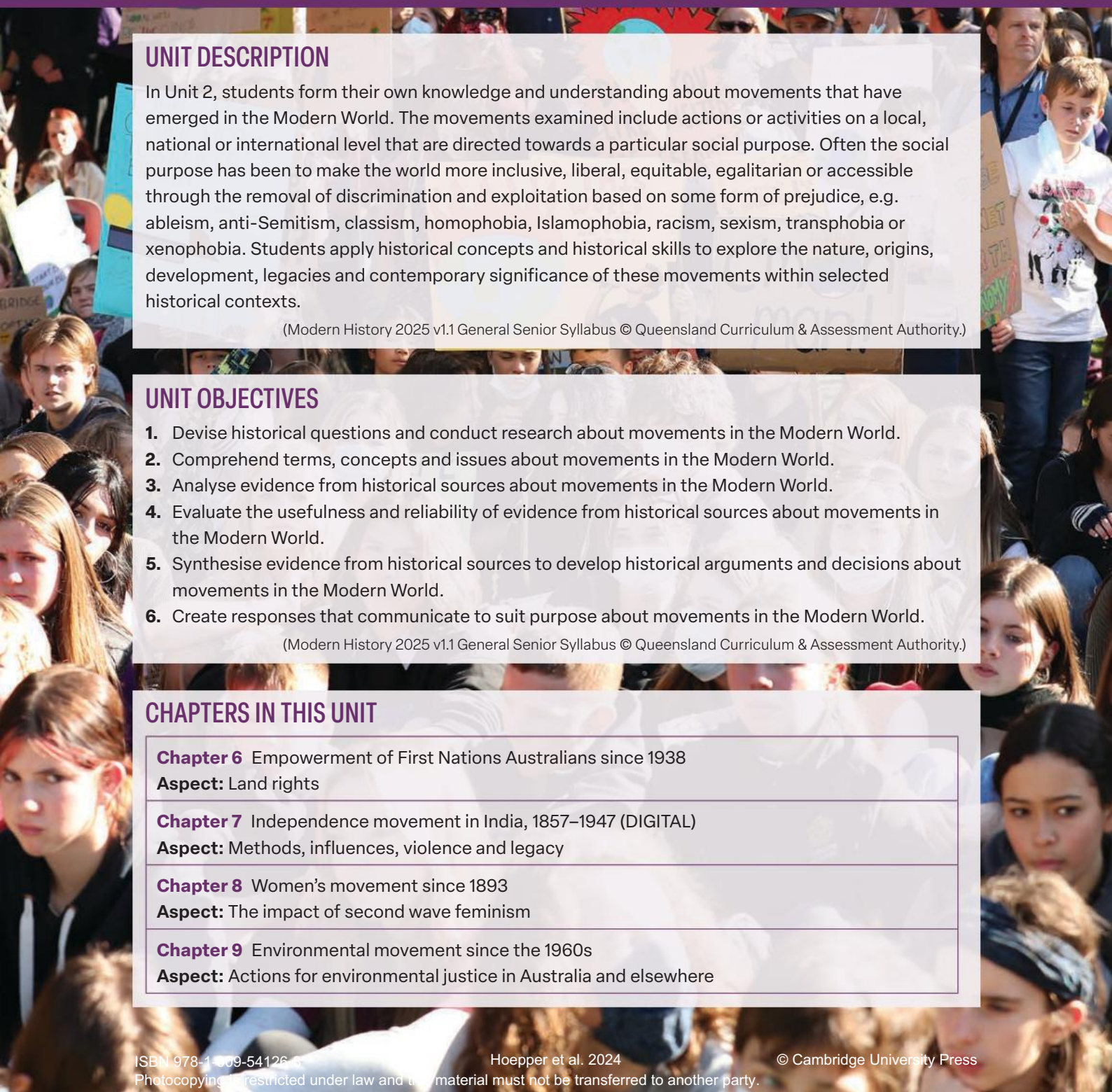
Unit 2

MOVEMENTS IN THE MODERN WORLD



UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 2, students form their own knowledge and understanding about movements that have emerged in the Modern World. The movements examined include actions or activities on a local, national or international level that are directed towards a particular social purpose. Often the social purpose has been to make the world more inclusive, liberal, equitable, egalitarian or accessible through the removal of discrimination and exploitation based on some form of prejudice, e.g. ableism, anti-Semitism, classism, homophobia, Islamophobia, racism, sexism, transphobia or xenophobia. Students apply historical concepts and historical skills to explore the nature, origins, development, legacies and contemporary significance of these movements within selected historical contexts.

(Modern History 2025 v1.1 General Senior Syllabus © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority.)

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Devise historical questions and conduct research about movements in the Modern World.
2. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues about movements in the Modern World.
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources about movements in the Modern World.
4. Evaluate the usefulness and reliability of evidence from historical sources about movements in the Modern World.
5. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to develop historical arguments and decisions about movements in the Modern World.
6. Create responses that communicate to suit purpose about movements in the Modern World.

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

Chapter 6 Empowerment of First Nations Australians since 1938 **Aspect:** Land rights
Chapter 7 Independence movement in India, 1857–1947 (DIGITAL) **Aspect:** Methods, influences, violence and legacy
Chapter 8 Women's movement since 1893 **Aspect:** The impact of second wave feminism
Chapter 9 Environmental movement since the 1960s **Aspect:** Actions for environmental justice in Australia and elsewhere

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Chapter 6

EMPOWERMENT OF FIRST NATIONS AUSTRALIANS SINCE 1938

Aspect: Land rights

JULIE HENNESSEY

SOURCE 6.1 Aboriginal protesters and their families gather outside Australia Hall, Sydney, 26 January 1938.

float a decorated platform, either built on a vehicle like a truck or towed behind one, which is a component of many festive parades

Delegates gather at Australia Hall in Sydney on 26 January 1938 – the 150th anniversary of the arrival of Governor Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet. A large blackboard makes the intent of the gathering clear. It proclaims: 'Aborigines Conference/ Day of Mourning/Aborigines only'. Smaller signs held by Bill Ferguson and young Isaac Ingram provide even greater clarity: 'Aborigines claim citizen rights'.

The conference is running late. It was scheduled to start at 10 a.m. but now it's closer to 1.30 in the afternoon. Earlier in the day, a grand procession of 120 motorised **floats** through the city streets delayed the protesters. In a cruel paradox, they had to wait until the procession passed. Only then were they able to march in silent protest from the Town Hall in George Street to Australia Hall in Elizabeth Street. Upon arrival, the delegates were required to use the back entrance to access the building. But now they are here. The mood is solemn and earnest as there is work to be done.

Reader advice:

This chapter contains images and names of people who have passed. Some terms used are historically racist and remain so today. These terms are mentioned for learning purposes only.

In this chapter, there will be discussion on topics relating to colonisation and racism.

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The first Day of Mourning, 26 January 1938

What is the historical context surrounding the photograph?

On 26 January 1938, while many Australians celebrated the 150th anniversary of the landing of the First Fleet, a group of around 100 Aboriginal people gathered in protest at Australia Hall in Sydney.

Source **6.1** Protest at Australia Hall, 1938

Responding to the photograph (see previous page)

1. Based on the photograph in Source 6.1, what aspects of this protest do you think might garner public support? What aspects might invite public criticism? Explain with specific reference to the photo.
2. Why might children have appeared in this protest and photograph? Children have been present at protests in other places and times, on causes ranging from environmentalism, to war, to vaccination. Do you think it is appropriate for children to be engaged in protest activities? Explain your position.
3. Why might the organisers have decided to limit attendance to Aboriginal people? Think about the advantages and disadvantages of this decision.
4. Citizen rights are a set of political, social and economic rights that a person as a citizen of a country enjoys. What might be some of these rights?

Jack Patten (far right in the photograph) chaired the meeting at Australia Hall. He was joined on stage by Bill Ferguson (far left), Jack Kinchela (second left), Douglas Nicholls and William Cooper. Patten was the first to speak.

SOURCE 6.2 Jack Patten speaks

> We, representing the **Aborigines** of Australia, assembled in conference at the Australian Hall, Sydney, on the 26th day of January, 1938, this being the 150th Anniversary of the Whiteman's seizure of our country, hereby make protest against the callous treatment of our people by the whitemen during the past 150 years, and we appeal to the Australian nation of today to make new laws for the education and care of Aborigines, we ask for a new policy which will raise our people to full citizen status and equality within the community.

Jack Patten, 1938 Day of Mourning resolution, 'Day of Mourning', NMA website

Aborigine Latin-derived English word that was originally used to refer to any native people of any part of the world, and then more specifically to Indigenous people of Australia. The phrase 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' or 'First Nations' is now preferred as the collective term. In this book, the adjective 'Aboriginal' is used appropriately to describe, for example, 'Aboriginal person' and 'Aboriginal land'. 'Aboriginal' is not used as a noun. The word 'Aborigine' is used only when it forms part of historical documentation.

For three-and-a-half hours, delegates at the conference delivered speeches and discussed and debated issues affecting Aboriginal peoples. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon the resolution was moved and passed.

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The 'callous treatment' of Aboriginal people referred to in the resolution was also on display in the **sesquicentenary** celebrations in Sydney. As part of the re-enactment of the landing of Captain Phillip at Farm Cove earlier in the day, organisers had brought in 25 Aboriginal men from a **mission** in Menindee, in western New South Wales, as Aboriginal people living in Sydney had refused to take part. Men from the Menindee mission were held at the Redfern Police Barracks stables until the re-enactment took place. They were threatened by police that if they did not cooperate and perform in the re-enactment, the food rations to Menindee Mission would be stopped. In the re-enactment, they were instructed to play the humiliating role of Aboriginal people retreating, requiring them to run up the beach away from the British soldiers – an inaccurate version of events. In an Australian Cinesound newsreel of the event, the Aboriginal people involved were described as 'menacing savages'. Upon their return to the mission a week later, Aboriginal participants were 'very quiet'. Ngiyampaa Elder Dr Beryl Philp-Carmichael, who was born on the mission and was three years old at the time, further records: 'We knew whatever happened down there really hurt them and we didn't question them' (Volkofsky, 2018).

sesquicentenary the 150th anniversary of a significant event

missions reserves of land to which Aboriginal people were forcibly relocated. Missions were usually on land granted by the government, but in the control of churches and missionaries. Similar areas managed by government officials were generally known as 'stations' or 'managed reserves'.

Source **6.3** Re-enactment of the landing

SOURCE 6.3 Farm Cove, Sydney, 26 January 1938. Aboriginal men being forced to participate in the re-enactment of the landing of Governor Arthur Phillip.

Responding to the text and photograph

1. Look closely at the photograph. Focus on the Aboriginal men from Menindee. Notice the age range, what they are wearing and what they are carrying. What impression of Aboriginal people do you think the director of this re-enactment was seeking to convey? Explain with specific reference to the photo.
2. Why might the Aboriginal men in the re-enactment be required to run up the beach away from the British soldiers when this action was historically inaccurate?

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3. Based on the photograph and the text, why might the Aboriginal men from Menindee have been very quiet upon their return and not spoken about what happened?
4. Note the people in the background of the photograph. Who might they be?
5. On the Barani website, developed by the History Team at the City of Sydney with assistance from the city's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Panel, this group is described in the following way: 'A group of white dignitaries sits in comfortable safety watching the invasion' (Barani, 2013). This description is making a judgement about this group of people ('white dignitaries') and the event unfolding ('the invasion'). What points might the author of this description be seeking to make?

Deputation to the Prime Minister, 31 January 1938

Five days after the Day of Mourning protest, a deputation of about 20 people met with Prime Minister Joseph Lyons to present a proposed national policy of Ten Points for Aboriginal people. Delegates called for Commonwealth control of all Aboriginal matters, with a separate Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs and full citizen status for all Aboriginal people and civil equality with white Australians, including equality in education, labour laws, workers compensation, pensions, land ownership, wages, marriage laws and housing. Lyons replied that, under the Constitution, Commonwealth control over Aboriginal affairs was not possible as this was a state power. The Constitution was not changed until 1967 (29 years later), at a national referendum, to give the Commonwealth power over matters relating to Aboriginal peoples.

Consider the areas of life where equality was sought by Aboriginal protesters. While all human rights are deserved and important, choose one or two that you consider to be the most significant in order to advance the rights and freedoms of Aboriginal peoples. Explain.

Are you surprised that the Ten Point proposal did not include equality in voting rights? Explain. (Historical note: In 1902, the Commonwealth Government passed the *Franchise Act*, legislation that deliberately excluded Aboriginal people from the federal vote.)

According to Prime Minister Lyons, what prevented him from supporting the Aboriginal protesters' requests?

What other options might have been open to the Prime Minister and federal government to advance the citizenship rights for Aboriginal people? Why might these options have not been considered or taken?

Activity **6.1**

Research tasks and debate

1. While William Cooper, a Yorta Yorta man, did not feature in the introductory photograph, he was an extraordinary man and inspirational leader who helped to organise the Day of Mourning protest. Do some research to find out about his other areas of activism, including his 'Petition to the King' (1937) and his anti-Nazi march in December 1938.
2. The debate over the change of date for a celebration of a national day for Australia remains divisive and is far from settled. Research the arguments for and against and prepare a written position, or hold your own class debate/discussion/yarning circle about this topic.

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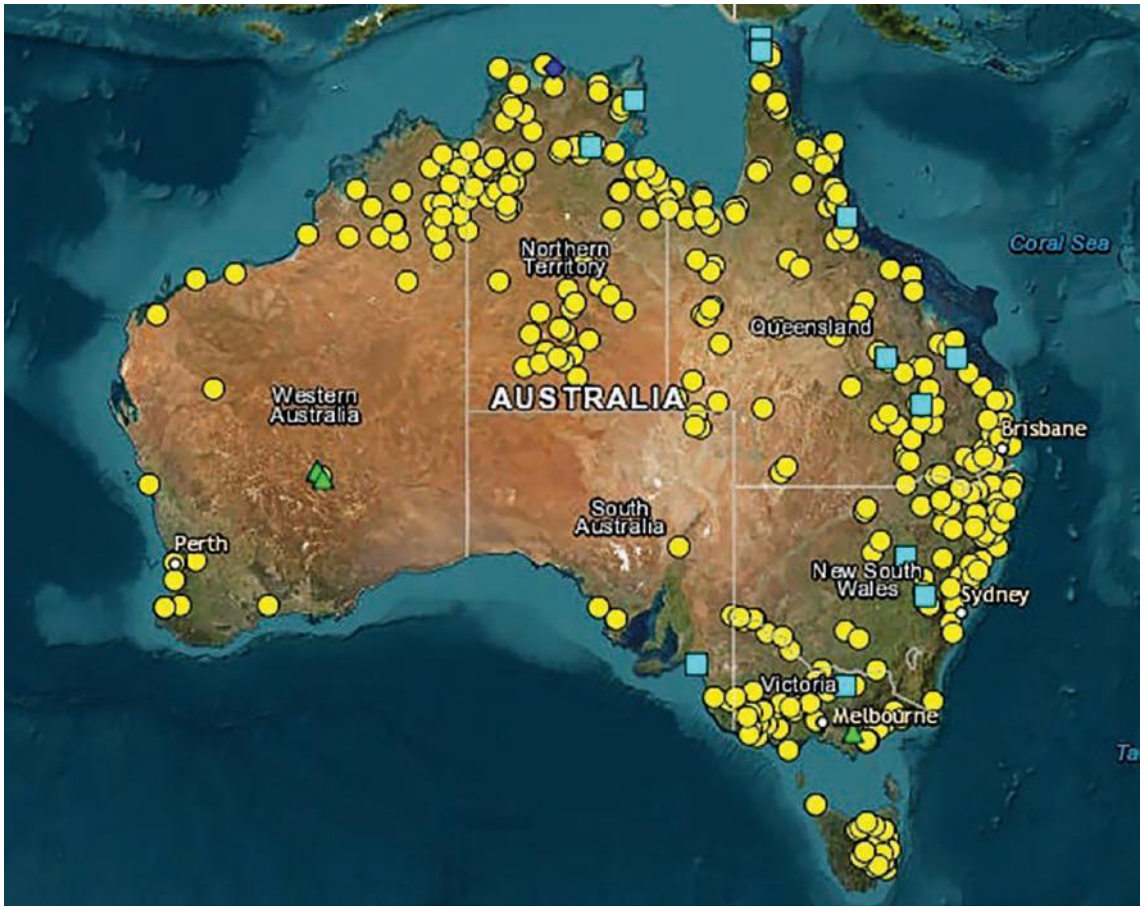
How did First Nations people initially resist the British occupation of Australia?

Frontier Wars

First Nations peoples refers to the Indigenous inhabitants of the Australian continent, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are diverse and comprise hundreds of groups that have their own distinct sets of languages, histories and cultural traditions. In this book, 'First Nations people/s', 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people/s' and 'Indigenous people/s' are used interchangeably.

While the Day of Mourning was the first national protest staged by **First Nations peoples**, there has been Indigenous resistance in some form or another to European occupation since 1788. In the first 150 or so years, this resistance largely took the form of guerrilla warfare on the fringes of white settlement.

Clashes between colonisers and Aboriginal groups were a feature of frontier life from the early months at Sydney Cove until well into the twentieth century. Almost every district colonised during this time has a history of conflict between Aboriginal groups and encroaching settlers. However, while frontier conflict was apparent in almost every part of Australia, it varied in duration and intensity. The bloodiest fighting between settlers and First Nations people occurred in colonial Queensland over a period of approximately 40 years.



SOURCE 6.4 Map marking the massacres of Indigenous groups and resistance against white colonisers across Australia's colonial frontier from 1788 to 1930. University of Newcastle. An interactive, online version is available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10525, and Activity 6.2 takes you through an exploration of this.

ACTIVITY 6.2
Explore the map

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Considering the Europeans' economic and military advantages, First Nations resistance on the frontier was prolonged and effective. It exacted a high price from many colonial settlements, in tension and in security as much as in property loss, injury or death. Attacks on property by First Nations people often had devastating effects on the fortunes of colonisers. At times, the attacks appeared to threaten the economic viability of colonising industries – pastoral, farming, mining and pearling. In Tasmania in the late 1820s, New South Wales in the late 1830s and early 1840s, and Queensland in the early 1860s, First Nations resistance emerged as one of colonial society's major problems, challenging the expansion and stability of white settlements.

The last significant clash between First Nations people and non-Indigenous Australians occurred in the early 1930s in the Caledon Bay area of the Northern Territory. However, by this time the nature of First Nations resistance and the government's response to it was changing. Non-violent responses to colonisation, such as meetings, petitions, public protests and strikes, increasingly replaced frontier violence. While the tactics may have changed, the intensity of resistance remained constant throughout the twentieth century.

For a more detailed history of the Frontier Wars, see Chapter 2.

What is empowerment and how is it achieved?

Exploring the concept of empowerment

At its core, the 1938 Day of Mourning protest, which called for full citizenship rights for Aboriginal people, sought to empower First Nations people through equal opportunity and recognition.

The process of empowerment involves seeking (or demanding) rights, freedoms and the power to do what you want or to control what happens to you. It involves the process of becoming stronger and more confident, especially in controlling your life and claiming your rights. As an outcome, empowerment means having power and control over your own life. This enables you to represent your interests in a self-determined way, acting on your own authority. Thus, empowerment can be seen as both a *process* and an *outcome*.

Another dimension of empowerment involves its source or origin. Who initiates the process of empowerment? Does it come from *above* (e.g. government, churches and schools)? Or does it come from *below* (the oppressed and marginalised)? Empowerment from above includes policies, strategies and laws that seek to provide marginalised people with knowledge, resources, opportunities and skills to better their 'lot' or condition. However, empowerment from above has its pitfalls as it could cast the marginalised as passive, helpless victims in need of rescue. Empowerment from below involves oppressed people determining and driving change to shift the power relationship between the oppressors and the oppressed. They are the agents of change. However, for oppressed people to initiate change they not only need a consciousness of their unjust situation but also an awareness of and confidence in their own strengths, preparedness to take action, a commitment to the cause and the resources to sustain the struggle.

The concept of self-determination refers to the right of people to control their own lives. The right to self-determination is articulated in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, to which Australia is a signatory.

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The Australian Human Rights Commission defines self-determination as follows:

SOURCE 6.5 The Australian Human Rights Commission on self-determination

At its core, self-determination 'is concerned with the fundamental right of people to shape their own lives'. In a practical sense, self-determination means that we have the freedom to live well, to determine what it means to live well according to our own values and beliefs.

In recognising that Indigenous peoples have this right, governments are required to recognise our collective/group identities such as our nations, language groups, clans, family alliances or communities.

Australian Human Rights Commission (n.d.). Self-determination. https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-social-justice/self-determination

In what ways is empowerment a 'process' and an 'outcome'?

Explain the ideas of empowerment from 'above' and empowerment from 'below'. Who initiates the empowerment? How is the empowerment 'delivered'? What might be the advantages and disadvantages of empowerment from 'above' and empowerment from 'below' for oppressed peoples?

How is the concept of 'self-determination' related to the concept of 'empowerment'? Might these words be used interchangeably or do they have distinctive characteristics? Explain.

Why might it be more difficult for marginalised and disadvantaged groups, as opposed to advantaged groups, to initiate change to empower themselves and to implement and sustain the change they seek?

Activity 6.3

Debate on empowerment

1. Conduct a four corner debate on the following topic: *You can't empower someone else or make someone empowered*.
2. Discuss: Explain how the following quote by Ancient Chinese philosopher Laozi makes the principle of empowerment and its application complicated: 'Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach him how to fish and you feed him for a lifetime'.

Power and empowerment

At the core of the concept of empowerment is the idea of power. Power is often related to our ability to make others do what we want, regardless of their own wishes or interests. When we think of the word power, we often associate it with influence, control and domination. Viewed in this way, power can be perceived as unchanging or unchangeable. However, power exists within the context of a relationship between people (e.g. government and citizens; parent and child; teacher and student). Power does not exist in isolation nor is it inherent in individuals.

Empowerment is not possible in any meaningful way unless power relations change. However, since power is created in relationships, power and power relationships can change.

Empowerment, then, involves a process of change. This change manifests itself in two ways: a *shift* in the power relationship (e.g. absolute monarchs lose their power and it moves to the people) or an *expansion* or *sharing* of power in the relationship (e.g. in many marriages power is distributed between the two spouses).

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Activity **6.4**

Think, pair, share

1. Have you ever felt powerful? Was it at someone's expense? Was it with someone else (i.e. together you felt powerful)?
2. Explain why power does not exist in isolation nor is it inherent in individuals.
3. Think about what gives individuals or groups power in a relationship. For example, is power claimed and wielded? Is it given by the consent of another party?
4. Choose one of the following statements and a) explain what it means to you, and b) discuss the extent to which you agree with it:
   - Power to change things rests on a criticism of the world as it is, a vision of what things could be like, and an action plan to turn the vision into a reality.
   - Empowerment can be acquired by joining with others – the more diverse the social movement, the more powerful it is.
   - Empowerment exists in the consciousness of individuals and their capacity to change things.

How did the struggle and acquisition of civil rights from the 1920s to the 1960s help to empower First Nations people?

Empowerment through civil rights (1920s–1967)

Initially, the quest for empowerment by First Nations people in the early part of the twentieth century (from the mid-1920s until the late 1960s) took the form of a civil rights movement seeking equality and justice. Civil rights are shared legal, political and social rights of the citizen that are provided by national or state law. In short, they are shared equal rights that all citizens of a nation should possess.

Under the **Protection Acts** of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Indigenous peoples' basic **human rights** were taken away, such as freedom of movement and labour, custody of their children, and control over personal property. In the 1920s and 1930s, the first Aboriginal political organisations were founded in various states of Australia with a focus on gaining these rights. These rights were cast as citizenship rights. As a general principle, these early organisations sought the same political and legal rights, and access to the same social services and educational opportunities as other Australians. They criticised the discriminatory policies and practices of state and territory governments which saw their lives controlled and regulated. They also called upon the federal government to take over control from the states and introduce uniform laws, which would allow Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to receive equal rights in society alongside other Australians.

Protection Acts legislation passed in all Australian states, except Tasmania, which gave governments extensive powers over the lives of Indigenous peoples, including regulation of residence, employment and marriage

human rights the rights you have simply because you are human

As you have read earlier, the first national protest staged by Aboriginal people was on 26 January 1938, which coincided with the 150th anniversary of the arrival of Governor Phillip and the First Fleet in Australia. It was the first of many Australia Day protests (referred to by many as Invasion Day since 1988) that raised the voices of First Nations peoples and their calls for justice.

Before the 1940s, racial discrimination was relatively unregulated in the Western world. However, this changed with the creation of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This Declaration served to establish the principle of racial equality. It also gave Indigenous organisations and their supporters international leverage as they drew attention to the divergence between the federal government's domestic policy and its international obligations.

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The founding of the first national organisation, the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement (FCAA) in 1958 (later to become the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders [FCAATSI] in 1964), was a major development in advancing the civil rights of Indigenous people in Australia. As the pre-eminent Indigenous rights group, the FCAA/FCAATSI quickly became the most important voice in Indigenous politics at the time. Its broad aim was to work for equal citizenship rights, which included equal wages, improved housing and the removal of discriminatory legislation. However, it is best known for its 10-year campaign seeking constitutional change through a referendum. Dr John Chesterman asserts that it was the extensive lobbying of FCAA/FCAATSI, along with state-based organisations and the international attention received, which 'were crucial in pushing state governments and the federal government to repeal racially discriminatory laws' (2005:20).

SOURCE 6.6 R to L: Faith Bandler (a leading activist in the Referendum campaign), her daughter Lilon Bandler, Reverend George Garnsey and an unidentified university student at a Census Day demonstration held outside the Commonwealth Bank in Martin Place, Sydney on 30 June 1966. At this time, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were not counted in the national census.

What might be the ramifications of not being part of the census?
What elements of this protest made it an effective/ineffective one?

While the Federal Council's campaigns drew attention to the oppression of Indigenous people in Australia and successfully lobbied governments, no protest prior to the historic 1967 Referendum had as much impact on public perceptions of the treatment of Indigenous people as the 1965 Freedom Ride. Influenced by the American civil rights movement, a group of students from Sydney University staged a bus trip over two weeks through country towns in New South Wales. They adopted the idea of non-violent direct action as a means of highlighting racial inequality in the towns that they visited. Led by Arrernte and Kalkadoon man Charles Perkins, one of two First Nations students on the tour, the actions of the students attracted extraordinary publicity. Their dramatic picketing of the Walgett RSL Club, where Aboriginal ex-servicemen were excluded, and the municipal swimming baths in Moree, where Indigenous children out of school hours were banned, attracted widespread media coverage in regional and national newspapers, radio and television.

As well as generating great media and public interest in the unjust treatment of First Nations people, the Freedom Ride also sparked a national debate on the state of Indigenous affairs and welfare. According to historians Bain Attwood and Andrew Markus, the Freedom Ride 'succeeded in pushing Aboriginal affairs onto the political stage as it had never been before' (1999:172).

However, it is the 1967 Referendum that has come to symbolise the single historic moment where the long-fought struggle for equal citizenship rights was finally achieved. The 1967 Referendum has been erroneously credited with delivering First Nations people everything from the vote to the repeal of racially discriminatory laws. It did neither of those things.

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Instead, it altered two sections of the Australian Constitution that referred to Aboriginal people: section 127 was repealed so that Aboriginal people could be counted in the census, and section 51 was amended (subsection xxvi) to enable the federal government to enact laws for Aboriginal people. However, given that the Referendum was endorsed by over 90% of electors, the highest ever achieved in any single referendum in Australia, it can legitimately be seen as recognition that Indigenous people had been unjustly treated.

In the main, however, the 1967 Referendum serves as little more than a symbolic landmark in the struggle for Indigenous civil rights, as First Nations people had already acquired the formal rights of citizenship in most states and territories by this time. Although these rights included the right to vote, the right to consume liquor outside of reserves, freedom of movement and the control of property, the practical realisation of these rights was uneven and continued to be hindered by systemic barriers and discrimination.

SOURCE 6.7 Moree, New South Wales, 17 February 1965. In this photo from *The Australian*, 19 February 1965, leader of the Freedom Ride Charles Perkins swims with children in the Moree pool after the Freedom Riders had successfully broken the pool ban on Aboriginal children outside of school hours (Aboriginal children were permitted entry only on school swimming days).

What features of this photograph make it an enduring and powerful image of the Freedom Ride? Compose a suitable alternative caption for this photograph.

Activity **6.5**

Review events of the 1920s–1967

1. In this section on the civil rights movement, what significant political developments and protests have been identified that were crucial in the advancement of civil rights for First Nations people in Australia? Create an annotated timeline.
2. For each of these developments and protests, identify who was driving the change in the power relationship. Was it from 'below' or from 'above'?
3. When freedoms and rights were won or conferred, could First Nations people in Australia exercise their rights and assume autonomy over their lives?

In summary

In this contextual study, you've learned about the first Day of Mourning protest and the measures taken to empower the lives of First Nations people. While the 1938 Day of Mourning protest marked the first national gathering of Aboriginal people, it was part of a history of resistance against the racist policies and ideologies of white Australia that dated back approximately 150 years. This resistance began first on the frontier, and later took to the streets. While the quest for civil rights dominated the struggle in the first part of the twentieth century, from the 1960s land rights became the focus.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: How effective were land rights campaigns, during the latter part of the twentieth century, in empowering First Nations Australians?

Land or Country holds profound significance for First Nations peoples as it is intricately connected to their cultural, spiritual and social identity. According to Dr Patrick Dodson, Yawuru man and a former federal minister and Senator, 'Land is the generation point of existence, the maintenance of existence, the spirit from which Aboriginal existence comes' (Dodson, 1987). At the time of the 1967 Referendum, Australia did not recognise Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander land rights. This was to change over the next three decades. The following depth study traces the fight for land rights since the late 1960s. It does so through three case studies: the Gurindji Walk-off (1966–75), the Aboriginal Tent Embassy (1972) and the Mabo High Court challenge (1982–92) and its aftermath.

This depth study is explored through four sub-questions that enable you to build towards an answer to the key inquiry question above.

The four sub-questions are:

1. How did the Gurindji people in the Northern Territory seek to empower themselves and how successful were they?
2. How empowering was the 1972 Aboriginal Tent Embassy for First Nations peoples?
3. Did the Mabo High Court challenge empower First Nations peoples?
4. What do historians say about how effective land rights campaigns have been in empowering First Nations peoples?

SOURCE 6.8 Prime Minister Gough Whitlam pours red soil into the palm of Gurindji Elder Vincent Lingiari, 16 August 1975. Photo by Mervyn Bishop.

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SUB-QUESTION 1: How did the Gurindji people in the Northern Territory seek to empower themselves and how successful were they?

The photograph in Source 6.8 is considered the most iconic (i.e. most widely recognised and well-established) image from the Indigenous land rights movement. It depicts Prime Minister Gough Whitlam pouring a handful of red soil into the cupped hand of Gurindji Elder Vincent Lingiari.

Source **6.8** Gough Whitlam and Vincent Lingiari

Responding to the photograph (see previous page)

Create and complete a table like the one below, explaining how each of the following aspects of the photograph contributes to making it iconic.

Aspects to consider	Explanation
The physical setting	
Who these two men represent and how they present	
What each man is doing	
What Whitlam's gesture might symbolise	

When Prime Minister Whitlam poured the red soil into the cupped hand of Lingiari, it followed his presenting the Gurindji Elder with the title deeds to Gurindji lands. You can see that Lingiari is holding the deeds. This photo has been studied and interpreted by many people over the decades. They have suggested that the following aspects are significant: the striking backdrop of the bright blue sky and deep red earth gives the photograph a clear sense of place – remote Australia; that the two central, dominant figures of Whitlam and Lingiari represent two different worlds – white authority and Indigenous societies, respectively; that Whitlam's gesture of pouring soil into the hand of Lingiari symbolises the legal transfer of land back to the Traditional Owners; and that a historic moment in Australian history has been captured when Indigenous people, for the first time, had land given back to them by a government.

Activity **6.6**

Think, pair, share to discuss the photograph

1. Look more closely at the photograph. Do you notice how Lingiari holds the title deeds under his cupped hand in a possibly deliberate way? Do you notice the dynamic positioning of Whitlam's 'giving' and Lingiari's 'accepting'? Do you notice Lingiari's stitched-up pants and his formal shirt and tie, and Whitlam's full business suit? Do you notice the angle at which the photographer has taken this image?
2. What comments or conclusions might you make about each of these details?
3. Pair with a table partner to share your responses to the above questions.

Central to this photograph is the pouring of red soil into the hand of Vincent Lingiari. The suggestion for this gesture came from H.C. ('Nugget') Coombs, Whitlam's Aboriginal Affairs adviser, on the very morning of the ceremony. He suggested that Whitlam might reverse the gesture made by the Wurundjeri Elders from Port Phillip Bay (near Melbourne) in 1835, when they formalised their people's land treaty with white settlers by placing soil into the hand of explorer John Batman.

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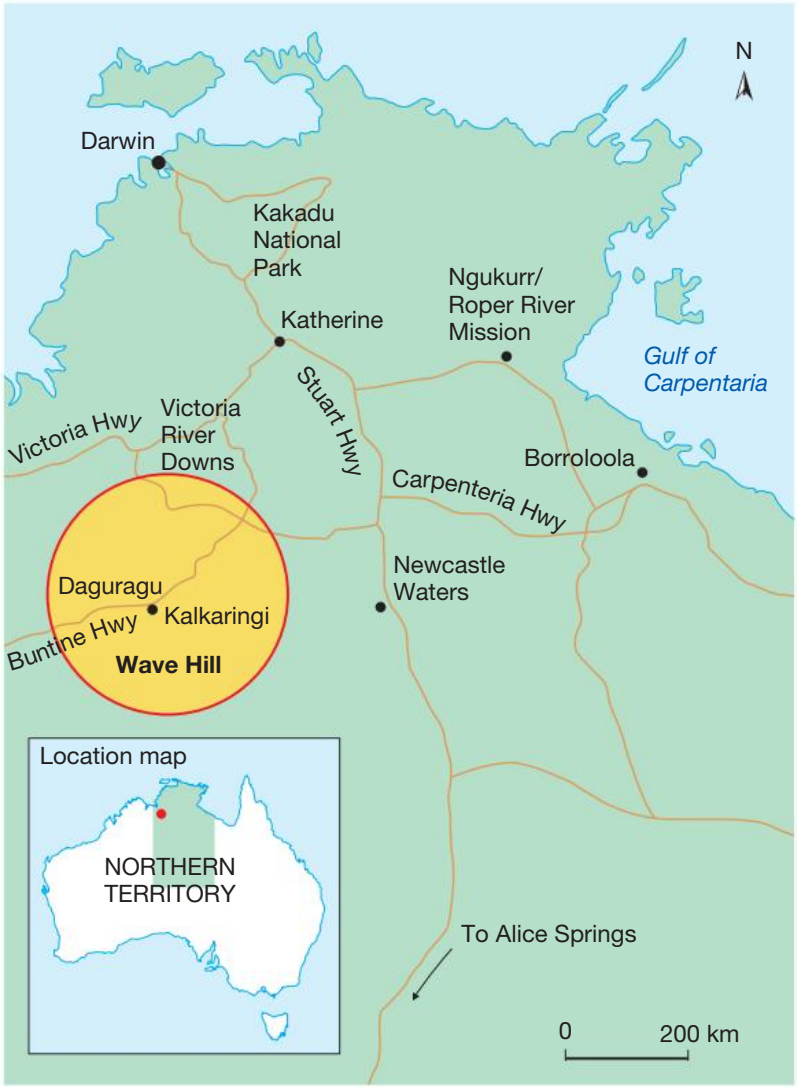
The gesture, while deeply appreciated, took Lingiari by surprise and created an awkward moment. He understood the symbolic importance of the soil he had received, but what was he to do with it after receiving it? Vestey pastoral inspector Cec Watts recalled, 'Poor old bugger … He put it behind his back' and then quietly let it drift out of his hand before responding to Whitlam: 'Let us live happily together as mates, let us not make it hard for each other ... We want to live in a better way together, Aboriginals and white men, let us not fight over anything, let us be mates' (cited in Ward, 2016b).

The iconic photograph of Whitlam and Lingiari is a re-enactment. The original ceremony had taken place in the shade of the bough shed that you can see in the background. Mervyn Bishop, the photographer and Australia's first Aboriginal press photographer, was not satisfied with the quality of the photograph he had taken, so requested a reshoot.

Does it matter that this iconic photograph is a re-enactment of a historic moment in history? Explain your reasoning.

Why do you think this photo has become a particularly powerful symbol of reconciliation? (Reconciliation involves bringing people together and building better relationships based on mutual respect.)

Might this photo be a symbol of empowerment? If so, how? In your response, identify whether it is empowerment from 'above' or 'below'. Or is it ambiguous?



So, what's the story behind this iconic photograph? What did the Gurindji people do to achieve this outcome? On the face of it, it appears that the Gurindji people were successful in their campaign, but was this completely true? Let's step back in time to 1966 to retrace the events that led to this historic moment.

Nine years earlier, on 23 August 1966, Vincent Lingiari had led around 200 Aboriginal stockmen, house servants and their families in a walk-off from Wave Hill Station. Wave Hill was a cattle station, 600 kilometres south-west of Katherine in the Northern Territory, owned by the British Vestey group of companies. The Vestey Company was the largest employer of Indigenous labourers in the Northern Territory.

SOURCE 6.9 Location of the Wave Hill area in the Northern Territory

How might the location of the Gurindji walk-off and strike (i.e. on a cattle station in remote Northern Territory) have affected its success? Explain.

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The initial cause of the walk-off and subsequent strike was a dispute over pay and working conditions. Vestey's manager at Wave Hill refused to meet Lingiari's request that Aboriginal stockmen be paid around $25 a week, the same wage as non-Aboriginal workers. Aboriginal stockmen endured poor working and living conditions on Wave Hill Station. Not only were their wages low (around $6 a week) and irregular but their rations were meagre, consisting of dry bread and salted beef. Aboriginal workers lived in kennel-like housing, sanitation was inadequate and women were subject to sexual abuse and coercion. Lingiari protested on behalf of the Aboriginal people at Wave Hill: 'bin treat me fella all time like a dog'.

Note that many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people speak traditional languages as well as Aboriginal English. Aboriginal English is not 'broken' English but rather a language that developed after contact. It is known as a creole language and is spoken by at least 80% of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people today.

While the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission ruled in March 1966 that Indigenous workers in the cattle industry were to receive the same wages as their non-Indigenous counterparts, the implementation of this decision was delayed until 1968. This delay provoked enormous frustration and resentment among First Nations peoples, including the Gurindji people.

Cartoonist John Frith commented on the situation faced by the Gurindji people in July 1968.

Source **6.10** From the rich man's table

Responding to the cartoon

Conduct a three-part analysis of the cartoon.

1. **Content:** What do you see? Consider: setting, figures, material objects, action, expressions/gestures and caption.
2. **Context:** In what year of the strike was the cartoon published? What was happening at this time? (See page 212.)
3. **Comment on:**
   a. **perspective:** What do you think is the cartoonist's opinion of the situation at Wave Hill? What aspects of the cartoon indicate that? Explain.
   b. **focus:** Is the cartoon commenting on pay and conditions and/or land rights? Explain.

SOURCE 6.10 'From the rich man's table.' Cartoon by John Frith, *The Herald*, July 1968.

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The Gurindji people move their camp to Wattie Creek

In the initial walk-off, the Gurindji people first moved to the banks of the Victoria River, a day's walk from the cattle station. However, in April 1967 the Gurindji people moved their camp to Wattie Creek, known to them as Daguragu, within the Wave Hill lease. This was a symbolic shift away from the cattle station and closer to the community's sacred sites. Lord Vestey offered inducements, including wages, to get them to return, but Vincent Lingiari told him 'you can keep your gold, we just want our land back'.

What began as an industrial dispute over appalling wage and living conditions soon developed into a demand by the Gurindji people for the return of their traditional lands. Frank Hardy, a well-known author at the time who became the primary adviser, publicist and confidant to the Gurindji people, was told 'we want them Bestey[1] mob all go away from here. Wave Hill Aborigine native people bin called Gurindji. We bin here longa time before them Bestey mob. This is our Country, alla this Country bin Gurindji Country. Wave Hill bin our Country ... we bin want this ground' (1968).

Source 6.11 is a photograph of Gurindji stockmen at Wattie Creek. Vincent Lingiari stands at the back, closest to the sign behind the squatting stockmen.

Source **6.11** Gurindji strikers

SOURCE 6.11 Gurindji strikers claim their land at Wattie Creek (Daguragu)

Responding to the photograph

1. Read the sign. What does it reveal about the strikers' intentions?
2. How might these intentions empower the Gurindji people?
3. How have the various striking stockmen presented themselves to the camera, and what different attitudes do you think they are projecting?

[1] As there is no 'v' sound in the Gurindji tongue, Bestey is the Gurindji transliteration of Vestey.

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Soon after the Gurindji people occupied land at Wattie Creek, they called upon Hardy to draw up the sign pictured in Source 6.11. Source 6.12 is an account of that request and why the sign was so important to the Gurindji people.

Source **6.12** The Gurindji sign

SOURCE 6.12 Historian Bain Attwood writes about the Gurindji sign

As Hardy was aware, Lingiari and the other leaders at Wave Hill understood that the written word was very important, and they saw it and its creators as the source of extraordinary power. This was evident when Nyurrmiyari and Lingiari asked Hardy to make a sign following their move to Wattie Creek. Nyurrmiyari explained to Hardy 'me and Tommy Bincent want 'em sign. All them mob hab sign outside. Besteys got 'em sign outside, policeman got 'em sign outside. Welfare got 'em sign outside. We want 'em sign for Wattie Creek homestead. Can you write 'em sign?'. Asked what they wanted the sign to say, Nyurrmiyari requested Hardy to 'put that Gurindji word there. We never bin see that word, only in we head'. As Hardy painted the words, Nyurrmiyari's 'eyes never left the sign' even though, as Hardy remarked, 'he could not read a letter of it'. When Lingiari saw what he called their 'own sign', he pronounced that they 'bin got everything now'.

Bain Attwood, *Rights for Aborigines*, 2003, pp. 278–9

Responding to Attwood's account

1. Analyse evidence from the source to explain the basis on which the Gurindji leaders Nyurrmiyari and Lingiari wanted a sign.
2. How might a sign empower the Gurindji people?
3. What might Lingiari have meant when he said after seeing the sign, 'bin got everything now'? (When considering your answer to this question, bear in mind the note on page 207 about Aboriginal English.)
4. Would you judge Lingiari's comment 'bin got everything now' to be realistic, optimistic, unrealistic or something else? Explain your response.

Activity **6.7**

Delve deeper

In Source 6.12, Bain Attwood comments on how the Gurindji leaders understood the importance and power of the written word.

1. Take a minute to brainstorm what might be the importance and power of the written word.
2. Follow this with a quick internet search (e.g. search: 'power of the written word'). Identify five key reasons from your search.
3. From these reasons, select the most important. Be prepared to justify your decision.
4. Share your findings with a table partner, and then the wider class.

A petition to the Governor-General

In the same month that the Gurindji people moved to Wattie Creek, they petitioned the Governor-General, Lord Casey. This was one month before the 1967 Referendum. Source 6.13 is an excerpt from that petition.

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Source **6.13** The Gurindji petition

SOURCE 6.13 Excerpt from a petition by the Gurindji people to the Governor-General, 19 April 1967

May it Please Your Excellency

We, the leaders of the Gurindji people, write to you about our earnest desire to regain tenure of our tribal lands in the Wave Hill-Limbunya area of the Northern Territory, of which we were dispossessed in time past, and for which we received no recompense.

Our people have lived here from time immemorial and our culture, myths, dreaming and sacred places have evolved in this land. Many of our forefathers were killed in the early days while trying to retain it. Therefore we feel that morally the land is ours and should be returned to us. Our very name Aboriginal acknowledges our prior claim. We have never ceased to say amongst ourselves that Vesteys should go away and leave us to our land ...

We beg of you to hear our voices asking that the land marked on the map be returned to the Gurindji people: it is about 600 square miles [965 square kilometres] in area but this is only a very small fraction of the land leased by Vesteys in these parts. We are prepared to pay for our land the same annual rental that Vesteys now pay. If the question of compensation arises, we feel that we have already paid enough during fifty years or more, during which time, we and our fathers worked for no wages at all much of the time and for a mere pittance in recent years.

If you can grant this wish for which we humbly ask, we would show the rest of Australia and the whole world that we are capable of working and planning our own destiny as free citizens ...

These are our wishes, which have been written down for us by our undersigned white friends, as we have had no opportunity to learn to write English.

Yours

Vincent Lingiari. Pincher Manguari. Gerry Ngalgardji. Long-Johnny Kitgneari.
Transcribed, witnessed and transmitted by Frank J. Hardy and J. W. Jeffrey.

Gurindji petition to the Governor-General Lord Casey, 19 April 1967

Responding to the petition

1. What do you notice about the type and style of language used in a petition to authorities? Quote words and phrases that characterise this type of language. Why might this type of language have been used in such petitions throughout history? What effect is it trying to have?
2. What arguments do the Gurindji people put forward to support their land claim? Explain the merits of these arguments.
3. Quote lines from the petition that demonstrate the Gurindji saw their request for the return of their land as a means to empowerment. How might the acquisition of traditional lands empower the Gurindji people? Explain.
4. In what ways would it have been important for the Gurindji people to have the support of public figures such as Frank Hardy? Explain.
5. How useful and reliable is this petition in representing the Gurindji people's views and aspirations about their traditional lands? Provide two points for usefulness and two points for reliability.

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On 20 June 1967, the Governor-General replied to the Gurindji request.

Source **6.14** Response to the Gurindji petition

SOURCE 6.14 Governor-General's response to the Gurindji petition, 20 June 1967

The Land which you seek ... is Crown Land [owned by the Commonwealth of Australia] of which a **pastoral lease** is held by (the Vesteys) ... This lease has another 37 years to run ... You should be careful that you do not do anything to break the law ... or to interfere with the rights of the pastoral lessee (the Vesteys) ... in light of these facts ... (the Governor General) has not been pleased to grant the request in your petition.

pastoral lease crown (or state) land that is leased or rented by the government generally for the purpose of grazing livestock (e.g. sheep and cattle)

Lord Casey's reply to the Gurindji petition, 20 June 1967

Responding to the Governor-General's response

1. What reasons are given by the Governor-General for rejecting the Gurindji people's petition? How valid/meritorious are these reasons? Explain your response.
2. The Gurindji people's response to the Governor-General's letter was to stuff it into a powdered-milk tin and ignore it. What does this indicate about the Gurindji people's attitude to the Governor-General's letter and their future intentions? Explain your response.

Activity **6.8**

Explore the clash of assumptions

In 1967, the Gurindji people's position and the Governor-General's were diametrically opposed. However, it is possible to say that both were valid. The validity of both depends on what assumptions the positions were based on.

1. Create and complete a table like the one below, recording a) the basic position of each 'side', and b) what assumptions you think underlay those positions. (An assumption refers to a thing accepted to be true – a belief.)

The Gurindji people	The Governor-General
The Gurindji people's request:	The Governor-General's answer:
The Gurindji people's assumptions:	The Governor-General's assumptions:

2. Do you think the Governor-General's decision was correct? On what assumptions do you base your decision?
3. What do you think would have been a just or moral decision? On what assumptions do you base your decision?
4. Do you think the Governor-General would have been wise to accept the Gurindji people's request? Explain your reasoning.

While the Governor-General rejected the Gurindji people's petition, a Committee of the Northern Territory Legislative Council wrote a favourable response to the Gurindji people's claim to the land in part of the Wave Hill pastoral lease in November 1967.

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It stated: 'your Committee is most impressed with the strong moral claim that these people have to this small portion of a much larger area, that from time immemorial, they have considered to be theirs'. While morally supportive, this positive report did not translate into practical action as the Northern Territory Government at this time was administered by the Commonwealth, and the Commonwealth Government, like the Governor-General, rejected the Gurindji people's claims.

? **Note that the mention of 'moral claim' refers also to 'small portion' and 'time immemorial'. How could this demonstrate the politicians' wish to support the Gurindji but to also placate the other side?**

Public response

When news of the Governor-General's stance emerged, it backfired against the federal government and won great sympathy and support for the Gurindji people among non-Indigenous Australians. Indeed, throughout the nine-year strike, the Gurindji people received financial, material and political support from white Australia. Chief among their supporters were members of the Communist Party, politicians, trade unionists, university students and church groups. According to an article in the *Green Left Weekly* (1995), this support was critical to shielding the Gurindji people 'from isolation and physical intimidation'. Earlier strikes, such as those in the Pilbara in Western Australia in the 1940s, had met with ruthless opposition, but the 'exposure and public attention that white supporters were able to mobilise' helped to prevent this in the case of the Gurindji people's strike.

Source 6.15 is a photograph of one of the land rights marches in support of the Gurindji people by the broader community. It was in response to federal cabinet's refusal to return homelands to the Gurindji people.

Source **6.15** Land rights march in Melbourne, 1968

SOURCE 6.15 Land rights march in Melbourne, 1968. *Melbourne Sun*, 13 July 1968

Responding to the photograph

1. Look closely at the people in this protest march. Some might label the group as 'a diverse gathering' while others might label it as 'a fringe element'. What is your perspective? Use evidence from the photograph to justify your response.
2. How do the banners and posters reflect two of the Gurindji people's grievances and claims?
3. What features of this protest march would make it likely that it received media coverage?

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Public support for the Gurindji people's aspirations continued to grow. Eye surgeon Dr Fred Hollows was one of a number of well-known non-Indigenous Australians who became strong supporters of the protest.

The Gurindji people's goals were further boosted when in June 1971 RCA Records released two songs about land rights, 'The Gurindji Blues' and 'The Tribal Land'. Composer/singer Ted Egan – a white folk musician, public servant and later Administrator of the Northern Territory (2003–07) – was accompanied by a young Yolngu man, Galarrwuy Yunupingu (later Australian of the Year, 1978, and lead vocalist of Yothu Yindi). Lingiari introduced 'The Gurindji Blues' on the record briefly in English with the words 'My name be Vincent Lingiari, came from Daguragu, Wattie Creek Station', before continuing in Gurindji. Source 6.16 is a translation of what he said next.

Source **6.16** Lingiari explains his reasons

SOURCE 6.16 Vincent Lingiari explains the reasons for his land rights claim, 1971

I came down 'ere to ask all this [fella] here about the land right. What I got, story from my old father or grandpa, that land belong to me, belong to Aboriginal man before the horse and the cattle come over on that land, why I'm sittin' now. Well, that's what I bin keepin' on my mind. Now, I still got it on my mind. That's all the word I can tell you.

Vincent Lingiari, introduction to the song 'The Gurindji Blues', written by Ted Egan, 1971

Responding to Lingiari's words

1. What is the key point made by Lingiari to explain his land rights claim?
2. How might Lingiari's inclusion on the record advance the Gurindji people's cause?

Government response

By mid-1971, Vestey's image as the Gurindji people's foreign oppressor was fading, and the federal government under Prime Minister William (Billy) McMahon became the main antagonist. Vestey's position was by now clear – it was prepared to accept a Commonwealth Government decision to lease a portion of Wave Hill Station to the Gurindji people. The government, however, remained intransigent on Indigenous land rights, and refused to act. In December 1972, the political landscape changed. Newly elected Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam announced that funds would be made available for the purchase of properties that were not on reserves in the Northern Territory. Lord Vestey offered to surrender 90 square kilometres to the Gurindji people.

On 16 August 1975, Whitlam transferred a lease for approximately 3300 square kilometres of land from Wave Hill Station to the Gurindji people. Source 6.17 is a recording of Whitlam's speech, which was given at ceremony attended by white government officials alongside the Gurindji people and their supporters.

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Source **6.17** Gough Whitlam's speech

SOURCE 6.17 Prime Minister Gough Whitlam hands back land to the Gurindji, 16 August 1975. An extract appears below: scan the QR code to listen to the full speech (02:52).

> Vincent Lingiari, I solemnly hand to you these deeds as proof, in Australian law, that these lands belong to the Gurindji people, and I put into your hands this piece of the Earth itself as a sign that we restore them to you and your children forever.

Responding to Whitlam's speech

1. Listen to the speech and summarise the key messages that Whitlam seeks to convey to the Gurindji people.
2. Which of these messages do you think is the most important? Explain your reasoning.
3. Lingiari replies in his own first language before making some brief comments in English. He concludes with the words 'we're all mates'. What appears to be Lingiari's intention in uttering these words?
4. Does listening to Whitlam's speech and Lingiari's reply enhance your understanding and appreciation of this historical source? Explain why or why not.

At the conclusion of his speech, Whitlam said: 'I put into your hands part of the earth itself as a sign that this land will be the possession of you and your children forever'. Charlie Ward, author of *A Handful of Sand: The Gurindji Struggle, After the Walk-off* (2016a), challenges Whitlam's claims as he maintains that 'Whitlam had sold the Gurindji a pup'. That is, the Gurindji people had been deceived – what they received was not as good as it appeared. This was because the land deeds that Whitlam handed over to Lingiari were those of a pastoral lease. This meant that the Gurindji's land title was under the same conditions and rights as Vestey's and other pastoralists. The Gurindji did not gain full and permanent title to the land but only rented it for a finite period of time – 99 years.

Activity **6.9**

Assess fairness

Do you think Charlie Ward's assertion is fair? Did the Gurindji people deserve full and free ownership of the land? *Things to note*: In their 1967 petition the Gurindji people requested a 'small fraction' of Wave Hill Station (1295 square kilometres) and on the same terms as Vestey's. In 1975, they received approximately 3300 square kilometres of land as leasehold. However, in their petition the Gurindji mounted a moral claim to the land: 'Our people have lived here from time immemorial …' To clarify your thoughts, talk to a table partner, and then hold a whole-class discussion.

freehold literally 'free from hold' – the owner of such property enjoys free ownership of the land for perpetuity and can use the land for any purpose as long as it is within local regulations

In May 1986, 20 years after the walk-off, the Hawke Labor government handed over 'inalienable' **freehold** title deeds to the Gurindji people. The Gurindji people now enjoyed full and free ownership of their traditional land.

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The Gurindji walk-off was not the first time that Indigenous people had demanded their lands back from the white colonisers in Australia. However, it was the Gurindji people's struggle that attracted broad public support for land rights, both nationally and internationally, and it was the Gurindji people who were the first Indigenous people to have land transferred to them by the Commonwealth Government.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How did the Gurindji people in the Northern Territory seek to empower themselves and how successful were they?

1. Determining causation

Given that the Gurindji people were not the first group of Indigenous people to demand their land back, what do you think was the particular combination of circumstances, people and action that resulted in the Gurindji people being the first to gain their land rights?

2. Songs that encapsulate history

There are two songs that offer a soundtrack to the Gurindji walk-off and strike: 'From Little Things Big Things Grow' (1993) by Paul Kelly and Kevin Carmody, and 'The Gurindji Blues' (1971) by Ted Egan.

Seek out a copy of the lyrics of these songs, listen to or watch them on YouTube, and complete the following tasks.

'From Little Things Big Things Grow'

a. Annotate a copy of the lyrics, identifying key historical figures, key events and developments, including the cause and the effects of the strike.

b. The chorus of the song might be considered a truism – a statement of undisputed fact and truth. What do you consider to be the essential meaning behind this statement?

c. Based on the lyrics to the song and your historical knowledge, how accurate is the assertion 'from little things big things grow' to describe the development and outcome of the Gurindji strike from 1966 to 1975?

'The Gurindji Blues'

d. The AIATSIS website says that the song 'was a response to the then Commonwealth Minister for the Interior, Peter Nixon, who during a visit to Darwin in 1969 said that if the Gurindji wanted to get some land, why didn't they save up like all other Australians and buy some'. According to the songwriter, is this a fair comment by Minister Nixon? Quote lines from the song to illustrate the songwriter's perspective.

e. 'Poor bugger' is used repeatedly in the song to describe the Gurindji people. This description is commonly used as a term of sympathy. In the song, how are the Gurindji portrayed: as victims, passive recipients, agents of change or something else? Provide evidence from the song to support your interpretation.

f. Which of these two songs is the more empowering for First Nations peoples? Explain with reference to the song's lyrics.

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SUB-QUESTION 2: How empowering was the 1972 Aboriginal Tent Embassy for First Nations peoples?

Less than three-and-a-half years before Whitlam returned the land to the Gurindji people, and almost six years after the Gurindji people had walked off Wave Hill Station, another historic land rights protest occurred, this time in the nation's capital of Canberra.

Source 6.18 is a photograph of the initial protest, taken on the lawns in front of Parliament House, Canberra, on the night of 26 January 1972.

Source **6.18** The original Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 26 January 1972

SOURCE 6.18 The original Aboriginal Tent Embassy, night of 26 January 1972. L to R: Aboriginal activists Michael (Mike) Anderson ('High Commissioner') and 'Embassy officials' Billie Craigie, Bertie Williams and Tony Coorey.

Responding to the photograph

1. Read the hand-held signs. What are the demands of the protesters?
2. What evidence can you glean from the photograph that this protest began with a high degree of spontaneity?
3. According to Paul Coe, Aboriginal activist and Aboriginal Tent Embassy participant, the idea of calling the umbrella and tent erected outside Parliament House the Aboriginal Embassy 'started off as a joke, but it turned out to be perhaps one of the most brilliant symbolic terms of protest this country has ever seen' (cited in Anderson & Davis, 2016). What elements of the photograph make the demonstration seem a joke? What makes the idea of an Aboriginal embassy a 'brilliant symbolic' protest? (Note that an embassy represents a foreign nation [e.g. United States or China] in the host nation [e.g. Australia]).

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Symbolism of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest was full of symbolism, as historian Bain Attwood points out.

Source **6.19** Symbolism of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

SOURCE 6.19 Bain Attwood on the symbolism of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 2003

What was different now was the broader sense of a shared Aboriginality, a consciousness of Aborigines as a national group with a shared history of colonisation. The very fact that the protest took place in the nation's capital indicates this. Embassy members, moreover, claimed the national capital as Aboriginal when they suggested that 'Canberra' was 'an Aboriginal word for meeting place'.

The Embassy deployed a range of symbols that represented these various dimensions of Aboriginality. The beach umbrella might be regarded as a form of flag, and perhaps the act of staking it in front of Parliament House was supposed to evoke the beach where Cook had begun the invasion by raising the British flag and claiming the land ... More startling was the name itself, 'Aboriginal embassy', soon the 'Aboriginal tent embassy'. This arguably had several dimensions. The tents stood for Aborigines' status as impoverished fringe dwellers across Australia, the Embassy for their status as aliens in their own land. Most importantly, it was an expression of the protesters' assertion of Aboriginal nationhood or sovereignty. This was more evident when, several months later, the black, red and yellow Aboriginal flag, which had been designed the previous year, replaced a red, black and green flag representing international black unity.

Bain Attwood, *Rights for Aborigines*, 2003, p. 345

Responding to the historian

1. Identify the symbolism associated with the Aboriginal Tent Embassy according to Attwood.
2. Does symbolism make a protest (or a point) more powerful? Explain with reference to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy or any other examples.

Origins and establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest was in response to Prime Minister McMahon's 1972 Australia Day speech, delivered on 25 January, which declared that his government had rejected the principle of land rights based on historical or traditional association, and instead proposed that Aboriginal people could lease land for economic and social purposes. Indigenous people were particularly offended by McMahon's proposal that if they wanted their land, they could lease it back from the new owners.

Among those First Nations people who found McMahon's speech an affront and an obstacle to their struggle for land rights was a group of young activists from the Aboriginal community in Redfern, Sydney. They had been arguing for 'black control of black affairs', which was also being promoted as the broader idea of Black Power. This idea had come to be associated with violence in the United States.

Source 6.20 is an extract from one of the first newspaper reports about the establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. It comes from a Melbourne newspaper, *The Age*. The headline reads 'Natives Open "Embassy" of Their Own'.

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Source **6.20** Newspaper report on the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

SOURCE 6.20 *The Age* newspaper report, 28 January 1972

Natives Open 'Embassy' of Their Own

Canberra – Three young Aborigines have set up an 'Aboriginal Embassy' on the lawns opposite Parliament House to protest against the Government's decision not to grant tribal land rights. They hope about 100 Aborigines from all parts of Australia will join them in the next few weeks.

One of the Aborigines, Mike Anderson, 20, of Walgett, NSW, said yesterday the group planned to stay 'indefinitely'. He said: 'We mean business. We will stay until the Government listens to us.' ...

In his Australia Day statement on Aborigines the Prime Minister (Mr. McMahon) said the Government would not give Aborigines land rights on reserves based on traditional association.

Mike said the Aborigines would discuss a policy submission and put it to the Government. He predicted that the Government's decision on land rights would lead to violence.

'If we destroyed a church we'd be put in prison, but when white men destroy a spiritual place like Arnhem Land we can't put them into prison,' he said ...

Notices outside Aborigines' red tent said 'Why pay to use our own land?' and 'Which do you choose – land rights or bloodshed?' ...

'Natives Open "Embassy" of Their Own', *The Age*, 28 January 1972

Responding to the newspaper report

1. The historical concept of cause and effect is evident in this newspaper extract. With reference to the source, explain how.
2. What part of this news article might non-Indigenous Australians find alarming? Use quotes from the article in your response.
3. What part of this news article might non-Indigenous Australians find fair and reasonable? Use quotes from the article in your response.
4. While the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest stopped short of physical violence, there were suggestions of violence in the early phases of the protest. Why might this threat of violence have been made by the protesters? Is this an effective tactic? Explain your response.
5. How useful and reliable is this source in helping you understand the intentions and motivations of the Aboriginal activists? Provide one judgement for each and support your judgement with evidence and/or sound reasoning.

According to history scholar Scott Robinson (1993), the rhetoric of violence was used as a threat to illustrate the protesters' commitment to profound change and to gain media coverage for the cause. He claims that the 'development of a guiding ethic of a creative, non-violent action at the protest was not impaired by the use of certain symbols tinged with violence'.

In the early days of the protest (from its inception to May 1972), Michael Anderson was the most prominent figure at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. However, he was only one of a number of young people who joined the protest.

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This was the first time that Aboriginal people aged in their twenties and early thirties had acted independently as spokespersons for their people. While young Aboriginal people had been involved in political action before, those in positions of authority had been middle-aged or older.

Demands put to the Commonwealth Government

On 6 February 1972, during the second week of the protest, Anderson, on behalf of the Tent Embassy, issued a list of demands to the Commonwealth Government. Up until this time the demands of the protest had been vague and expressed more as slogans rather than a program. Source 6.21 is a statement of the Embassy's five demands.

Source **6.21** The Embassy's five-point policy

SOURCE 6.21 Embassy's five-point policy for Aboriginal land rights, 6 February 1972

We Demand

1. Full State rights to the Northern Territory under Aboriginal ownership and control with all titles to minerals, etc.
2. Ownership of all [Aboriginal] reserves and settlements throughout Australia with all titles to minerals and mining rights.
3. The preservation of all sacred lands not included in Points 1 and 2.
4. Ownership of certain areas of certain cities with all titles to minerals and mining rights.
5. As compensation, an initial payment of six billion dollars for all other land throughout Australia plus a percentage of the gross national income per annum.

Five-Point Policy as authorised by Aboriginal Embassy Cabinet Committee, February 1972

Responding to the five-point policy

1. On what basis might the Tent Embassy protesters justify these demands?
2. On what basis might the McMahon government reject these demands?
3. Compare the language and demands of this policy statement with the Gurindji petition (Source 6.13), identifying two significant differences and one significant similarity.
4. What might account for the differences in the language and demands of these two documents, both of which seek to claim land rights?
5. Might such strident and ambitious demands help or hinder the Aboriginal peoples' aspirations for land rights? Explain your response.
6. If 'politics is the art of the possible', how realistic or prudent are these demands? Explain. Alternatively, consider that these might be 'ambit claims' – a common political tactic that initially advances an extravagant demand with the expectation of an eventual counter-offer and compromise.

A policeman on duty at the time of the five-point policy's release reportedly asked the activists how long the protest would last. When told the Embassy would stay until Aboriginal people had land rights, the police officer replied 'that could be forever'.

What does this interaction between the policeman and the protesters reveal about the protesters' determination? The likely success of the protest? Explain your answers.

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Criticism of these demands came not only from white Australia but also from Aboriginal Australia. Even radical Wiradjuri activist Kevin Gilbert suggested that such extravagant claims merely handed the opponents of land rights an easy propaganda coup: 'One can only wish' he wrote, that the demands 'had been a little less of the stuff that dreams are made of and a little more capable of attracting serious consideration by the Australian nation' (1973).

Clarity and further explanation of these demands were provided by John Newfong, one of the emerging leaders of the Tent Embassy and the chief writer of the five-point policy, in an article written in July 1972 entitled 'The Aboriginal Embassy: Its Purpose and Aims'.

Source **6.22** The Aboriginal Tent Embassy's five demands explained

SOURCE 6.22 Journalist and Ngugi man John Newfong explains the Aboriginal Tent Embassy's five-point policy demands, July 1972

[Demand 1] The Aboriginal Embassy's claim for full State rights for the NT has been misunderstood in many quarters and its likelihood widely questioned ... However, nobody imagines for one moment that the NT can continue as at present, with the Minister for the Interior in Canberra able to **veto** all legislation from the Legislative Council in Darwin.[1] Whenever the NT does become a State ... it must have the same rather extensive constitutional powers as the other States ... to ensure that mining developments benefit the people living there; to float loans overseas; to improve educational facilities and, above all, to arrest the spiralling infant mortality rate. Furthermore, as a State the NT would have a greater say in Federal Government in Australia. Most ... politicians, like those of the State Parliament in the NT, would be Aboriginal. There has never been any suggestion that the NT should be or could be an all-black **apartheid** State ...

veto literally, 'I forbid'; an official power or right to refuse to accept or allow something

apartheid literally translates to 'apartness'. A system of racial inequality, segregation and discrimination in South Africa, imposed by a white minority on a black majority, from 1948 to 1994.

[Demand 2] Outside of the Northern Territory, Aboriginal reserve lands seem even more threatened. Except in South Australia, various State Governments have been fast resuming reserve lands in recent years – no doubt in anticipation of having to grant corporate title [i.e. freehold title granted to a company or a group] to the Aboriginal inhabitants. Mr Whitlam's promise of a 'complete reversal of the present government's land rights policy where it denies corporate title to reserve lands' is more than welcome, and in many ways very urgent. However, it makes no provision for mining rights to these areas ... Without mining rights,[2] one would wish to be certain that the corporate title of which the Federal Opposition Leader speaks will guarantee Aborigines sole rights of access because, otherwise, that corporate title means nothing.

[Demand 3] The preservation of all sacred sites throughout Australia is a much simpler matter and should need no further qualification. How would white Australians feel if a black man went into one of their cathedrals and scribbled his name across the altar?

[1] Status of the Northern Territory: At this time, the NT was administered by Canberra. The NT only gained self-government in 1978. However, it is still subjected to a Commonwealth veto.
[2] Mining rights: Australian mining law differs substantially from mining laws in other common law countries. In Australia, the Crown/Commonwealth owns all minerals, even on freehold land. The Crown may grant leases or licences to take minerals.

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[Demand 4] The fourth of the Embassy's demands – title and mining rights to various metropolitan areas – has caused some dismay among white Australians who envisage us digging up their nondescript sprawls of suburbia. However, since the mining rights to most of suburban Brisbane are already owned by major oil companies and it is much the same in other capitals, the whole idea is not as outrageous as it may at first sound ...

[Demand 5] The last of the Embassy's demands has been the hardest of all to explain to most people, but this is only because the community at large has been completely conditioned against the fact that there are people in this land whose roots go back 30 000 years[3] and that these people just might have some claim to it ... The figure of six billion dollars was chosen in order to establish in the minds of the white men and their governments not only this right of prior ownership but also our right to compensation ... For those who think this is far too much to ask for such a small percentage of the population, perhaps it should be pointed out that [t]he pastoral interests of this country ... get more than $400 million annually from the Federal purse. Last year, Black Australians, with no land, no education, and the highest infant mortality in the world, got $14 million.

John Newfong, 'The Aboriginal Embassy: Its Purpose and Aims', *Identity*, July, 1972, pp. 4–6

Responding to Newfong's explanation of the five demands

Divide the five demands among the class. Working in small groups, answer the following questions and provide feedback on your designated demand in a round-table discussion.

1. Compare the original demand with the later explanation, identifying similarities and differences. Does the explanation provide greater clarity or raise further questions? Justify your response. Does the explanation make the demand more or less reasonable? Has your initial reaction to the demand changed? Explain your responses.
2. Evaluate the usefulness and reliability of the two sources in helping you to understand the intentions and motives of the Aboriginal activists. Make one judgement for usefulness and one judgement for reliability for each source. In your response, think about how you might structure your points. Will you deal with one source at a time and assess its usefulness and reliability? Or will you deal with the usefulness of each source and then follow with the reliability of each source? Either way is acceptable. (To help you evaluate the reliability of Source 6.22, note that *Identity* was a new Indigenous magazine founded in July 1971. In 1972, the magazine was edited by Newfong, who also played a central role in crafting the initial five-point policy.)

Whitlam's visit to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

On 8 February, two days after the demands had been issued, Opposition Leader Gough Whitlam arrived to speak to the activists. These talks centred on the Embassy's five-point policy. In the photograph in Source 6.23, Paul Coe (Wiradjuri activist and Aboriginal Tent Embassy participant, who stands on the far left) questions Whitlam.

[3] 30 000 years: The period of time it was thought that Aboriginal people had occupied the land at that time. Recent archaeological evidence suggests over 65 000 years.

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Source **6.23** Gough Whitlam addresses the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

SOURCE 6.23 Gough Whitlam addresses the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 8 February 1972

Responding to the photograph

1. Find evidence from the photograph to support or refute the following assertions:
   - In contrast to the initial protest (see Source 6.18), the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest had become a well-organised and politically savvy affair.
   - The Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest attracted a lot of media attention.
   - The Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest was supported by a diverse range of people.
   - Gough Whitlam was a welcomed guest speaker at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy.
2. What question(s) might Paul Coe (standing far left in the photograph) be asking of Whitlam?
3. Why might politicians such as Whitlam be welcomed at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy site? What role might they play in advancing the aims of the protest? (Empowering the protesters?)
4. Do you think Whitlam and his advisers would have thought carefully about whether the Opposition Leader should appear at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy? Explain your response.

According to Newfong, Whitlam's visit to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy 'turned out to be one of the greatest coups ever for the Aboriginal advancement movement' (1972:4). This was because Whitlam promised that a Labor government would reverse current government policy and allow Aboriginal ownership of traditional land. Gary Foley, a Gumbaynggirr activist and Aboriginal Tent Embassy participant, maintains that this was a 'significant moment in Australian history and would directly result in 1976 in the Northern Territory Land Rights Act' (2010).

Further developments

At the official opening of federal parliament on 22 February 1972, some 60 Aboriginal people packed the gallery for **Question Time**. Among them were members of the Gurindji, who were now in the sixth year of their strike. The physical presence of so many Aboriginal people from various parts of Australia, and the currency of the symbolic Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest, made the land rights question an issue of national prominence, and one that was drawing support from a diverse range of people.

Question Time time in parliament set aside for the opposition to ask the government questions

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Source **6.24** Developments at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

SOURCE 6.24 An excerpt from The National Museum of Australia's account of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

Rapidly gathering support, the embassy grew by April 1972 to include at least six tents. It attracted both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people from across the country, who joined in solidarity over the land rights movement.

Support shown by official representatives from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups, as well as diplomats from countries including Canada and Russia, helped bolster the profile of the embassy.

Canberra's student population were also strong supporters of the embassy. Some Australian National University students joined the protest crowd and helped billet protesters.

Gaining media attention across Australia and internationally, the embassy became a centre for protest. Well-known First Nations activists including Gary Foley, John Newfong, Chicka Dixon and Gordon Briscoe spent time at the site.

Groups from the embassy went on protest marches, lobbied government representatives and spoke at community forums to continue to raise the issue of land rights in broader public settings.

While the embassy enjoyed support, it also faced a large contingent of politicians and members of the public who believed the protesters were trespassing and the tents were an eyesore.

'Defining Moments in Australian History: Aboriginal Tent Embassy', National Museum of Australia website

The full article is available at the following link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/11110. The full article may help provide more context and detail for your responses.

Responding to the account by the National Museum of Australia

1. What evidence is provided in the source to support the hypothesis that the Aboriginal Tent Embassy enjoyed support?
2. Of the support provided to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest, which individuals or groups might have been particularly valuable? Explain your response.
3. What evidence is provided to support the hypothesis that the Aboriginal Tent Embassy was unpopular with segments of Australian society?
4. What might be meant by the word 'eyesore'? What does it imply? Why might large groups of politicians and members of the general public have believed that the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest was an 'eyesore'?
5. This account was produced by the government-funded National Museum of Australia. Do you think it has the tone you would expect of such a source? Would it help to know the date this was written – in particular, how long after the events – and which party was in government then? Explain your response.

During the first six months of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy's existence (January to July 1972), the settlement grew from a beach umbrella to a group of tents occupied by Aboriginal people from various states. A loophole in Australian Capital Territory laws allowed Aboriginal people to camp on the lawns of Parliament House as long as there were fewer than 12 tents. In mid-May, there were nine resident protesters in six tents. The numbers were always changing, and usually peaked on weekends when groups of Aboriginal people arrived from Sydney.

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Sources **6.25–6.28** Photographs of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy during 1972

SOURCE 6.25 Aboriginal Tent Embassy meeting, 1972

SOURCE 6.26 View of the Tent Embassy from Parliament House, 1972

SOURCE 6.27 Resident protesters hang out their washing, 1972

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SOURCE 6.28 Protest crowd at the Tent Embassy, 30 July 1972

Responding to the photographs

1. What extra information and/or insights do you gain about the Aboriginal Tent Embassy from this collection of photographs?
2. Can you think of an 'unwarranted generalisation' that a careless person might make on the basis of one of these photos?
3. If you had to choose one of these photos for its 'symbolic value', which would you choose and why? Share your decision with a table partner and/or the rest of the class.

To the older and more traditional Aboriginal leaders, the methods used by the young militant activists seemed un-Aboriginal. However, in June the most influential of the older generation, who was now Australia's first Indigenous knight, Sir Douglas Nicholls, visited the Tent Embassy to show his support. According to Margaret Franklin, author of *Black and White Australians: An Inter-Racial History 1788–1975* (1976), 'It was a symbolic gesture to all Aborigines, for in traditional Aboriginal society, the young are led by the Elders'.

A month later, in July, the Aboriginal Tent Embassy reached its high point. This came with its dramatic removal in three police actions over 11 days from 20 July to 30 July 1972.

Act 1: First removal of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 20 July 1972

Due to technical legal reasons, police were unable to evict the protesters or lawfully remove the Aboriginal Tent Embassy for nearly six months. However, on Thursday 20 July 1972, armed with the necessary removal ordinance (an authoritative order), about 60 police removed the tents and arrested eight people.

Telegrams from the Australian Council of Churches and the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union protested the removal of the tents. Comparisons were drawn with the attitude of the South African Government to its indigenous people under the Apartheid regime.

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In *The Canberra Times* on 22 July 1972, nine of the 11 letters to the editor concerned the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. Eight of the nine letters were supportive of the Embassy and critical of the government's actions. The first letter published came from those directly involved in the events of 20 July.

Source **6.29** People involved write to *The Canberra Times*

SOURCE 6.29 Letter to the editor, 22 July 1972

Sir, – We were present at the forcible dismantling of the Aboriginal 'embassy' opposite Parliament House on Thursday morning. ACT Police, acting within one hour of the gazetting of the ordinance authorising the 'embassy's' removal, carried out the operation. Some of us were among those who linked arms around one of the tents. Others of us addressed the bystanders. There was no violence until the police moved against those encircling the tent. We fully realise the predicament of the police. They were acting under the instructions of the Minister for the Interior who, with the rest of the Cabinet, is responsible for Thursday's final act of monstrous injustice. Their knowledge of the fact that the Government is behind them probably explains the use of violence to which they resorted in their attempt to get to the tent. The 'embassy' stood for the right of Aborigines to express their aspirations and claims for justice, including land rights, as a starting point for a dignified human life. It is our hope that all Australians will now unite in calling for immediate justice for Aborigines.

George Garnsey, Ecumenical Chaplain, ANU; Ambrose Brown, Canberra; Allan Sharpley, Canberra; Gary Foley, Sydney; Gary Williams, Sydney; Neville Williams, Sydney; Norma Williams, Sydney; Billie Craigie, Canberra; Billy Harrison, Canberra; A. Llew Morris, Acton; George Brown, Curtin; James S. Udy, Forrest; Gordon Bryant, MP, Carlton, Victoria; Kep Enderby, MP, Canberra.

Letter to the editor, *The Canberra Times*, 22 July 1972, p. 2

Responding to the letter to the editor

1. Three of the signatories to this letter to the editor were prominent non-Indigenous figures. Two of the three were federal ALP parliamentarians (Gordon Bryant and Kep Enderby) and one was a member of the clergy (George Garnsey). How might these three signatures affect the extent to which different readers treated the description of events as accurate and reliable?
2. What aspects of this account could strengthen or weaken the perception by readers of its accuracy and reliability? Explain your response.
3. In an editorial in *The Canberra Times* on 21 July 1972, the day before this letter to the editor, it was stated that 'The destruction of the "embassy" will win more sympathy for the Aboriginal cause … It may even prove to be a turning point, and that would be a good thing indeed'. How might the destruction of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy win more sympathy for the Aboriginal land rights cause? How might it prove a turning point? What words in this editorial signal clearly the standpoint of the newspaper in relation to this issue?

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Source 6.30 is a photograph from the *Sydney Morning Herald* showing Australian Capital Territory police removing tents and bedding from the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on 20 July 1972.

Source **6.30** ACT police dismantle the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 20 July 1972

Responding to the photograph

1. During what stage of the dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy was this photograph most likely taken? To answer this question, refer to Source 6.29. Justify your answer by drawing on evidence from both sources.
2. Study the grouped activists in the background of the photo and their use of tactics made famous by Mohandas Gandhi, leader of India's independence movement – non-violent direct action and civil disobedience. Why are these tactics considered morally effective?
3. If you only had access to the photograph and no other sources on this subject, what impression would you have of the dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on 20 July 1972 by the ACT police? How does this impact the usefulness and reliability of this source? Explain your response.
4. What does this tell you about the limitations of historical sources?

SOURCE 6.30 ACT police dismantle the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 20 July 1972. Photograph from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 July 1972. Labor Member of Parliament Gordon Bryant stands with his arms folded at the back of the photo on the right, behind Aboriginal activist Gary Foley with beard and cowboy hat.

Source **6.31** The first dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 20 July 1972

Responding to the video

As you watch this video, consider whether it corroborates or contradicts the previous sources studied. What extra information does this video provide to help you understand this event?

SOURCE 6.31 *ABC News* footage of the first dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 20 July 1972. Scan the QR code to watch the video (04:47).

Act 2: Re-establishment and second removal of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 23 July 1972

On Sunday 23 July, more drama followed when protesters sought to re-establish the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. The conflict that followed was similar to that of the previous week, but the larger numbers on both sides made it more intense.

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Sources 6.32 and 6.33 are two written accounts of this event. The first comes from *The Age*, dated 24 July, and the second is from the 1981 autobiography of Wiradjuri woman, Shirley Coleen Smith, known as Mum Shirl.

Sources **6.32** and **6.33** Accounts of the re-establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on 23 July 1972

SOURCE 6.32 Account in *The Age*, 24 July 1972

Tent Embassy Sparks Brawl

Yesterday morning [23 July] the demonstrators, including almost 100 Aborigines, marched from the Australian National University to Parliament House, where they were met by about 50 police. They sat down on the road outside and listened to speeches.

When the policemen walked behind the crowd, the demonstrators ran to the lawn where the embassy had stood. They erected a tent, and formed a human guard around it. About 200 police marched in from the gardens adjoining Parliament House and surrounded the demonstrators. As the police moved in on the crowd around the tent, there were violent scuffles and several policemen and demonstrators were bleeding from the face.

Five policemen and nine demonstrators were treated for injuries at the Canberra Hospital ...

The charges against the 18 people arrested include insulting language, hindering police, and obstructing and assaulting police ...

Two busloads of Aborigines – one from Sydney and one from Brisbane – travelled to Canberra to take part in the protest against moving the embassy ... The Aborigines are likely to hold another demonstration next weekend.

'Tent Embassy Sparks Brawl', *The Age*, 24 July 1972

SOURCE 6.33 Aboriginal participant's account, 1981

The young Blacks were getting buses ready now to go up to Canberra to put the Embassy back up. I went up, too, to help if I could. I took some very young children with me, because I knew this would be a marvellous moment in history and I didn't want any Black kids to miss it.

What I saw up there would put a shock into anyone. The police came running over in hundreds ... and began beating up on the Black women who had grabbed each other's hands and were standing in a big circle around the tent and the men who were protecting the tent ... They punched them, knocked them to the ground then jumped on their guts. I couldn't believe my eyes. All this was taking place right outside Parliament House, that great white building where I was told the laws are made and the country is governed. The television cameras were everywhere but that didn't stop them ... I prayed that I would never see such a thing again in my life.

Account by Shirley Coleen Smith (Mum Shirl) and Bobbi Sykes (assistant), *Mum Shirl: An Autobiography*, 1981, pp. 113–14

Responding to the two written accounts about the re-establishment and second removal of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

1. Compare the two accounts by identifying one key similarity and one key difference.
2. Why might these accounts be different? Consider authorship, date, type of source and purpose.
3. Assess the likely usefulness and reliability of each source in recounting the second removal of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. Provide two judgements for usefulness and two judgements for reliability. (For reliability, consider authorship, date, type of source, purpose, and mix of fact and opinion.)

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Sources 6.34 and 6.35 are two photographs recording events from 23 July 1972.

Sources **6.34** and **6.35** Second attempt to re-erect the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 23 July 1972

SOURCE 6.34 Photograph published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*

Responding to the photographs

1. Study both photographs. Find one sentence in *The Age* report (Source 6.32) that could refer to the particular action pictured in each photo.
2. Why was the action of re-erecting the Aboriginal Tent Embassy seen to be a provocative one by the white authorities?
3. Why was this action seen to be justifiable and defensible by the Aboriginal protesters and their supporters? What would be the likely police reply to Aboriginal claims of justifiable and defensible?
4. Synthesise evidence from Sources 6.32–35 to answer the following question: *To what extent was violence between protesters and police a result of protester defiance in the re-establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Canberra on 23 July 1972?*

SOURCE 6.35 Photograph published in *The Canberra Times*

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Source **6.36** Second dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 23 July 1972

Responding to the video

As you watch this video, consider whether it corroborates or contradicts the previous sources studied. What extra information does this video provide to help you understand this event? Note, in particular, the actions and reactions of the different parties.

SOURCE 6.36 YouTube video at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10805 (duration 01:25) showing news footage of the second dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy by police on 23 July (note that the date on the first slide, 22 July 1972, is incorrect).

Act 3: Re-establishment and third removal of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 30 July 1972

Almost immediately after the second clash with police, it was announced that another demonstration would be held on the following Sunday, 30 July 1972. Despite the High Court rejecting an application to re-erect the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on 25 July, Aboriginal activist Patricia (Pat) Eatock publicly announced that the Embassy would be re-erected. She warned that there was a possibility of the forthcoming protest turning into 'Australia's Sharpeville'. (In Sharpeville, South Africa, in 1960, police opened fire on black protesters, killing 69 people.) Aboriginal activist, acclaimed writer and poet Oodgeroo Noonuccal, previously known as Kath Walker, also 'foresaw bloodshed'. A final press release on Saturday night (29 July) revealed Police Commissioner R.A. Wilson was 'still hopeful that the Aboriginal demonstration ... would not be violent' (Robinson, 1993).

Michael Anderson later remembered the visual impact of over 2000 people gathered on the morning of 30 July. 'I never saw so many people in all my life', he said. These numbers represented a tenfold increase on those present on the previous Sunday. Gary Foley also recalled the 'huge crowd' but expressed his concern that 'it was quite obvious that people were going to get hurt' (Robinson, 1993:62) if violent tactics were adopted by either the protesters or the authorities.

The protesters marched from the Australian National University (ANU) campus and arrived at the lawns of Parliament House by mid-morning. They were met by a police presence of some 300, supported by two NSW police vehicles. The police faced the protesters from across the road. With the additional 1000 or more tourists and spectators, there were now 3000 people assembled at this public event. This was by far the largest of the demonstrations associated with the Aboriginal Tent Embassy.

Activity **6.10**

Make a prediction

While historians are not in the business of predicting future events, history does help to explain the present and inform the future.

Based on the evidence provided in this chapter so far, what is the likelihood that the re-establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on 30 July 1972 might result in unprecedented violence?

Create a table similar to the one below to record evidence and arguments for both sides to help you reach a decision.

Evidence/arguments for likely violence	Evidence/arguments for no violence

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Sources **6.37** and **6.38** Third attempt to erect the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 30 July 1972

SOURCE 6.37 Protesters march from ANU to the lawns of Parliament House. Photograph by Ken Middleton, 30 July 1972.

SOURCE 6.38 Police and protesters outside Parliament House. Photograph by Ken Middleton, 30 July 1972.

Responding to the photographs

1. Based on the first photograph, what appears to be the mood of the Aboriginal protesters?
2. The point was made earlier that 'Aboriginal people aged in their twenties and early thirties' came to the fore in the Aboriginal Tent Embassy campaign, and that they used different tactics from their Elders. Does the photograph reflect that point about age? How might the age of participants increase police concerns?
3. The second photograph shows a stand-off between the police and protesters. Given the point made in question 2, might the police be apprehensive about what could happen next? Explain your answer.
4. What evidence is there in this second photograph to suggest that both sides were restrained in their actions at this stage of the protest?

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In the presence of the police, a tent was re-erected on the lawns of Parliament House, and the demonstrators formed three rings around it. Mum Shirl recalls what happened next.

Source **6.39** Mum Shirl's recollection

SOURCE 6.39 Mum Shirl recalls the events of 30 July 1972

When the Blacks put the tent up, the police gave them half an hour to take it down, and then another half an hour, and then another half an hour, and so on until it was very late in the afternoon. After a while, when some of our people had left, thinking that they were going to let the tent stay up, the police just walked in, didn't punch anybody, and since the Blacks don't hit anybody first, there was no big blue. The police took the tent down and walked away.

But as they were walking away, they looked back, and saw yet another tent up, in the same place as the one they had just taken down. The police got mad and ran back to take it down, but when they got there, they found it was just a big piece of canvas being held up by lots of Blacks, held up in the air over their heads. The Blacks laughed and laughed, and carrying the piece of canvas still over their heads, they followed after the police who were running away, laughing in their ears all the way across the street to the steps of Parliament House. The Blacks said it was a political victory. The tents weren't there anymore, but they were still up in people's minds ... It was over, but it wasn't over.

Account by Shirley Coleen Smith (Mum Shirl) and Bobbi Sykes (assistant), *Mum Shirl: An Autobiography*, 1981, pp. 114–15

Responding to Mum Shirl's account

1. What view of the police do you form from this account by Mum Shirl? Why do you think the police changed their approach to the Aboriginal people and their protest?
2. What significant claim does Mum Shirl make about 'the Blacks' and violence? If true, would that shed more light on the earlier photo of a policeman and protester fighting (Source 6.35)? Is Mum Shirl's claim borne out by what you've studied so far in this chapter?
3. What do you think Mum Shirl meant when she said: 'It was over, but it wasn't over'? How might such an attitude empower Aboriginal people?
4. How useful and reliable is Mum Shirl's account of events surrounding the third removal of the of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy? Make one judgement for usefulness and one judgement for reliability.

Source **6.40** Third dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy by police on 30 July 1972

Responding to the video

As you watch this video, consider whether it corroborates or contradicts Source 6.39. What extra information does this video provide to help you understand this event?

SOURCE 6.40 YouTube video at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10806 (duration 01:05) showing footage of the third dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy by police on 30 July 1972.

The end of the protest

At the end of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest, there had been no violence. This had been made possible through the restraint shown by both sides. According to Robinson (1993), 'the idea of conducting symbolic action, through re-erecting the tent and allowing its removal' was one of the key reasons that prevented the recurrence of violence.

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In December 1972, when the Whitlam government took office, charges were dropped against the people arrested at the Tent Embassy protests months earlier. Additionally, Whitlam's commitment to Aboriginal land rights was honoured with the appointment of the Aboriginal Land Rights Commission (also known as the Woodward Royal Commission) in early 1973. The purpose of this Commission was to inquire into appropriate ways to recognise Aboriginal land rights in the Northern Territory.

In 1974, the Whitlam government created the Aboriginal Land Fund. Its purpose was to grant funding to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations so that they could buy back traditional lands that were owned by private interests. The Land Fund funded the purchase of 59 properties for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. In August 1975, Whitlam handed back land to the Gurindji people.

Two months later, in October 1975, the Whitlam government introduced legislation into federal parliament that was based substantially on recommendations from the Woodward Royal Commission. This bill was the first attempt by an Australian government to legally recognise Aboriginal land ownership and put into law the concept of inalienable freehold title. When the Whitlam government was dismissed in the constitutional crisis of November 1975, the bill was still before the parliament. The new government, under Malcolm Fraser, passed legislation, based largely on the Whitlam government's bill, the next year. The *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1976* was significant because it established a procedure that transferred almost 50% of land in the Northern Territory to collective Indigenous ownership.

What did the Whitlam government do to address the issue of Aboriginal land rights? How significant were these initiatives?

Among Aboriginal peoples, the land rights agitation in the early 1970s helped develop a series of 'homeland movements' in the mid-1970s. In central Australia, Aranda, Pitjantjatjara, Warlpiri and other Aboriginal communities began to leave the missions and settlements established by the churches and colonial authorities, returning to live on and reclaim their ancestral lands. According to Gary Foley, 'the people were going back to claim their land, and they were not asking anyone's permission'.

SOURCE 6.41 The Aboriginal Embassy on the lawns of Old Parliament House

Twenty years later, in January 1992, the Aboriginal Tent Embassy was re-established on the lawns of Old Parliament House. Bill Craigie (2000), one of the original tent protesters, stated 'twenty years down the track we found we had to re-establish the embassy because Aboriginal affairs was starting to stagnate back to the position prior to '72 … we're now asking the politicians and the rest of white Australia to recognise us as a race of people and to recognise us as the sovereign owners of this country'. The Aboriginal Embassy remains in place in Canberra. It is one of the longest-known public protests in the world. Source 6.41 shows a photograph of the Aboriginal Embassy in 2023.

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Activity **6.11**

Take a position in a four-corner debate related to the Aboriginal Embassy

Before undertaking the following activity, read Carol Dow's paper 'Aboriginal Tent Embassy: Icon or Eyesore?', available on the Koori History Website at the following link: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10733.

Label each corner of your classroom with one of the following positions: 'Agree', 'Strongly agree', 'Disagree' and 'Strongly disagree'. Then take a position on the following statement in a class debate: *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy is more of an eyesore than an icon.*

The debate begins with you moving to the part of the room that best reflects your position. If you are unsure, remain in the middle. As the debate proceeds, you are able to move positions in keeping with how your views are being shaped by the debate.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

How empowering was the 1972 Aboriginal Tent Embassy for First Nations peoples?

1. Create a storyboard of key events associated with the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

Draw up a storyboard outlining a) the key events from the initial establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy umbrella on 26 January 1972 to the final removal of the tent on 30 July 1972, and b) the policy initiatives of the Whitlam government from December 1972 to October 1975. Provide captions under your illustrations.

2. Determining significance of events that empowered

- **a.** Of the events identified, which action by Aboriginal participants do you think was the most significant in empowering the Aboriginal protesters? Explain your response.
- **b.** Of all the initiatives taken by the Whitlam government in the wake of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest, which do you think helped to empower Aboriginal people the most? Explain your response.
- **c.** What has your study suggested about the complexity of empowerment as a process and an outcome?

SUB-QUESTION 3: Did the Mabo High Court challenge empower First Nations peoples?

The Mabo High Court challenge, which commenced a decade after the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, shifted the fight for Indigenous land rights from the streets back into the courtroom. In the 1960s, there emerged two paths towards Indigenous land justice. The Gurindji, as you have seen, took a political course and lobbied government, while the Yirrkala people of the Gove Peninsula (Northern Territory) took the judicial path and went through the courts. In 1970, the Yirrkala people, famous for their Bark Petition, set in place the first major milestone of the land rights movement with the case against the Nabalco mining company and the Commonwealth Government. Even though the Northern Territory Supreme Court decided in April 1971 against the Yirrkala people, the case did much to place the land rights movement on the national political agenda. While Justice Blackburn's decision was a legal defeat for the Yirrkala people, it is now seen as a moral victory. According to political commentator Paul Kelly (2001), 'Blackburn upheld the constitutional orthodoxy and, in so doing, revealed its flaws'.

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The constitutional orthodoxy that Kelly refers to was the basis of colonial occupation. When the British occupied Australia in the late eighteenth century, they did so under the legal notion of *terra nullius*. This notion maintained that the continent was 'waste and unoccupied'. It was assumed that, as a nomadic people, First Nations peoples had no claim on the land because they just wandered over it.

Mabo – the court case

First Nations peoples had been long aware of the absurdity of the doctrine of *terra nullius*; however, it was not until the Mabo High Court case (1982–92) that the doctrine of *terra nullius* was successfully challenged. Legal proceedings for the case began in May 1982, when Eddie Koiki Mabo and four other Meriam people (Sam Passi, Reverend David Passi, Celuia Mapo Salee and James Rice) initiated legal action against the State of Queensland and the Commonwealth of Australia in the High Court claiming native title to the Murray Island Group, including the island of Mer. Mabo became the leading party in this lawsuit, which has come to be known as the Mabo case. According to Bryan Keon-Cohen, who was junior counsel for the plaintiffs for the duration of the Mabo case, 'without Eddie Mabo there was no case … [He] was the main driving force, the indispensable bridge between the Anglo-Australian legal system and the traditional system of land-holding on the Murray Islands … It was he who pushed on, despite formidable personal difficulties and political opposition' (2000).

It was a long journey to justice for Eddie Koiki Mabo, the people of the Murray Islands and their legal team as they struggled for 10 long years in both the High Court and the Queensland Supreme Court seeking land rights. Over this period, 33 Meriam people, including the plaintiffs, generated 4000 pages of transcripts of evidence, legal submissions, trial management, etc. for their land claims. They faced strident opposition, particularly from the Queensland Bjelke-Petersen government, which sought to defeat the claims of Meriam people through every means possible by its 'no compromise' approach. The passage of the *Queensland Coast Islands Declaratory Act 1985* was designed to pre-empt the Mabo case by retrospectively extinguishing the claimed rights of the Meriam people to the Murray Islands.

In response, the plaintiffs and their legal team brought a second case to the High Court challenging the constitutional validity of the *Queensland Coast Islands Declaratory Act 1985*. This action resulted in two Mabo cases before the High Court: the original claim seeking native title over the Murray Islands and the second claim against the Queensland Government over the validity of its 1985 legislation.

In December 1988, the High Court found that the *Queensland Coast Islands Declaratory Act 1985* was invalid because it was in conflict with the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*. This case is known as *Mabo v Queensland (No. 1)*. The decision meant that the original High Court case could continue.

Two-and-a-half years later, on 3 June 1992, six of the seven High Court judges upheld the Meriam people's claim of native title over their lands. This case is known as *Mabo and others v Queensland (No. 2)*. The High Court claimed that the Meriam people were 'entitled as against the rest of the world to the possession, occupation, use and enjoyment' of most of the land of the Murray Islands in the Torres Strait. In acknowledging the traditional rights of the Meriam people to their land, the Court also held that native title existed for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Native title is the term used to describe the common law rights and interests of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to their land according to their traditions, laws and customs. Native title wasn't a new type of land grant but a common law right that predated the British occupation of Australia. So, the Mabo High Court decision did not invent native title but merely applied to Australia that part of common law that had been applied elsewhere in the British Empire for hundreds of years.

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The 1992 decision for the first time recognised the common law rights in land of Australia's Indigenous peoples. Eddie Koiki Mabo never lived to hear the historic verdict. He had died, due to cancer, five months earlier, on 21 January 1992. He was 55 years old. Celuia Mapo Salee and Sam Passi also died before the passing of the verdict.

Activity **6.12**

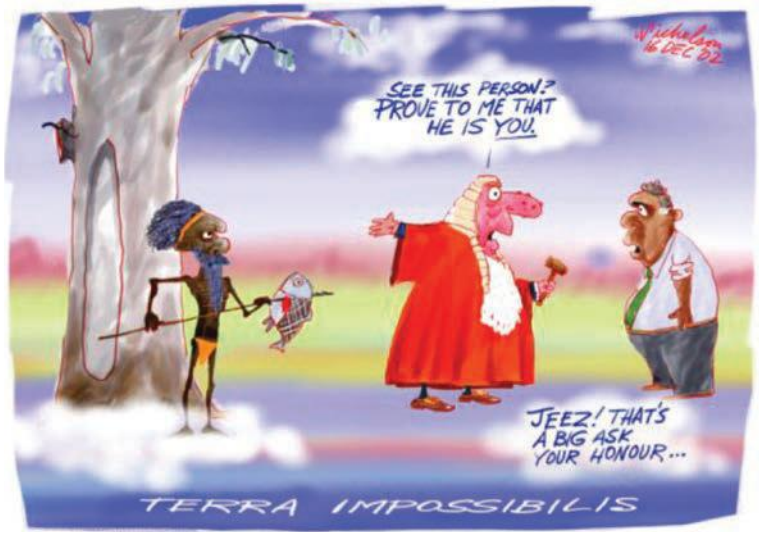
Create a timeline

Create a timeline of key events and developments in the Mabo case, from its beginnings in 1982 through to its end in 1992. Key dates include: 1982, 1985, 1988 and 1992.

Outcomes of the Mabo decision

The *Mabo v Queensland (No. 2)* decision elicited a range of emotions that spanned from euphoria to deep anxiety. To Indigenous people and their supporters, it promised justice and was a significant step towards reconciliation and empowerment. To miners, pastoralists and others, the Mabo ruling seemed a threat to long-established statuses and incomes. People were panicked into thinking that their backyards might be in danger of native title claims.

Despite the 1992 Mabo High Court ruling and the *Native Title Act 1993*, the reality is that native title has been extinguished over most of Australia by grants of freehold land (i.e. private land), commercial, agricultural and residential leases, and the construction of public works. Due to a history of colonial dispossession and dispersal, there are very few Aboriginal communities that can provide the high standard of proof required by courts and governments of continuous occupation or connection with their land that is needed to make a valid claim. As a result, only a small percentage of First Nations people are eligible to make claims. Furthermore, according to Nicole Watson, a member of the Birri-Gubba people, 'Aboriginal rights to land have been relegated to an inferior status' (2014). Perhaps this was best put by Keating's former Attorney-General, Michael Lavarch, when he conceded in 2006, 'If you were constructing a totem pole of rights of land, native title is right down the bottom'.



SOURCE 6.42 Cartoon by Peter Nicholson, published in *The Australian*, 16 December 2002

Identify who each of the figures represents in the cartoon. What is Peter Nicholson's perspective on the High Court decision? Explain by referring to various aspects of the cartoon – speech bubbles, caption and figures. (Note that *terra* is a Latin word for earth or territory.)

In 1996, the High Court decision in *Wik v Queensland* further confirmed the low status of native title rights when it clarified existing Indigenous rights to the land in relation to pastoral leases. While it was found that native title coexisted on pastoral leases, in the event of a conflict between the legal rights of pastoralists and those of native title holders, those of the pastoralists prevailed.

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However, the Wik decision potentially applies to a much larger area of land – that is, the approximately 40% of the country held in pastoral leases. By contrast, the Mabo decision applied only to unalienated Crown land (that is, public land whose ownership has not been transferred for other purposes). In response to the Wik judgment and with reference to the earlier Mabo decision, Prime Minister John Howard (1996–2007) expressed the view that the pendulum had swung too far in favour of Indigenous people in Australia. The Ten-Point Plan, which became the basis of the *Native Title Amendment Act 1998*, was Howard's attempt to swing the pendulum back the other way.

In comparison to the *Native Title Act 1993*, the Ten-Point Plan and the resulting Native Title Act Amendment Bill were drawn up without the consent of, or consultation with, Indigenous peoples. Indeed, most of the amendments favoured non-Indigenous interests. The *Native Title Amendment Act 1998* was eventually passed in the Senate by only one vote, and after much heated debate. In March 1999, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) ruled that the amendments were in breach of Australia's human rights obligations. CERD's advice was that the Australian Government should immediately suspend the amendments and should enter into negotiations with representatives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to find a solution that was acceptable to both parties. The Australian Government did not accept these rulings.

Viewed in terms of actual native title outcomes, Senator Aden Ridgeway, a member of the Gumbayyngirr people, claimed that the 31 successful native title determinations that had been achieved in the 10 years since the Mabo High Court ruling was a 'spectacular failure' (2002). In comparison, in January 2024 there were 610 successful native title determinations (National Native Title Tribunal website). Most of these determinations were by consent (485), where a decision was made by a recognised court or body that reflected an agreement reached by the parties involved, or unopposed (70), where the native title application was not contested and a recognised court or body was satisfied that native title exists. The remaining 55 determinations were achieved through litigation or a trial process.

To what extent did the Mabo High Court case empower Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples? In reaching a conclusion, draw up a table identifying events and developments during and at the conclusion of the court case that facilitated empowerment, and those events and developments that disempowered and disappointed Indigenous peoples in Australia.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

Did the Mabo High Court challenge empower First Nations peoples?

1. Research Mabo

Since his premature death in 1992, Eddie Koiki Mabo has been recognised and honoured as a significant historical figure in Australian history. Do some research to find out about Mabo the man and how he has been honoured and remembered.

2. Watch a documentary on Eddie Koiki Mabo and the Mabo case

First Australians is an SBS documentary series of seven one-hour episodes about Australian history. The final episode, 'We are no longer shadows', focuses on Mabo, and is available online, via SBS On Demand or YouTube.

As you watch the video, make notes to expand your knowledge of Mabo the man and consolidate your understanding of the court case.

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SUB-QUESTION 4: What do historians say about how effective land rights campaigns have been in empowering First Nations peoples?

Sources **6.43–6.46** Historians and other commentators on the effectiveness of land rights campaigns in empowering First Nations peoples

SOURCE 6.43 Julie Finlayson, Research Fellow at the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University, 1999

> Land rights have empowered Aboriginal people. Through secure title to their traditional land, an independent base to generate additional income and the means to cultural reproduction, their culture and traditions have flourished. This would have been impossible without recognition of land rights. Land rights provided Aboriginal people with control of access to land and consent provisions to commercial development on traditional lands.

Julie D. Finlayson, *Northern Territory Land Rights: Purpose and Effectiveness* [Discussion Paper No. 180], 1999

SOURCE 6.44 Barb Lightner, writer of ESBCO articles, 2017. Lightner writes on a range of topics, mostly historical, for EBSCO, which is a provider of search bases, e-books and e-journals for academic libraries.

> The Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act is significant as it was the first legislation in Australia that granted Aboriginal peoples the right to make land claims. Following its passage, other states and territories of Australia passed similar land acts in the 1980s and 1990s. The act helped pave the way to the historic decision of the 1992 Mabo case, in which the High Court refuted the concept of terra nullius and acknowledged the Aboriginal cultural concept of communal use of land rather than Western-style land ownership. In doing so, it not only made it possible for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to have land returned to them, but it helped restore recognition of their cultural identities.

Barb Lightner, *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1976*, 2017

SOURCE 6.45 Indigenous Law academics Loretta Kelly and Larissa Behrendt, 2007

> Although native title and land rights both relate to the recognition of Indigenous people's rights to land, they are very different from both a sociopolitical and a legal perspective ... Land rights legislation, in the various Australian jurisdictions, was enacted in response to a broad social and political movement, which evolved from the 1960s to the 1980s ... Native title legislation, on the other hand, had its impetus in the courts – with the judicial recognition of native title in Mabo (No 2) in 1992. That decision gave new impetus to the ongoing campaign to have land rights recognised on a national basis. ... The differing social, political and juridical environments led to quite different legal regimes for land rights and native title ... which manifests itself in local land disputes. In practice, the engines driving these two systems are resulting in conflict between Aboriginal community members who are claiming, or entitled to claim, land under either or both regimes.

Loretta Kelly and Larissa Behrendt, 'Creating Conflict: Case Studies in the Tension Between Native Title Claims and Land Right Claims', *Journal of Indigenous Policy*, 2007, 8

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SOURCE 6.46 Indigenous Studies scholar Leya Reid, 2018

If we were to acknowledge that Aboriginal communities are empowered when they have the ability to exercise control over their own affairs and that land can form the basis for economic independence … then clearly the land rights movement made a huge leap towards enacting Aboriginal self-determination and self-sufficiency. However, by no means can we attribute Native Title legislation to having improved the economic, social and cultural participation for a majority of the Aboriginal population. To the contrary … the Mabo Decision and subsequent Native Title Act significantly obstructed the achievements of the otherwise successful political struggle of the land rights movement.

Leya Reid, 'Native Title, Land Rights and Aboriginal Self-determination', *NEW: Emerging Scholars in Australian Indigenous Studies*, 2018, 4, p. 13

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

What do historians say about how effective land rights campaigns have been in empowering First Nations peoples?

1. Respond to the historical interpretations

Create and complete a table like the one below, summarising the key point(s) made by each academic as they assess the impact of land rights and/or native title on First Nations peoples. In your summary, note both positive and negative impacts.

Source	Impact of land rights/native title on First Nations peoples
Research Fellow Julie Finlayson (1999)	
EBSCO writer Barb Lightner (2017)	
Indigenous Law academics Loretta Kelly and Larissa Behrendt (2007)	
Indigenous Studies scholar Leya Reid (2018)	

2. Further research

Source 6.46 makes a clear distinction between land rights and native title. Conduct research to establish further differences between the two and why land rights are the preferred land title for First Nations peoples.

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SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: How effective were land rights campaigns, during the latter part of the twentieth century, in empowering First Nations Australians? To help you, step through the following activities.

1. Create a table like the one below and in a small group complete each aspect for *one* of the land rights campaigns.
2. Share your group's summary with the rest of the class, using an electronic application such as Google Docs or the collaborative space on One Note.

Land rights campaign	Form(s) of protest utilised	Cause(s)	Aim/goal	Key players (individuals and/or groups)	Key events and developments	Effects/ outcomes	Empowerment from 'above' and/or 'below'
Gurindji Walk-off							
Aboriginal Tent Embassy							
Mabo High Court challenge							

3. Which of the three land rights campaigns do you consider the most significant historically? Which do you consider the most empowering for First Nations people? Explain your choice.
4. Write an essay of up to 2000 words in response to *one* of the following questions:
   a. **Gurindji walk-off and strike**
      - In their protest song about the Gurindji Wave Hill strike, Kev Carmody and Paul Kelly claimed that it demonstrated that 'from little things big things grow'. In light of historical evidence, how accurate is this assertion to describe the development and outcome of the Gurindji strike in the Northern Territory from 1966 to 1975?

   b. **Aboriginal Tent Embassy**
      - Wiradjuri man Paul Coe said the 1972 Aboriginal Tent Embassy began as a joke but developed into an effective protest that furthered Aboriginal land rights. In light of historical evidence, how accurate is this statement?

   c. **Mabo High Court ruling**
      - To what extent did the Mabo High Court ruling of 1992 deliver on its promises?

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Empowerment of First Nations peoples – past, present and future

Significance at the time

The importance of land

The importance of land in the empowerment of First Nations peoples has long been recognised. In 2012, Professor Larissa Behrendt, a Eualeyai/Kamillaroi woman, explained that '[d]ispossession and theft of traditional land has been a hallmark of the colonisation process, so it is little wonder that the focus for political movements by Aboriginal people would be on reclaiming that land'.

Land is of great importance to First Nations peoples in Australia, as Sources 6.47 and 6.48 indicate. The first source is from Patrick Dodson, a Yawuru man and a former Catholic priest who subsequently became a Senator and federal Member of Parliament, and the second is from an eminent Australian anthropologist Bill Stanner (1905–81).

Sources **6.47** and **6.48** Perspectives on the importance of land

SOURCE 6.47 An Aboriginal perspective

For the Aboriginal people, land is a dynamic notion, something creative. Land is not bound by geographical limitations placed on it by a surveyor, who marks out an area and says, 'This is your plot'. Land is the generation point of existence, the maintenance of existence, the spirit from which Aboriginal existence comes.

Land is a living place made up of sky, clouds, rivers, trees, the wind, the sand and the spirit has created all these things, the spirit that planted my own spirit here, my own country.

It is something – and yet it is not a thing – it is a living thing – it is a living entity. It belongs to me, I belong to the land, I rest in it. I come from there.

Pat Dodson, *A Just and Proper Settlement*, Australian Council of Churches, 1987

SOURCE 6.48 A white anthropologist's perspective

No English words are good enough to give a sense of the links between an Aboriginal group and its homeland. Our word 'home' ... does not match the Aboriginal word that may mean 'camp', 'hearth', 'country', 'everlasting home', 'totem place', 'life source', 'spirit centre' and much else all in one ... When we took what we call 'land' we took what to them meant heart, home, the source and locus of life, and everlastingness of spirit.

W.E.H. Stanner, *After the Dreaming: Black and White Australians, An Anthropologist's View*, The Boyer Lectures, 1968, Australian Broadcasting Commission

Responding to the sources

1. Refer to Source 6.47 (Pat Dodson). Select a *sentence* that is meaningful to you and helps you gain a deeper understanding of what land is to Aboriginal peoples. Now choose a *phrase* and then finally a *word*. Be prepared to justify your selections.
2. According to Bill Stanner (Source 6.48), what is land to Aboriginal people and what is their relationship to it?
3. How might you account for this special relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the land?
4. Explain how this special relationship might empower First Nations peoples.

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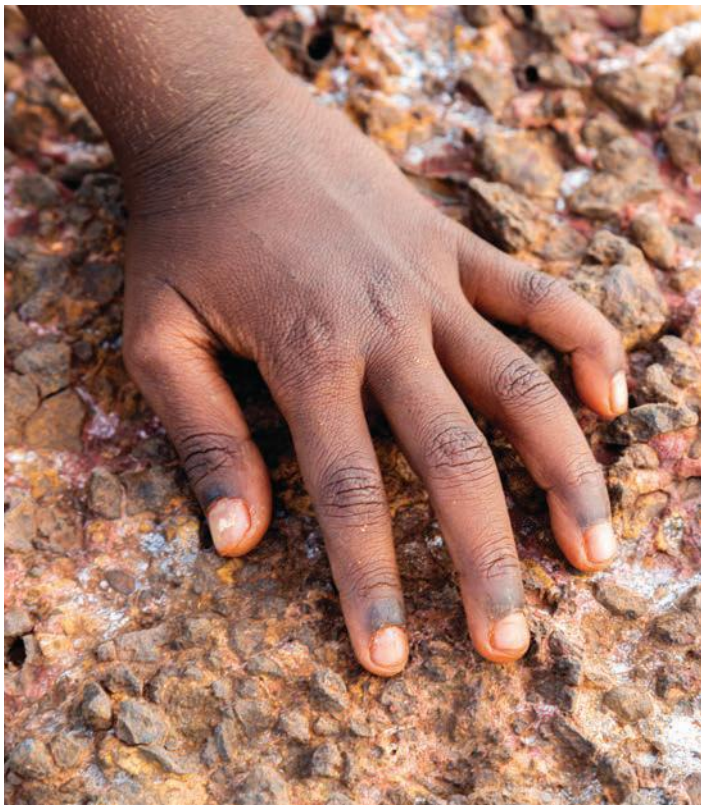
Activity **6.13**

Watch a movie trailer

Watch the trailer for the movie *One Night the Moon* (2001) at the following link: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10526. This trailer features the song 'This Land Is Mine'. You can also see a discussion of the song by director Rachel Perkins, an Arrernte and Kalkadoon woman, and co-writer Kev Carmody, a Murri man from northern Queensland: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10527.

What are the key differences between how the white station owner and the Aboriginal tracker view the land and relate to it?



SOURCE 6.49 Photo of a young Aboriginal girl's hand on her ancient land in East Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, 2020. To what extent might this photograph be seeking to illustrate the relationship between Indigenous people and the land?

Photographs like this one are staged to convey a particular message or create a certain aesthetic. Analyse the photo to find evidence that supports the following assertion: *This photograph symbolises the close relationship between Indigenous people and the land*.

The limitation with this photograph is that not all Aboriginal people are dark skinned, and that Country is everywhere, including in cities and under concrete. Does this information make you reconsider your initial response? Explain.

Legacy

Empowerment of First Nations peoples is firmly on the agenda in the twenty-first century. However, the means to empowerment goes beyond the acquisition of land rights or the acknowledgement of native title. In 2013, First Nations leaders from eight regions of Indigenous Australia – West Kimberley (Western Australia), East Kimberley (Western Australia), North East Arnhem Land (Northern Territory), Cape York (Queensland), Central Coast (New South Wales), Inner Sydney (New South Wales), Goulburn-Murray (Victoria) and NPY Lands (Central Australia) – came together to initiate a new way forward. Later, in 2018, Lower River Murray Lakes and Coorong (South Australia) joined, followed by Far West Coast (South Australia) in 2020.

On their website, *Empowered Communities*, they propose a 10-year policy framework for Indigenous Empowerment, in which transformational reforms would be driven by Indigenous leaders, corporate leaders and government acting in partnership. The group sees two aspects to empowerment:

- Indigenous people empowering themselves
- governments at all levels sharing, or even giving up where appropriate, relevant powers and responsibilities, and providing support and resources to Indigenous people as they build their own capabilities.

You can read more about Empowered Communities at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10876.

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Activity **6.14**

Hold a class forum or a yarning circle

Hold a class forum or yarning circle to discuss the following proposal:
Empowerment of First Nations peoples can best be achieved through an approach that favours co-design and cooperation between key stakeholders (First Nations people, government and corporations) who are prepared to play their roles in different ways.

Divide the class into groups that represent each of the three key stakeholders: First Nations peoples, the government and corporations (e.g. mining companies, sporting bodies).

Consider the following questions in your preparation:

1. What are the advantages of having all key stakeholders involved in the process of empowerment?
2. What might be some of the pitfalls in this approach?
3. Why might it be important that each stakeholder plays their roles in different ways? What might this look like?
4. Is there a better way for First Nations peoples to achieve empowerment other than the one suggested?

Activity **6.15**

Watch a video

Go to https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/11076 to watch the YouTube animation produced by Empowered Communities and answer the following questions: How did colonisation disempower First Nations peoples? What 'clear vision' is articulated that seeks to empower First Nations peoples? How will the proposed new model work? Identify one Empowered Communities project that is making a difference.

Closing the Gap

Closing the Gap is a government initiative that seeks to address disparities in health, education, employment and other socio-economic indicators between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. It can be traced back to 2008 when Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, in his National Apology to the Stolen Generations, committed the federal government to a new national effort to close the gap between these two groups. This was to be achieved by setting 'concrete targets for the future' in designated areas and reporting on the progress. The idea is based on the maxim that 'if you don't measure it, you can't improve it'. So, each year since the Apology, the Prime Minister of the day has delivered a Closing the Gap Statement in parliament and tabled a report card on progress.

Activity **6.16**

Conduct research

1. Conduct research on the latest Closing the Gap report and prepare a report card on Australia's progress. For information on Closing the Gap, see the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10734 for the Annual Report.
2. 'Closing the Gap' and 'Close the Gap' are two different strategies aimed at addressing First Nations peoples' disadvantage. Create a poster to educate junior school students about the differences and similarities between the two. Consider key players, historical origins, focus, purpose/aim and success-rate/outcome. Consult the following link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10735 to help you.

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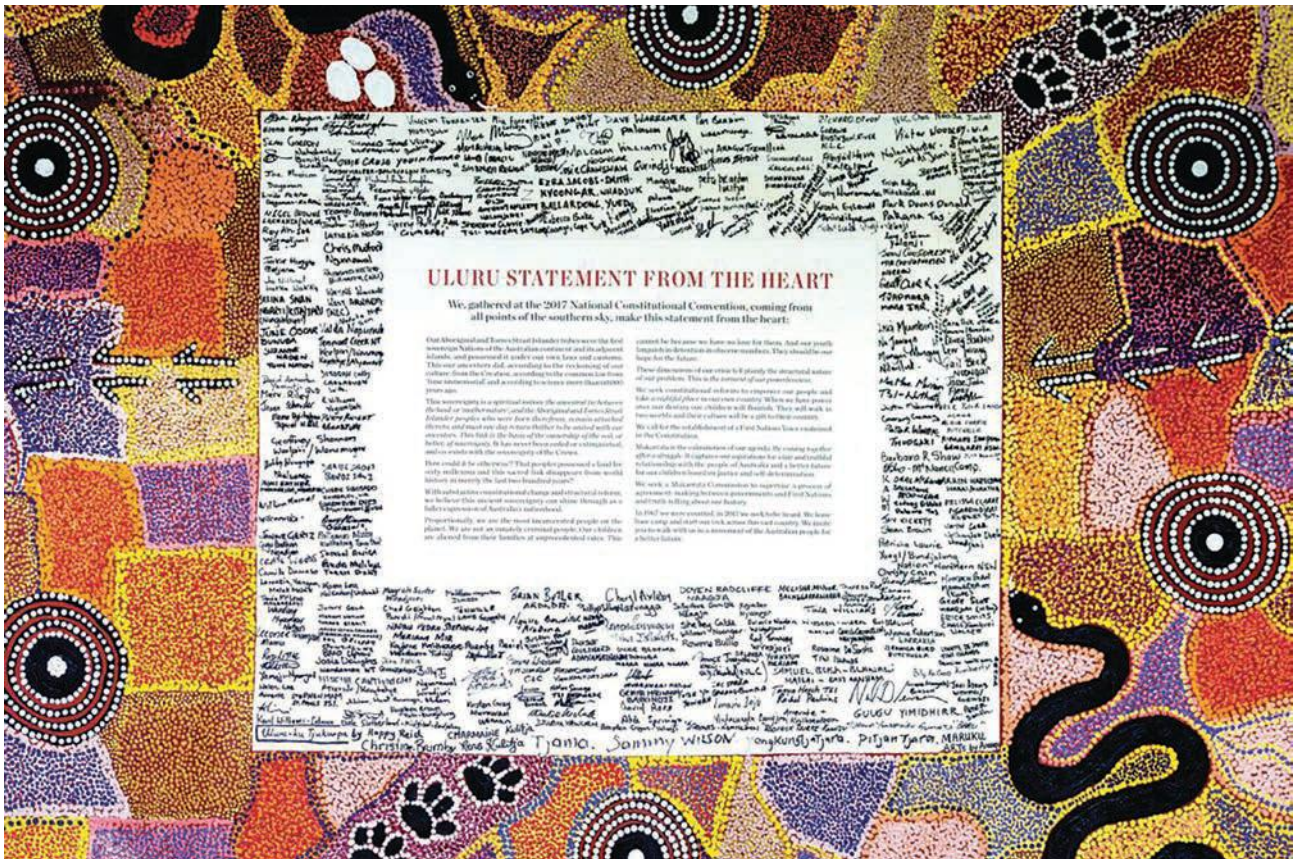
Voice, treaty, truth

'Voice, treaty, truth' are the key reforms sought by the 'Uluru Statement of the Heart', signed by 250 delegates at the 2017 First Nations Constitutional Convention and delivered on 26 May 2017, the eve of the 50th anniversary of the historic 1967 Referendum. Each of these reforms seeks to empower First Nations people. Source 6.50 is an image of the original document.



SOURCE 6.50 Uluru Statement from the Heart, 26 May 2017

The Uluru Statement is first framed by the signatures of those who attended the 2017 National Constitutional Convention and then by an artwork painted by Mutitjulu artists under the direction of renowned desert painter Rene Kulitja. The painting depicts two creation stories of the Anangu people, who are the traditional custodians of Uluru. What might be the symbolism of each of these frames (i.e. the signatures and the artwork)?

Activity **6.17**

Uluru Statement from the Heart

Seek out a copy of the Uluru Statement from the Heart (you can find a PDF copy online) and complete the following:

1. Quote/highlight lines that identify the source of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' disempowerment.
2. Quote/highlight lines that identify the means by which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples seek empowerment.
3. Quote/highlight lines that refer to 'voice', 'treaty' and 'truth'.

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Source 6.51 is an explanation of voice, treaty and truth.

Source **6.51** Voice, treaty, truth

SOURCE 6.51 The theme for **NAIDOC** 2019 was 'Voice, Treaty, Truth'

Voice: Before colonisation, Aboriginal people had complete control over our lives and were able to express our worldview and voice in language. Since 1788, our voices have been silenced and we have not been able to have a say in our lives and in Australian democracy ...

Treaty: One way that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have been fighting for self-determination is through treaty. A treaty is a binding agreement that is negotiated between different groups or parties, for example Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and the Australian Government. A treaty is created to show that each group has reached an agreement about duties and responsibilities around sharing land and resources and governing together. Unlike the USA, Canada or New Zealand, there has never been a treaty in Australia ...

Truth: Much of the history and current experiences of the Aboriginal Community are not known or recognised by the broader Australian public. This is because key parts of our history and the reality of colonisation have been deliberately hidden and our voices have been silenced. 'Truth telling' is about bringing to light our stories, histories and experiences and having them be publicly acknowledged. One example would be recognising the sophistication of Aboriginal land management and farming techniques that were used to protect Country. Another is acknowledging the reality of the devastating and continuing impacts of invasion.

Voice, Treaty, Truth – Introduction, Deadly Story, 2019

NAIDOC stands for National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee. This committee was responsible for organising national NAIDOC Week activities, and over time the acronym has become the name of the entire festival, which aims to celebrate the history, culture and achievements of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Responding to the source

1. Explain how the implementation of a voice, treaty and truth-telling would help to empower First Nations peoples.
2. While a Voice enshrined in the Australian Constitution was defeated in a referendum on 14 October 2023 (60.06% against and 39.94% for) there are other ways to achieve this goal. What might be some other options?

Activity **6.18**

The 2023 Voice referendum

Research and take a position

Research the Voice referendum to discover and discuss the following:

a. What were the key arguments advanced by the two official sides of the referendum debate? Which do you think is the strongest/has the greatest merit? Explain.

b. What reasons have been given for the failure of the Voice referendum? Which of these reasons do you think was the most crucial in its failure? Explain.

Despite the disappointment of the Voice referendum for many Indigenous people, they remain strong, resilient and determined. They are not waiting for a handout or a hand up from white Australia to be empowered. They are sovereign and will loudly and proudly remind the nation that this land always was and always will be Aboriginal land.

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Chapter 7

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN INDIA, 1857–1947 (DIGITAL)

Aspect: Methods, influences, violence and legacy

ANNABEL ELLIOT

This chapter is available in the digital version of this resource.

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Chapter 8

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT SINCE 1893

Aspect: The impact of second wave feminism

LOUISE BROWN

It's Saturday, 21 January 2017. In summer sunshine, thousands of women – and a fair number of men – have gathered in the heart of Melbourne. In cities around the world, countless thousands more have marched and rallied.

SOURCE 8.1 Demonstration in Melbourne, 21 January 2017

They've gathered on this day because, in Washington, DC (where it's still Friday 20 January), Donald Trump is being sworn in as the new President of the United States. These women have come not to celebrate but to criticise and castigate Trump.

In the Melbourne crowd is 16-year-old Bronte*, taking part in her first-ever political demonstration. Initially anxious, she is now feeling the joy of being with kindred spirits, and the unexpected way the women are blending serious protest with cheeky humour. Bronte scans the nearby posters, delighting in the witty way 'revolution' and 'resister' have been written.

One sign has special significance: 'Nasty women here to stay'. Bronte smiles, recognising how the word 'nasty' – used so rudely by Donald Trump as a put-down to his presidential rival Hilary Clinton and so many other women – has been adopted as a 'badge of honour' by women around the world.

Rudeness is the least of the new president's faults, thinks Bronte. She's seen numerous reports of Trump's misogynistic comments. Worse, she's heard the secret recordings of his boasting to friends about his unwanted advances on women. And now there's the court case accusing him of paying 'hush money' to a so-called porn star.

The greatest disappointment and anger of these demonstrating women can be summed up in a perplexing question: How could the people of the world's leading democracy elect as their president a man whose ideas about women and whose behaviour towards women is so morally unacceptable and repugnant?

Bronte is studying Modern History at school. She's learned of the courageous activism that allowed women in Australia and similar societies to escape from centuries of discrimination, humiliation and oppression. She celebrates the magical word 'equality'.

But today she's perplexed by Trump's victory. On Monday, she'll take the 'perplexing question' along to her Modern History lesson.

*Bronte: a fictitious character devised for this opening story

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The beginnings of the Women's Rights Movement

What were the accepted roles and rights of women in nineteenth-century Britain and Australia?

In the early nineteenth century, British women, and therefore women in the British colonies, had limited rights. For example, women had no legal identity separate from that of their husbands. Women could not retain any property they brought into a marriage and any earnings during marriage went to their husbands. Women could only gain a divorce if they could prove their husbands had repeatedly committed adultery. Upon divorce, a woman's access to her children was at the discretion of her former husband.

In Britain, class distinctions determined women's experiences of work. For middle-class women, working outside the home was frowned upon. A woman's idealised role was to be the 'angel in the house', a source of comfort to her husband, the moral guide to her children and the guardian of the home. For most working-class women, paid work outside the home was a necessity. Most were employed in factories, mines, agricultural work or domestic service, all of which included long hours, poor working conditions and pay rates significantly lower than those of men. Upper-class women, by contrast, generally did no work at all – paid or unpaid – unless they chose to do so.

At the same time, in Australia, free settler women arriving in the colony from Britain could find new opportunities less proscribed by traditional social structures. Although many of the single female migrants who settled in urban areas were employed by wealthy households as domestic servants or nursemaids, married women in rural areas often took on just as much responsibility as their husbands – both in terms of physical labour and business management – for clearing land and establishing farms. However, the idealised view of women, imported from the mother country, remained a powerful belief; women were needed as wives and mothers of the next generation, ensuring the survival – and morality – of the new colony. This stereotype was also reflected in the treatment of female convicts, who were despised for their perceived fall from the purity of the feminine ideal, and retrained in domestic chores so that they could fulfil a socially acceptable role on release.

It was in the 1850s that women's movements arose to begin to challenge these assumptions and conventions. This was the beginning of what is now referred to as **first wave feminism**.

The suffrage campaigns

Great Britain

Changes to British women's lives in the nineteenth century were the catalyst to calls for **suffrage** reform. As a result of the 1870 *Education Act*, women were eligible to stand for election to school boards, organisations responsible for the local provision of primary school education. Women could also become Poor Law Guardians, responsible for the management of workhouses. Single women ratepayers (homeowners or tenants) had the right to vote in local council elections from 1869. All of these reforms increased women's roles and status in public life and strengthened the call for women to be given the vote at a national level.

first wave feminism feminist activism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Western countries that focused on gaining the vote for women

suffrage the right to vote in political elections

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By the early twentieth century, there were two national campaign groups: the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) formed in 1897, and the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), formed in 1903. Members of the NUWSS were commonly referred to as **suffragists**, while those in the WSPU were known as **suffragettes**.

suffragists people advocating for the extension of the right to vote, particularly for women. Suffragists used constitutional means to achieve their goals; they worked within the political system.

suffragettes women associated with the Women's Social and Political Union, seeking the right to vote. Their campaign methods included more militant and sometimes violent and illegal actions.

SOURCE 8.2 This photo from the Museum of London shows three British suffragettes preparing to chain themselves to railings in 1909

In what ways might chaining themselves to railings – especially outside important government buildings – be an effective form of protest by suffragettes? To better understand this scene, what questions would you ask about it? What impression of 'suffragette' do you gain from the photo?

SOURCE 8.3 Police survey the damage done by a suffragette arson attack at a railway station, March 1913

It was the confrontational actions of the WSPU that gained the most public and political attention. Early WSPU militancy involved women heckling as politicians addressed public meetings. Later, both public and private property were damaged: telephone wires were cut, post-boxes set on fire and acid poured on golf courses. In 1913, there was even an attempt to bomb the Prime Minister's home.

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THE ACTUAL DAMAGE DONE TO THE ROKEBY "VENUS" BY THE SUFFRAGETTE WITH A CHOPPER.

THE GASHES MADE IN VELASQUEZ' "VENUS WITH THE MIRROR," IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY: THE HARM WROUGHT BY THE MILITANT TO THE £45,000 MASTERPIECE.

A dastardly outrage took place in the National Gallery, in Trafalgar Square, on Tuesday, March 10, when a militant Suffragette attacked the world-famous Rokeby "Venus," of Velasquez, mutilating it with a small chopper. The actual damage done is shown in this illustration. The marks made by the woman as the canvas are exactly as is here shown; and they are here reproduced by authority of and courtesy of the "Times." That paper describes the damage as follows: "To judge from the damaged frame, the first blow was struck at the point marked by the star in the reproduction of the picture. . . . What is described by one who afterwards saw the damaged masterpiece as probably the most serious blow has caused a cruel wound in the neck. For three or four inches, he says, it runs almost vertically, and spreads out an inch wide. Another severe cut has been aggravated apparently by the chopper's having been twisted a little as it was withdrawn for the next blow. Further, there is a broad laceration starting near the left shoulder and roughly forming, with two other cuts, a letter 'N.' Two of the limbs of that letter are six or eight inches long, and the third is a gash extending right beyond the body and some inches through the drapery below it. The other cuts are cleanly made in the region of the waist." At Bow Street, Mr. Hawes Turner, Keeper and Secretary of the National Gallery, said that, assuming that the picture was in the open market and that its original value was £45,000, he should say that its selling value would be affected to the extent of about £10,000 or £15,000.

SOURCE 8.4 A newspaper reports on suffragette Mary Richardson's deliberate damage of the famous painting *The Rokeby Venus*, March 1914.

Find out more about the painting and Richardson's protest by watching the video from the National Gallery: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10789.

Activity **8.1**

Take a position on an attitude scale about property damage as a political campaign tactic

Using the attitude scale below as a starting point, debate whether it is ever morally justified to damage property as a tactic in a political campaign.

1. To begin, choose your own point on the scale. Then find a classmate who has chosen a different point. Discuss your reasons for choosing differently. Do either of you shift as a result of your discussion?

It is never justifiable to damage property as a political campaign tactic				It can be justifiable to damage property as a political campaign tactic
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree	strongly agree

2. Discuss what criteria should be applied to any such action to determine its justification.

Historians debate the significance of WSPU actions in achieving women's suffrage in 1918. Despite the frequent public and political condemnation of their tactics, by the time World War I broke out, the combination of WSPU's militant action and the ongoing democratic campaigning from suffragists made women's suffrage in some form a political necessity. The additional changes to women's lives brought about by World War I led to British women over 30 who met a property qualification achieving the vote in 1918. In 1928, this was extended to those over 21.

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Australian suffragists

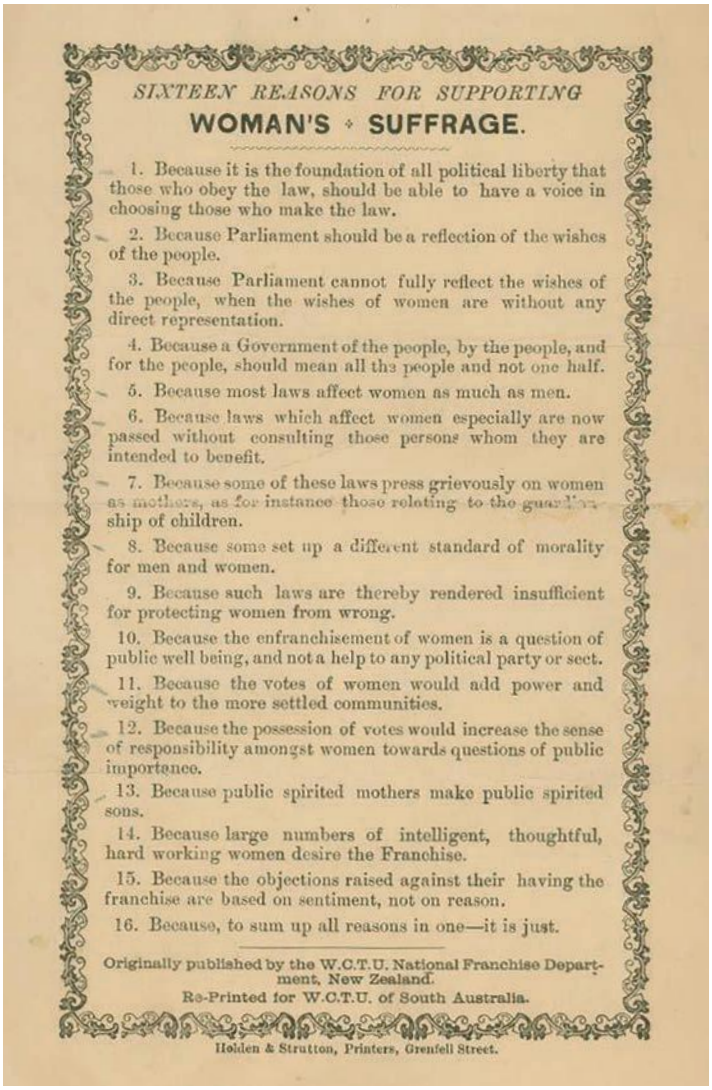
The women's suffrage movement in Australia was inspired by the activism of British feminists. However, Australian women were given the vote earlier than their British counterparts.

By the 1880s, suffrage societies were active in all Australian colonies. Their members gave public speeches, organised petitions, wrote letters to newspapers, published and distributed leaflets, published their own journals and lobbied Members of Parliament (MP). The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) also became a vehicle for women's suffrage. Its campaigns against alcohol consumption, and the protection this would afford women and girls in the home, called for women's interests to be recognised by Parliament.

Source **8.5** Sixteen Reasons for Supporting Women's Suffrage, 7 November 1888

Responding to the Sixteen Reasons

1. Which arguments draw on ideas about women's 'natural' roles as wives and mothers?
2. Which arguments are based on political ideals?
3. How would you categorise the other kinds of arguments being made here?



SIXTEEN REASONS FOR SUPPORTING

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

1. Because it is the foundation of all political liberty that those who obey the law, should be able to have a voice in choosing those who make the law.
2. Because Parliament should be a reflection of the wishes of the people.
3. Because Parliament cannot fully reflect the wishes of the people, when the wishes of women are without any direct representation.
4. Because a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, should mean all the people and not one half.
5. Because most laws affect women as much as men.
6. Because laws which affect women especially are now passed without consulting those persons whom they are intended to benefit.
7. Because some of these laws press grievously on women as mothers, as for instance those relating to the guardianship of children.
8. Because some set up a different standard of morality for men and women.
9. Because such laws are thereby rendered insufficient for protecting women from wrong.
10. Because the enfranchisement of women is a question of public well being, and not a help to any political party or sect.
11. Because the votes of women would add power and weight to the more settled communities.
12. Because the possession of votes would increase the sense of responsibility amongst women towards questions of public importance.
13. Because public spirited mothers make public spirited sons.
14. Because large numbers of intelligent, thoughtful, hard working women desire the Franchise.
15. Because the objections raised against their having the franchise are based on sentiment, not on reason.
16. Because, to sum up all reasons in one—it is just.

Originally published by the W.C.T.U. National Franchise Department, New Zealand.
Re-Printed for W.C.T.U. of South Australia.

Holden & Strutton, Printers, Grenfell Street.

SOURCE 8.5 This New Zealand pamphlet was reprinted by the South Australian Women's Christian Temperance Union on 7 November 1888

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The vote and Federation

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, support for Federation was growing at the same time as the women's movement. Many suffragists saw this political change as an opportunity to press the case for women's suffrage. In 1901, the Australian Constitution granted women who already had the vote at a state level (South Australia and Western Australia), and who were not excluded on racial grounds, the right to vote in federal elections.

After the first federal election, there was a move to create a uniform approach to suffrage. The *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902* extended the federal suffrage to all Australian women. However, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, Asian people, African people and Pacific Islander people were not allowed to vote in Australia, even if they were British subjects.

The Commonwealth franchise did not automatically grant women the vote in state elections. For example, in Queensland, intensive campaigning continued until 1905 when the *Elections Acts Amendment Act* was passed, giving women the right to vote. Ten years later, in 1915, women were given the right to stand for the Queensland Parliament. It was not until 1965 that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men and women were given the right to vote in Queensland.

Women's Liberation Movement or second wave feminism feminist activism that began in America in the 1960s and intensified in the 1970s across the Western world. It aimed to achieve equality and equal opportunity for women in every aspect of their lives, including revolutionising the way society thought about women and how women thought about themselves.

Women in Australia had gained the franchise peacefully, and by focusing on arguments that women were better suited to improving the morality of society or protecting children. However, in the 1970s, members of the **Women's Liberation Movement** (WLM), also known as second wave feminism, would criticise these early feminists for not challenging the 'natural sphere' of women, and for not capitalising on the opportunities given by the franchise.

Sources **8.6–8.8** Achievements of first wave feminism in Australia

SOURCE 8.6 Anne Summers on the achievements of first wave feminism in Australia

> [First wave feminists] fought for the dignity of womanhood, but their ideal of womanhood was one that still depended heavily on the Victorian characteristics of women as pure and noble, as superior to men and as needing special protection. There was a contradiction between this characterisation and the ideal of independence and self-determination they sought ...

Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police*, 2016, p. 524 (first published 1975)

SOURCE 8.7 Verity Burgmann on the achievements of first wave feminism in Australia

> ... In campaigning for votes for women, first wave feminists argued that women had a right to vote as equally rational human beings, subject to the laws of society, and that such a reform would be in the interests of the political system itself. A female influence brought to bear upon the affairs of the nation would bring 'moral' legislation that would protect women and their children from male vices and male-inflicted injuries of various kinds ... what would be good for women and children would be good for society, they claimed.

Verity Burgmann, *Power and Protest: Movements for Change in Australian Society*, 1993, p. 78

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SOURCE 8.8 Marilyn Lake on the achievements of first wave feminists in Australia

> In winning political rights, especially the right to vote, feminists had acquired the power to shape the infant Commonwealth, to mould a caring, protective, nation state, one oriented to securing human welfare rather than maximising the power of 'the Almighty Dollar'. 'The country whose chief ambition is the Almighty Dollar' said [feminist] Rose Scott, 'is the meanest country on earth'.

Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*, 1999, p. 49

Responding to the sources

1. What contradiction does Summers see between the aims of first wave feminists and the characteristics of women they emphasised to achieve them?
2. Referring to Burgmann, why might it have been a weakness of the first wave feminist campaigners to focus their efforts on 'moral' legislation?
3. According to Lake, how had first wave feminists achieved more than the right to vote?
4. How similar or different is Lake's perspective on the significance of first wave feminism to that of Summers and Burgmann?

Activity **8.2**

Write an extended response on first wave feminism

Using sources and other information from this section, write an extended answer to the following question: *To what extent did first wave feminists achieve the vote by extending their 'natural sphere' of domesticity and motherhood?*

Contextual study: Summing up

In this contextual study, you have learned about the origins and aims of first wave feminism, including how women's groups campaigned for and achieved the right to vote, and how historians have judged the significance of their actions.

In the following depth study, you will investigate the development of second wave feminism in Australia. You will learn how this resurgence of feminist activism both built on and moved beyond the vision of earlier campaigns.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: By the early 1980s, what goals of second wave feminism had been achieved in Australia?

Second wave feminism emerged in the United States in the late 1960s; its ideas spread quickly across the Western world. In Australia, small-scale protests in the 1960s developed into a recognisable national movement by the early 1970s, shaped by feminist texts and driven forward by activists both inside and outside of the political system.

You have learned in the contextual study that first wave feminism was criticised for its narrow focus and limited ambitions. In this depth study, you will learn about the extraordinary movement that was the second wave, and the ways in which a new generation of feminists aimed to make more fundamental changes to women's lives. By exploring the aims and activities of the movement, and its interaction with the political and cultural landscape of Australia, you will be able to assess the extent to which the goals of second wave feminism had been achieved by the early 1980s.

This depth study unfolds through a series of six sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.

The six sub-questions are:

1. What issues and problems became the targets of second wave feminism?
2. How did second wave feminist ideas take shape in the organisation, strategies and actions of Australian feminists?
3. How much was achieved for women in the early years of the second wave of feminism?
4. What changes in women's rights, role and status occurred under the Whitlam administration?
5. Was the women's movement 'less visible' during the Fraser years?
6. What have historians said about second wave feminism?

SOURCE 8.9 A still from the film *Brazen Hussies* (2020) shows a women's liberation protest in the 1970s

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SUB-QUESTION 1: What issues and problems became the targets of second wave feminism?

Second wave feminism describes the activism that began in the United States in the 1960s and intensified in the 1970s across the Western world. The term 'second wave' was first used by writer Martha Weinman Lear in a *New York Times* article of 1968 entitled 'What Do These Women Want?'. Lear used the metaphor of a wave to connect this new activism to the feminist movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, second wave feminists differentiated their campaigns from those of the early suffragists. Feminists of the 1960s and 1970s were calling for a transformation of male-dominated power structures, and a revolution in how women were seen and heard in society. From the outset, this was a Western and, initially, a middle-class phenomenon. It was to be much later in the century that robust campaigns for women's and girls' rights developed in the rest of the world.

The movement was inspired in the United States by writers such as Betty Friedan, Kate Millet and Gloria Steinem, all of whom challenged the social norms that limited women's lives. Friedan's 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* called attention to the discrepancy between the reality of women's ambitions and the domestic role to which they were expected to conform. In *Sexual Politics* (1970), Millet argued that female subservience was not natural but created by patriarchal institutions. Power structures within politics, and the family, Millet argued, were social constructs rather than based on any inherent differences between the sexes. US journalist and author Steinem, speaking at the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) in July 1971, set out a vision for a society free from such artificial constraints.

Source **8.10** Gloria Steinem's keynote speech

SOURCE 8.10 Gloria Steinem speaks at the NWPC in 1971

> **... This is no simple reform. It really is a revolution. Sex and race, because they are easy, visible differences, have been the primary ways of organizing human beings into superior and inferior groups, and into the cheap labor on which this system still depends. We are talking about a society in which there will be no roles other than those chosen, or those earned. We are really talking about humanism.**

Gloria Steinem, keynote speech 'Address to the Women of America', 10 July 1971

Responding to Gloria Steinem

1. Steinem advocates for revolution rather than reform of women's roles. What do you think the difference might be between these two kinds of change?
2. What is humanism? Why did Steinem use this term to describe the society she wanted to see?

One of the best-known books of this second wave was Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch*, published in 1970. Greer was an Australian academic who had attended the University of Melbourne but was working in England at the time. Greer argued that the narrow roles women were expected to fulfil had metaphorically 'castrated' women, rendering them powerless. She challenged social paradigms such as the necessity of marriage, the role of the nuclear family and the obligation of women to have children, arguing that a woman's status ought not to be measured by her relationship with men.

? Greer says that 'marriage cannot be a job as it has become'. In what ways might women have experienced marriage as a job in the 1970s?
Why might change to traditional roles be 'terrifying but ... also exhilarating' for women in the 1970s?

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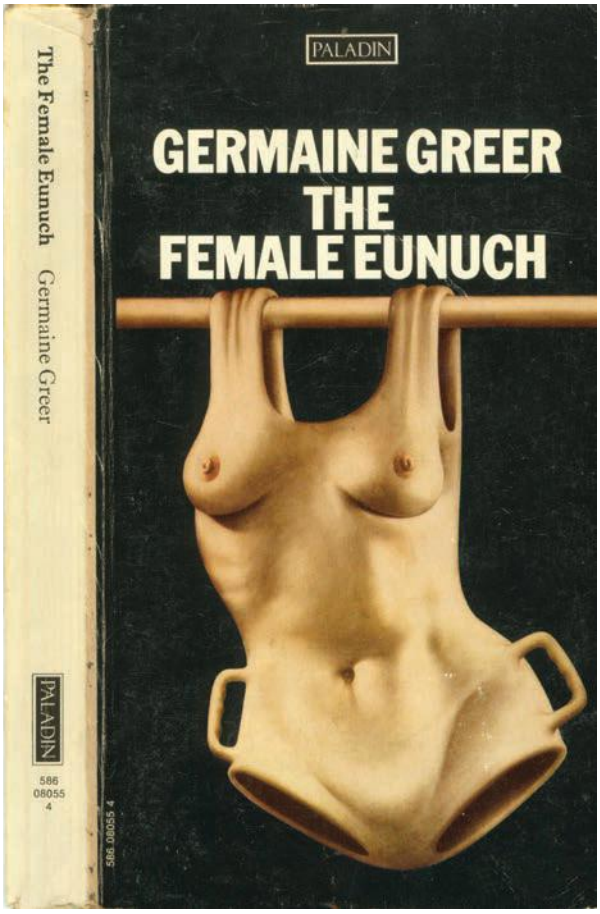
Source **8.11** *The Female Eunuch*



SOURCE 8.11 Cover of the Paladin edition of *The Female Eunuch*, 1971 (art by John Holmes)

Responding to *The Female Eunuch*

The cover design of this edition of Greer's book has been described as iconic. Analyse the image. How does it reflect Greer's message?

Published in the mid-1970s as the second wave was underway, Australian writer Anne Summers' book, *Damned Whores and God's Police* (1975), both reflected and shaped feminist thinking. In this book, Summers described the ways in which society saw women as either 'good' or 'bad'. Women had been conditioned to see marriage and motherhood as their ultimate aspiration, and those who did not conform to this narrow stereotype were condemned. Both Summers and Greer called attention to the ways in which the traditional nuclear family structures kept women in a subservient role.

Source **8.12** *Damned Whores and God's Police*

SOURCE 8.12 Anne Summers

> Broadly, my argument is that women in Australia are forced to eke out a precarious psychic and physical existence within a society that has denied them cultural potency and economic independence and hence has prevented women from being able to construct their own identities or from having more than a very restricted choice about what they can do with their lives. Although basic sexist assumptions about

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women and men were transported from England with the First Fleet, social and economic conditions in the first 50 years of colonisation of this country gave rise to an indigenous variety of the ideology of sexism. A particularly rigid dualistic notion of women's function in colonial society was embodied in two stereotypes. They have been both descriptive and prescriptive, at the one time both adumbrating a function for women and exhorting them to conform to it, and also maintaining that they actually represented what women were. Each is a sex-role stereotype that exaggerates the characteristics of the basic dualistic notion that women are either good or evil: this judgement is based on whether or not women conform to the wife/mother roles prescribed by the bourgeois family.

Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police*, 2016, pp. 102–3 (first published 1975)

Responding to the source

According to Summers, what kinds of harm have been done to women by the stereotypes assigned to them?

Activity **8.3**

Think further

1. Synthesise evidence from Steinem, Greer and Summers to form a historical argument in response to the question: *What issues and problems became the targets of second wave feminism?*
2. Steinem's comment that 'sex and race … have been the primary ways of organizing human beings into superior and inferior groups' is a powerful comment on human history. How have your earlier studies of history illustrated that comment? Is there a third category (beyond sex and race) that Steinem has not mentioned?
3. In history, how have many people not been able to 'choose or earn' their role in life, but rather have had their lives determined by others?

Source **8.13** Education for married women

Responding to the video

Use the link provided to watch the video showing two women's attitudes in 1961 to education for married women.

SOURCE 8.13 Is education a waste of time for married women? (1961), available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10809 (duration 10:20).

1. Summarise the position of each woman and the points they make to support that position.
2. Do any of the points made by these two women align with the arguments made by Greer and Summers?
3. What do their responses suggest about the issues and problems targeted by feminists of the second wave?

Summing up

The issues raised by second wave feminism in the United States had, by the beginning of the 1970s, begun to take hold in Australia. In the next sub-question, you will explore how Australian feminists shaped these ideas into a national movement for change.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

What issues and problems became the targets of second wave feminism?

Research an aspect of women's positioning in society.

1. What statistical evidence might be available of women's inferior or limited positioning in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s? Choose one aspect of that positioning, and search online for some compelling statistics that illustrate it. (For example, statistics on male and female high school graduation rates and/or enrolments in universities.)
2. Find an engaging way to share this research with your classmates.

SUB-QUESTION 2: How did second wave feminist ideas take shape in the organisation, strategies and actions of Australian feminists?

Just like in the United States, feminist texts inspired women in Australia to come together and discuss their desire for change. The first meeting of the WLM took place in Sydney in January 1970. WLM groups began to form across Australia, and in May 1970 a national conference was held in Melbourne.

What were the demands of the Women's Liberation Movement?

Source **8.14** The 'Women's Liberation Agenda'

SOURCE 8.14 Excerpts from the 'Women's Liberation Agenda', March 1973

Women's Liberation believes that women in our society are oppressed.

It is as women that we are, therefore, organising. We demand:

1. **That Women Have Control Over Their Bodies** – We believe that this is denied us until we can decide whether to have children or not and when we have them.
2. **The Repeal of Abortion Laws: Abortion on Request** – Abortion is an essential part of birth control. Women should have the right to decide whether or not to have an abortion.
3. **Freely Available Contraception** – More education on contraception is needed at an early age and, for this to be effective, contraceptives should be easily available and free on social security. Doctors should not have the right to refuse contraception on their own moral grounds.
4. **Free 24-hour Community Controlled Child Care** – The government should provide full child care facilities throughout Australia. These should be free and staffed by qualified people – men and women. ... Women should not have to bear individual responsibility for the care of children.
5. **Equal Job Opportunities and an End to Low Pay** – Employers have no right to pay women less than men, or to keep women in menial jobs. The government must act to correct this injustice by making it illegal for employers to discriminate against women.
6. **Equal Education Opportunities** – To enable women to have really equal opportunity, all schools must stop streaming women into 'service' jobs which reflect the wife/mother role ... Sexual bias in curricula should be eliminated.

We believe that by united action we can achieve our aims.

Extract from *Women's Liberation Newsletter*, Women's Liberation Movement, March 1973, pp. 5–6

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Responding to the source

1. List the demands in a table, and for each one identify:
   - how it might change women's lives and in what ways (socially, economically, politically)
   - whether it could be described as revolution or reform
   - who would be involved in effecting the change (government, community groups, individuals)
   - who might oppose the change and why.
2. Which changes/s would have made the biggest difference to women's lives?
3. Which change/s might have been the most controversial in 1970s Australia? Explain your answer.

SOURCE 8.15 International Women's Day march, Melbourne, 8 March 1975

What seems to be the age group of the protestors? Could this photo be unrepresentative of the demonstrators overall? If a demonstration does attract a fairly narrow age group only, could that limit its effectiveness, or perhaps strengthen it?

Women's liberation groups

Women's liberation meetings were characterised by their use of 'consciousness raising'. Women were encouraged to share their personal experiences on all aspects of their lives, including marriage, childcare, domestic responsibilities, how they felt about their bodies and how they were affected by social and cultural expectations. These discussions developed an awareness that what might have seemed like individual experiences were shared by other women. This gave rise to the defining slogan of the WLM: 'the personal is political'. Female oppression was seen as arising not from unique circumstances but from social and political structures that narrowly defined gender roles and limited women's lives. Women's collective exploration of these issues built strong bonds between participants.

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SOURCE 8.16 Marilyn Lake describes the impact on women of being part of consciousness-raising groups

> Women found a voice, and in the intensity of the reciprocal exchanges a basis was laid for friendships which often lasted a lifetime. Women who had spent most of their lives courting the admiration of men – whether at universities, at work or in their families – shared a new sense of solidarity with their sex. They discovered the pleasures of women's company ... Sylvie Shaw in the Melbourne *Women's Liberation Newsletter* summed up the year with a tribute to 'sisterhood': 'what came out of 1972 was not the action or demonstrations ... it was the feeling of being part of a growing awareness, of a developing movement and of knowing the real significance of sisterhood'.

Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*, 1999, p. 234

Why do you think the consciousness-raising groups could be such an intense experience for women?

Although the movement may have been united in a desire for change, it was not a homogenous group. Some women felt that the tight-knit bonds created by small group meetings excluded newcomers. Others felt alienated by the predominantly middle-class membership of these groups. The dissatisfaction of wealthier women, who were attempting to break out of domesticity and fulfil career ambitions, was not shared by working-class women, for whom working outside the home was a necessity. For First Nations women, discussion of shared oppression did not resonate with lives defined by both class and race-based discrimination. In 1987, Bidjara and Birri-Gubba Juru author, historian and activist Jackie Huggins described the ongoing tension between class and gender-based solidarity.

SOURCE 8.17 Aboriginal Australian Jackie Huggins on Black women's experience of discrimination

> Today women's status has been changing, their prestige and opportunities increasing more rapidly than men's. Aboriginal women have continued important work roles. But, of course, to add to the disadvantage of sex and class, Black women carried the additional burden of racism. Women have been prominent as workers, office-bearers and spokespersons in Aboriginal lobby groups and pressure groups arousing public awareness of Aboriginal needs. Women have also participated in the various State and Commonwealth consultative bodies along with many men. Black liberation for men and women seems a more important goal to many Black women than women's liberation. What is holding Black men back is the same thing that holds back their Black mates: the white power structure. In other words, the main oppressor is a class society.

Jackie Huggins, 'Black Women and Women's Liberation', *Hecate*, 1987, 13(1), p. 77

What does Huggins mean by 'the main oppressor is a class society'? How might it impact the feminist movement if women thought differently about the causes of oppression?

SOURCE 8.18 Women's Liberation Movement meeting at Canberra College of Advanced Education, 1974

Why might these women have been attracted to this group? It seems the women have declared this part of the Canberra CAE 'liberated land' and want to 'defend it'. What do you think they meant by those two phrases? Why might many Australian women have not identified with this group?

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Lesbian feminists called on the movement to be more inclusive of gay women. A paper circulated in 1973 by the Hobart Women's Action Group was titled 'Sexism in the Women's Liberation Group' and expressed the view that the voices of lesbian women were not heard within a predominantly heterosexual movement. Lesbian feminists developed their own cultural identity within the women's movement, including through music, which was used as a form of consciousness raising and protest. Tasmanian folk band The Ovarian Sisters, formed in 1977, wrote songs about abortion rights and women's refuges, alongside songs celebrating women's bodies.

Use this link to read a review of the Ovarian Sisters album from 1981: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10791. Do you think this is a favourable review of the album? Research other examples of music being used as protest. What are the advantages and disadvantages of using music to bring about change?

There were also different ideas about how women's liberation should be achieved. Liberal feminists such as the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) argued that change would result from engaging with the existing political system.

Source **8.19** Liberal feminism

SOURCE 8.19 Liberal feminism

> **Liberal feminism suits boardrooms, bureaucracies and government because its strategies are not dissimilar from those used in mainstream professional and political life. From the perspective of a women's rights movement, the state is neither an enemy nor a conspirator with big bosses in the private sector. The state can be negotiated with and argued against, and the confidence to do so is derived from a firm belief in the suppleness of the democratic framework. The emphasis is not on dissent but on proposals, not on attack but on exposure, not on guerrilla warfare but on committee meetings and debate.**

Gisela Kaplan, *The Meagre Harvest: The Australian Women's Movement 1950s–1990s*, 1997, p. 63

Responding to the source

1. How was liberal feminism different from the approach advocated by Steinem and Greer that you read about in sub-question 1?
2. Discuss whether you think 'proposals', 'exposure' and 'committee meetings and debate' are more effective feminist strategies than 'dissent', attack' and 'guerrilla warfare'. Might their comparative effectiveness depend on factors such as the particular issue that is the feminist target?

Other feminists rejected a relationship with the state. They argued that women should seek to challenge rather than accept male-dominated political structures, as Susan Magarey explained in a paper originally published in 1977.

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SOURCE 8.20 Australian historian and author Susan Magarey on working within the political system

> The people who joined WEL in increasing numbers, as new branches established themselves throughout Australia during 1972, saw such reform as ends in themselves … Participants in the Canberra Women's Liberation Group supported the reforms WEL wanted. But we saw them as essentially palliative, as alleviations of oppression, inch marks of progress, not as constituting qualitative change itself. Further, we saw the use of traditional channels, and methods of exerting pressure, as implying acceptance of their legitimacy. We were apprehensive of being contained by achieving participation in the existing socio-political structure and of being bought off with conceded reforms.

Susan Magarey, 'And Now We Are Six: A Plea for Women's Liberation', in *Dangerous Ideas*, 2014, p. 60 (originally published 1976)

What does Magarey mean when she describes the kinds of reforms supported by WEL as 'palliative'? How might working for change within the existing social and political framework 'contain' feminists?

Political theory also shaped feminism. Many left-wing feminists were involved in the anti-Vietnam war protests, and applied Marxist arguments about the capitalist oppression of Vietnam to the exploitation of women as cheap labour in the home. Socialist feminists saw women's oppression as rooted in a capitalist society and campaigned for women's liberation as part of a broader movement for social justice. Anarcho-feminists also challenged capitalist systems, but went further in rejecting all centralised and hierarchical institutions as instruments of male domination. They envisioned a cooperative society, in which decisions were taken by consensus and individual freedoms were allowed to flourish.

In 1975, Summers commented on this diversity within the movement.

SOURCE 8.21 Anne Summers questions 'pluralism' in the feminist movement

> Women's liberation groups have given much time to exploring female conditioning and to confirming that what unites women is greater than that which separates them, giving rise to the notion of 'sisterhood'. However this idea (and ideal) has lately been criticised from within the movement as a means of denying those important differences between women which do exist … Some women want children, some don't. Some want to relate to men, others don't. Some want equality of job opportunity, others want a radical restructuring of the capitalist economy. Once this pluralism is conceded, to what extent does it still make sense to speak of women as a universal category? Are we not in danger of reproducing that very form of sexism which we so vehemently reject?

Anne Summers, 'An Object Lesson in Women's History', in Jan Mercer (ed.), *The Other Half: Women in Australian Society*, 1975, p. 53

Why does Summers seem to think that the pluralism of feminists' aspirations and goals would weaken feminism as a movement?

Feminists shared many similar strategies to raise public awareness and push for change, although the medium of their messages still reflected the diversity of the movement. Feminist newspapers and magazines were established to spread the messages of the WLM. These included publications such as *MeJane* in 1971, *Forum* in 1972 and *Refractory Girl* in 1973. Elsewhere, magazines such as *Cleo*, launched in 1972, sought a broader readership, but still responded to the way women's lives were changing, including the growing demand for open and non-judgemental discussions around women's bodies and sexual pleasure.

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A special 'Dear Cleo Doctor' section in July 1976 addressed the way women felt dismissed by the medical profession and encouraged women to be more assertive in seeking information about their own bodies. Combining women's liberation messages in a popular, commercial format drew criticism from some feminists, who saw magazines like *Cleo* as 'a degraded form of communication' (Le Masurier, 2007). *Cleo*'s former editor (1972–75), Ita Buttrose, reflecting in 1985, defended *Cleo*'s role in achieving feminist goals, arguing that while the magazine's 'softer approach' was criticised by many hardline feminists, she felt it was an effective means of bringing about change.

Source **8.22** *Cleo* magazine

SOURCE 8.22 Front cover of *Cleo* magazine, March 1975

Responding to the magazine cover

1. What do you think feminist critics of *Cleo* magazine meant by describing a mainstream women's magazine with feminist messages as 'a degraded form of communication'?
2. Do you think there is any kind of contradiction between *Cleo's* front cover of March 1975 and the kind of assertiveness it was encouraging in the 'Dear Cleo Doctor' feature?
3. Access '*Cleo* magazine through the ages' (available at the link: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10530) to review more cover pages of *Cleo* magazine from 1972 to its final issue in 2016. Judging by the article titles on the covers, what does *Cleo* seem to think are the major concerns of female readers? Do the concerns seem to change over these 44 years of the magazine's existence?

Other forms of popular culture were used to raise awareness of feminism. Helen Reddy's 1972 song 'I Am Woman, Hear Me Roar' became the anthem of the feminist movement and the theme song of the United Nations Decade of Women, 1975–85. Increased funding for women's films – through the Experimental Film Fund, and by film cooperatives such as the Sydney Women's Film group and Reel Women in Melbourne – created opportunities for women to tell stories usually ignored by mainstream media, such as the 1977 documentary *For Love or Money: Women and Work in Australia*. The Women's Art Movement (WAM) was established in 1975, with branches around Australia. Exhibitions such as the 1977 Women's Show in Adelaide aimed to rectify the lack of female representation in mainstream galleries, and promoted consciousness raising by broadening the definition of what was considered to be 'art', showcasing a variety of works analysing personal issues through a political lens.

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Sources **8.23** and **8.24** Representations of feminism

SOURCE 8.23 A still from the 1977 documentary *For Love or Money: Women and Work in Australia*

SOURCE 8.24 Helen Reddy performing; see also the clip at the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10790

Responding to the sources

Follow the link in Source 8.24 to watch a video of Reddy singing and listen to the lyrics of her song. Compare the lyrics with the still image from the *For Love or Money* documentary. How similar or different are these two representations of 'feminism'?

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Large and small protest marches drew further attention to feminist issues. The International Women's Day March, led by Germaine Greer, was held in Sydney on 11 March 1972. In 1973, a Mother's Day March was organised by the Sydney WLM to highlight issues such as childcare, maternity and paternity leave, and flexible working hours. Protests against rape in war took place at ANZAC day marches in Canberra in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

SOURCE 8.25 Protest against rape in war, 1981

This protest used the term 'wimmin' rather than 'women'. This phonetic spelling avoided using the word 'men'. What point was being made by feminists who used this spelling? Why might some people have objected to them using this spelling? What other examples are there of how terminology has been changed to challenge social norms?

Summing up

Feminist activism reflected the diversity of the second wave. Despite (or because of) these differences, by the early 1970s women's liberation was becoming a visible social force.

SOURCE 8.26 The Amos Hotel protest (with questions)

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

How did second wave feminist ideas take shape in the organisation, strategies and actions of Australian feminists?

1. In relation to the WLM in the early 1970s, use dot points to summarise what you have learnt about its:
   - **a.** organisation
   - **b.** strategies
   - **c.** actions.
2. Highlight your dot point notes to indicate whether your think these features were a strength or weakness of the movement in the early 1970s. Re-read the extract from the Women's Liberation Agenda from March 1973 (Source 8.14) to inform your thinking.

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SUB-QUESTION 3: How much was achieved for women in the early years of the second wave of feminism?

Second wave feminism became a recognisable, international phenomenon in the 1970s. However, the beginnings of this movement can be seen in the 1960s. In Australia, protests led by individual women began to challenge the legal structures and social norms that held women back.

Women and work

The Women's Liberation newsletter of 1973 called for 'Equal Job Opportunities and an End to Low Pay'. Although during World War II women had formed 25% of the workforce (Strachan, 2010), by 1944, towards the war's end, women were expected by trade unions and the government to return to the home, freeing up jobs for returning servicemen. However, in response to the postwar labour shortage, the number of married women in the Australian workforce actually increased for some age groups (20–24 and 40–44) between 1947 and 1954.

Still, women's access to and remuneration for work was not equal. Opportunities for work outside the home were limited to those that reinforced female stereotypes. Gender segregation was evident in job advertisements, which were divided into separate 'men and boys' and 'women and girls' sections. There was particular social and political opposition to married women in the workforce; the marriage bar, part of the *Public Service Act 1902*, banned married women from working in the Commonwealth Public Service.

Sources **8.27–8.29** Women in the workplace

SALES TELEPHONIST

WANTED: Women who like to spend their time all day speaking to important men.

That's what our Mrs Smith does—she's a bright, happy individual who spends most of her day talking with businessmen . . . making appointments for our Sales team.

And she's successful . . . so she's making a lot of other people happy. Us and our Clients.

But she needs help—that's why we are asking you to speak with us . . . that is if you are a person like our Mrs Smith and have the experience to do a job like hers.

Call Miss Kathy Laithwaite on 28 4918 for your interview.

Manor Insurances Australasia Limited

SOURCE 8.27 Job advertisement from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 April 1972

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SOURCE 8.28 Video clip (duration 05:00) from *This Day Tonight: Married Women and Work in 1960s Australia*, available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10796

SOURCE 8.29 Women in the workforce: changes from 1901 to 1961

Year	Percentage of women aged 15–64 at work	Female workforce as percentage of total workforce	Married women as percentage of female workforce	Percentage of married women at work
1901	30.7	20.5	N/A	N/A
1911	28.5	20.1	11.1	6.1
1921	26.7	20.3	9.2	4.4
1933	27.8	21.8	11.0	5.4
1947	28.4	22.4	19.8	8.6
1954	30.5	22.8	34.3	14.8
1961	33.8	24.8	42.0	18.4

Martin and Richmond (1968), reproduced in T. Sheridan & P. Stretton, 'Mandarins, Ministers and the Bar on Married Women', *Journal of Industrial Relations,* 2004, 46(1), p. 86

Responding to the sources

1. What does the *Sydney Morning Herald* advertisement (Source 8.27) suggest about women's role and status in the workplace?
2. What attitudes to working women are expressed in the Source 8.28 video clip?
3. What reasons are there for the different perspectives on work from the women themselves?
4. How useful are the statistics in Source 8.29 for understanding how women's lives had changed by the early 1960s?
5. Of the four categories of analysis, which set of figures (1901–61) do you think reflects the most significant change in Australian society? Why?
6. Use the interactive graph at the ABS website (https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10531) to investigate changing patterns of female employment between 1966 and 2020. Suggest reasons for the changes.

Low wages also contributed to the frustration felt by many women that Australian society devalued their work. In 1950, the Commonwealth Basic Wage Case set a woman's wage at 75% of the male wage, continuing to reflect the idea that men were the breadwinners in the family.

The activism of trade unionist Zelda D'Aprano reveals how difficult it was to be an advocate for change before second wave feminism took hold. D'Aprano had a variety of factory jobs as a young woman in the 1950s and spoke out when she recognised the unequal treatment of male and female workers. However, she was often frustrated by the lack of support from other women. In her autobiography, D'Aprano described a situation when she was chosen to represent the other women workers in asking for fairer conditions. When the bosses then approached the other women to ask if they supported D'Aprano's request, they all said 'No'.

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Source **8.30** Trade unionist Zelda D'Aprano

SOURCE 8.30 Zelda D'Aprano is puzzled by women's behaviour

> I had no understanding why women were like this nor any idea what was responsible for making them like this. I had never given a thought to the processes of society which socialise women in to being feminine. I didn't understand that being feminine was to be passive, non-thinking, servile and manipulative. Almost all of these women were married and were put down by husbands who said things like, '... you bird-brained twit ...' That was what most women were accustomed to, so why should they stand up to a boss? ... and, what's more, they are paid for their labour which is more than what they receive for their work at home.

Zelda D'Aprano, *Zelda*, 1977, p. 86

Responding to Zelda D'Aprano

1. Analyse evidence in this source to explain two reasons given by D'Aprano for the reluctance of women to join her in challenging their working conditions.
2. Do you think D'Aprano's experience of 'never [having] given a thought' to how women were socialised was a common one in the 1970s? Give reasons for your answer.
3. In a male workplace in the 1970s, might some, most or all workers have also answered 'No' to the boss's question? If so, how might that be explained?

Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (ACAC) an industrial relations tribunal, established to hear and settle industrial disputes. From 1988 to 2009 it was the Australian Industrial Relations Commission (AIRC). Some of the functions of this commission are now part of the Fair Work Commission.

In 1969, an Equal Pay Case was brought before the **Conciliation and Arbitration Commission** (ACAC) by the unions. Involved as a clerk for the Sausage Workers Union, D'Aprano described her reaction to the entire case being run by men: 'The women sat there day after day as if mute, while the men presented evidence for and against our worth. It was humiliating to have to sit there and not say anything about our own worth' (D'Aprano, 1977).

ACAC's ruling in June 1969 granted women in certain unions 'equal pay for equal work'. However, this only applied to women working in exactly the same job as men, and the changes were to be phased in over four years. In industries covered by the award wage, the ACAC ruling also set women's wage at 85% of the male wage. Disappointed with the decision, in October 1969, D'Aprano chained herself to the Melbourne Commonwealth Building until she was cut free by the Commonwealth Police. D'Aprano commented on the media coverage.

SOURCE 8.31 Zelda D'Aprano comments on media coverage

> The press, radio and TV featured the event, however the press distorted what was said during the interview. I was convinced that genteel meetings at the city square would never achieve anything. Women would have to fight for what they wanted.

Zelda D'Aprano, *Zelda*, 1977, p. 86

What factors might explain why media outlets would distort D'Aprano's comments? What might that indicate about the way media treated news stories, and particularly stories about female activists?

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In a second protest 10 days later, D'Aprano was joined by fellow activists Alva Geikie and Thelma Solomon. D'Aprano continued to campaign as a leading figure in the WLM, founding with Solomon and Geikie the Women's Action Committee (WAC) in 1970. WAC engaged in public attention-raising protests, such as encouraging women to pay only 75% of a tram fare to reflect earning only 75% of a man's wage, and leading outdoor pub crawls to highlight the ban on women drinking in public lounges.

Barriers to women in the workforce began to weaken. The marriage bar was finally lifted in 1966, allowing married women in the Commonwealth Public Service to remain in paid employment. A new ruling by the ACAC, requested in 1972 by the newly elected Labor government, granted 'equal pay for work of equal value to men', acknowledging similar rates of pay could be given to jobs that used similar skills but were not identical. In 1973, ACAC was given power to determine an adult (rather than a male) minimum wage. The Labor government also recognised that maternity leave and childcare were government responsibilities. However, it was not until 1984 that the *Sex Discrimination Act* outlawed discrimination on the basis of sex or family responsibilities, and made sexual harassment in the workplace illegal.

SOURCE 8.32 Activist Zelda D'Aprano chained to the front doors of the Commonwealth Building, Melbourne, 16 April 1970

D'Aprano noted the lack of support she received from other women for her workplace protests. Would women be more or less likely to participate in WAC's other protests, such as those on the trams and outside pubs?

Are the effects of these developments seen in Australian society today? Are there any debates today about issues related to work, parenting and childcare?

Source **8.33** Australian attitudes to work in the 1960s

SOURCE 8.33 An ABC news report explores barriers to women in the workplace in 1967, available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10797 (duration 19:29)

Responding to the video

1. Note down all the barriers to women's workforce participation that are explored in the video.
2. To what extent would these barriers have been impacted by the legal changes to work and pay achieved by the end of the 1960s?

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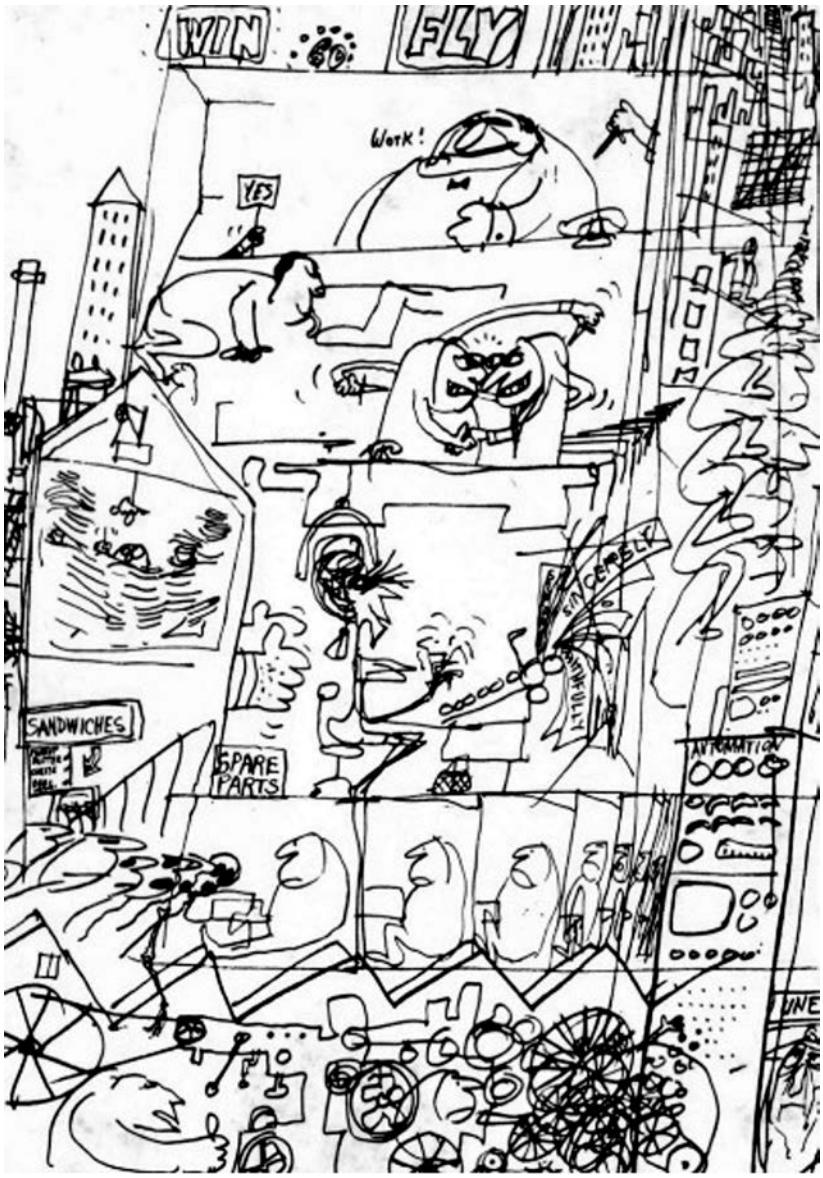
Source **8.34** Cartoonist Bruce Petty comments on 'work' in Australia, 1967



SOURCE 8.34 Bruce Petty's 'Australia Fair'. F.W Cheshire, 1967.

Responding to the cartoon

1. Petty depicts the hierarchical structure within a high-rise office block. What label would you put on each level (if the top level is 'the boss')?
2. Note the sole female. What message do you think Petty is conveying about her and her situation?
3. Is Petty also commenting on 'male culture' within the workplace? Note particularly the three men on the second-top level; the barely visible male adjacent to the female's office; and the men on the lowest level.
4. Do you think Petty is suggesting that both women and men in the workplace need 'liberating'?
5. Discuss any aspects of the cartoon that you find difficult to interpret.
6. Do you think that cartoons like this are effective in getting a message across?

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The right to drink in public bars

There were other campaigns against gender discrimination in the 1960s. Queensland hotel licensing laws banned women from entering a public bar, restricting them to separate ladies' lounges where the same drinks were served, but at higher prices. This was challenged on 31 March 1965 by University of Queensland postgraduate student Merle Thornton and her friend Rosalie Bognor, who chained themselves to the public bar in Brisbane's Regatta Hotel. Police were called to remove them, but later abandoned attempts to unlock the chains.

In a pamphlet distributed during the protest, Thornton and Bogner argued that excluding women from public facilities amounted to legal discrimination. In claiming to 'protect' women the law treated them instead like children and prevented their full acceptance into broader society. In her autobiography, *Bringing the Fight* (2020), Thornton explained that bars were 'sites of important social activities', and women's exclusion from the professional conversations that took place there was indicative of 'a general denial of the rights of women to build a bigger life for themselves outside their homes.'

Do you agree with Thornton that banning women from bars was symbolic of the broader discrimination against and exclusion of women?

Why would some men have argued that the laws protected women?

Prior to the protest, Thornton and Bogner met with Queensland's Minister for Justice, the Hon. Dr Peter Delamothe, and presented a petition calling for a repeal of the law prohibiting women from public bars. The Minister said, 'Queensland isn't ready'. What do you think he meant by this?

To gain a picture of the role of the public bar in Australia in the 1960s, research the term 'six o'clock swill'. Compare what you find with your knowledge of public bars in Australia today.

SOURCE 8.35 Rosalie Bognor and Merle Thornton chain themselves to the public bar of Brisbane's Regatta Hotel, 1965

Barred from a public bar, what did women miss out on there, other than just having a drink?

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Thornton had chosen the Regatta Hotel because it was opposite the ABC news studios, and the protest received national and international coverage. However, the women received hate mail and bomb threats as well as offers of support (Thornton, 2020). Thornton was under ASIO (Australian Security Intelligence Organisation) surveillance until 1977. Section 59A of the Queensland *Liquor Act* was repealed five years after the protest, in 1970, allowing women to enter and drink in public bars.

Thornton went on to found the Equal Opportunities for Women Association (EOW), a group that was instrumental in the campaign to end the marriage bar. The group collected case studies of women who, like Thornton, had felt obliged to hide their marriage, or others who risked 'living in sin' in order to continue their careers. These case studies, sent to the Leader of the Opposition, Arthur Calwell, documented the strain of such deception on women's personal and working lives. After Prime Minister Robert Menzies resigned in January 1966, his successor as Liberal leader, Harold Holt, announced in August that the bar would be lifted later that year. In her autobiography, Thornton recalled her response to hearing the news: 'At last. We did it!'

Has the term 'living in sin' – meaning living in a relationship with someone without being married – disappeared completely from today's discussions about relationships?

Summing up

By the end of the 1960s, discrimination against women was being highlighted, thanks to the work of individuals such as D'Aprano, Thornton and Bognor. Individual campaigns were beginning to take shape through WAC and EOW. Change, however, as you have seen, was often piecemeal and frequently resisted. In the 1970s, the WLM developed, making calls to address inequality a much greater part of public, and political, dialogue.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

How much was achieved for women in the early years of the second wave of feminism?

Review what you learned in sub-question 2 about the different ideological and strategic approaches to change within the women's movement.

1. Were D'Aprano, Thornton and Bognor working within the political system or outside of it?
2. Where would these protests sit on the spectrum of reform to revolution?
3. How effective were their tactics in bringing about change for women?

SUB-QUESTION 4: What changes in women's rights, role and status occurred under the Whitlam administration?

In December 1972, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) came to power after 23 years of a Liberal Coalition government.

The visibility of women in politics began to change during the election campaign. In March 1972, the Women's Electoral League (WEL) was established by activist Beatrice Faust. Following an initial meeting of 10 women at Faust's house in Sydney, WEL grew quickly, becoming a nationwide organisation in just a few months. Inspired by similar tactics in the United States, WEL members designed a series of questions to survey election candidates on a range of issues affecting women, such as education, childcare, work, contraception and health.

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Anticipating the survey, in October 1972 federal Treasurer Billy Sneddon gave a speech at Surfers Paradise in which he said 'burning a bra seems unlikely to be a high recommendation for selection for executive office'. Following this speech, a representative of WEL made a complaint about bra burning being equated with serious political activity.

? **The idea of feminists burning their bras emerged from a 1968 US protest against a Miss America beauty pageant. Some of the protestors removed their bras (they were never burnt) to symbolise throwing off oppression. The phrase became a way of disparaging all feminists as radical. Would WEL have considered themselves radical feminists? Why might Sneddon have used this phrase when describing them?**

The results of the survey were released in November 1972, and revealed significant differences in candidates' attitudes towards, and knowledge of, matters important to women. Out of a possible 45 marks, Prime Minister William McMahon scored 9 and a half, while the Leader of the Opposition, Gough Whitlam, scored 39. Minister for Defence David Fairbairn was given a score of minus a half.

Despite the hostile reaction from some candidates, the survey and the resulting media attention forced women's issues onto the political agenda. Women who had been considered as simply mirroring their husbands' political decisions were now being seen as autonomous, and informed, voters. After the 1972 election, WEL extended its survey strategy to include questioning candidates at public meetings.

Source **8.36** Think WEL before you vote

THE AGE

WOMEN VOTERS' GUIDE

AN "AGE" SPECIAL FEATURE ■ NOV. 20 1972

The Women's Electoral Lobby was founded nine months ago by 10 women who were concerned over the shortage of information about parliamentary candidates.

Now it is 1300-strong and increasing its membership.

Think WEL before you vote — that's their slogan

By SALLY WHITE

WEL women — and one WEL man — share a joke at a general meeting.

SOURCE 8.36 *The Age* reports the results of the WEL survey, 20 November 1972

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Responding to the source

1. *The Age* published the results of WEL's survey in November 1972 as a special feature. A year later, in May 1973, a public forum organised by WEL to interview candidates in the Victorian state election sold two thousand tickets in advance, and WEL sold the broadcast rights to Channel 7 (Sawer & Radford 2008). Why do you think there was so much public and media interest in what WEL were doing?
2. How do WEL's tactics align with Kaplan's description of liberal feminism in Source 8.19?

Labor victory

Under the slogan 'It's time', the ALP came to power in December 1972 after 23 years of a Liberal Coalition government. Overall, Labor candidates – including new Prime Minister Gough Whitlam – had outperformed Liberal candidates in WEL's survey, and the new government was receptive to calls to address gender inequality.

Women's Advisor to the Prime Minister

In 1973, in a world first, Whitlam announced the appointment of a Women's Advisor to the Prime Minister. Press reactions to the search for 'Whitlam's Supergirl' revealed much about prevailing attitudes to women at the time.

DOC

Sources **8.37** and **8.38** Searching for a Women's Advisor

SOURCE 8.37 Women's Advisor cartoon by Norman Mitchell, published 11 April 1973

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Some of the applicants for the Prime Minister's $10,000 a year research officer job, pictured at the Forrest Lodge Motor Inn yesterday. From left, Dany Torsch, Eva Cox, Suzanne Baker, Anne Summers, all of Sydney, Elizabeth Reid, of Canberra, and Lyndall Ryan, of Sydney.

SOURCE 8.38 Applicants for the position, *Canberra Times*, Monday 26 March 1973

Responding to the sources

1. What point do you think Norman Mitchell is making about the impact of having a Women's Advisor in government?
2. The *Canberra Times* was one of several news reports that mentioned the salary of the Women's Advisor. Research the average annual wage for men in Australia in 1973. Why do you think the media highlighted this detail about the Women's Advisor role?
3. Note the appearance and home locations of the applicants. Could there be a risk in appointing one individual 'women's advisor', given the great diversity of the female population of Australia? If so, how might any 'risk' be addressed in the selection of the particular woman and the way she would be supported within her office?

There were 400 applicants for the role; ANU philosophy tutor and WEL activist Elizabeth Reid was the successful candidate. Reid saw her application for Women's Advisor as a 'moral obligation' (Reid, 2023).

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Source **8.39** A reflection from Elizabeth Reid

SOURCE 8.39 A reflection from Elizabeth Reid

When I took up the job, the WLM principle of 'voice', that is, the active participation of all women, not just the articulate or educated, committed me to listening to what women – as many women as possible – had to say about their lives. In the months following my appointment, I travelled around Australia, listening to women talk about their problems and about the changes they wanted. The women who spoke out came from all backgrounds: migrant, Indigenous, rural, elderly, suburban, working, single, wealthy, married. I was deluged with letters. In a short time, I was receiving more letters than any member of Cabinet other than the Prime Minister ...

Elizabeth Reid, *Revolution and Reform: The Women's Liberation Movement and the Whitlam Years*, 2023

Responding to Elizabeth Reid's reflection

1. Why do you think Elizabeth Reid was so keen to speak to women from many different backgrounds?
2. Women shared a range of personal experiences with Reid in their letters and on her tour. Do you think a man in this position of 'Women's Advisor' would have garnered the same kind of honesty? Should a Women's Advisor always be a woman?

Despite this public engagement with the opportunity of a new voice for women, some of the political and media reactions to Reid's appointment were less positive.

Sources **8.40** and **8.41** Views of Elizabeth Reid

SOURCE 8.40 Historians describe attitudes to Elizabeth Reid

[Reid was] distrusted by the Labor Party as an outsider and distrusted by bureaucrats because of her lack of administrative experience and her feminist agenda. The WEL media release, on the other hand, said, 'She was for all Australian women a symbol of recognition and hope that at last we would be given a fair go ...' (12 October 1975).

Marian Sawer & Abigail Groves, *Working from Inside*, 1994, p. 23

SOURCE 8.41 Journalist Jacqueline Rees describes an unexpected criticism of Elizabeth Reid

[At a press conference, Reid said] she hoped to have women's opinions and views represented on inter departmental committees and to have forceful representations attached to Cabinet submissions relevant to her office.

She may have a lot to contend with. Alongside a telegram in which five Sydney women who made the short list of applicants for the job promised her all possible help was a letter promising the 'utmost in non-co-operation'.

The letter to the selection board of three men and one woman was sent recently to the Prime Minister's office. It came from a group called the Editorial Collective who put out the women's liberation newspaper 'Mejane' in Sydney and said 'As a group of committed women, we wish to advise you that no woman chosen by men to advise upon us will be acceptable to us.'

Jacqueline Rees, 'Senior A.N.U. tutor will advise Whitlam on Women's welfare issues', *Canberra Times*, Monday 9 April 1973, p. 1

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Responding to the sources

1. What does the evidence presented by Sawer and Groves suggest about the Labor Party's commitment to women's issues in 1975?
2. What does the 'Mejane' response to Reid's appointment indicate about the philosophical/political standpoint of the 'Editorial Collective'?
3. Do you think personally that the 'Mejane' response had any validity as a standpoint?

SOURCE 8.42 Prime Minister Gough Whitlam discusses International Women's Year with two members of the National Advisory Committee, Elizabeth Reid and James Oswin, 1974

This image is now kept in the Museum of Australian Democracy. Do you think it is a significant image relating to democracy in Australia?

The significant workload associated with the role of Women's Advisor was recognised in 1974 by the creation of a Women's Affairs Section (WAS). Situated within the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, the WAS monitored Cabinet submissions for their impact on women. Women were also appointed to key positions within the Whitlam government: Marie Coleman became the Chair of the National Social Welfare Commission, and WEL founding member Gail Radford became the Director of the Equal Opportunity Section in the Commonwealth Public Service. A new term, 'femocrat', was used to describe feminists working for change within the government bureaucracy.

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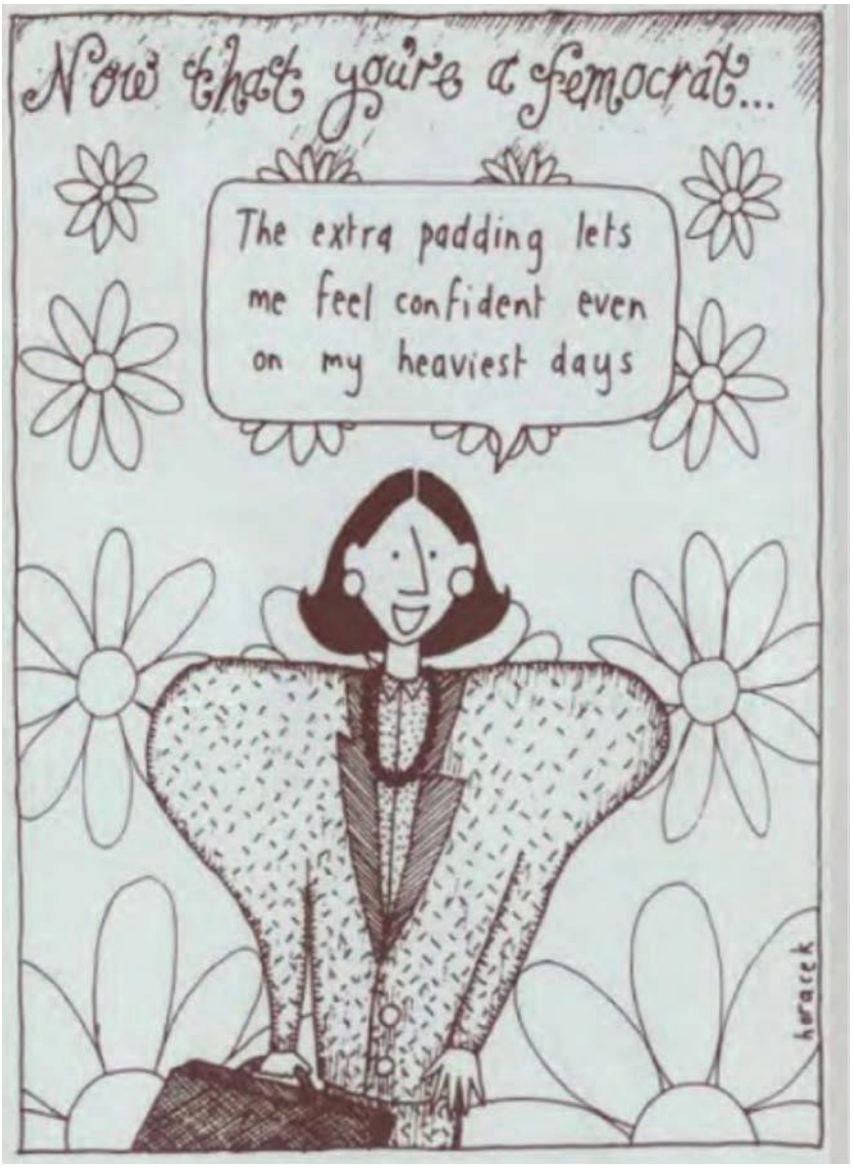

SOURCE 8.43 A cartoonist commentary on 'femocrats'
What comment is cartoonist Judy Horacek making about femocrats?

What did Whitlam do for women?

Whitlam's government introduced a range of reforms addressing gender inequality. Within days of winning the election, Labor fulfilled its election promise to remove the luxury sales tax on the contraceptive pill and legalised advertising of the pill in the Australian Capital Territory. Whitlam's request for ACAC to reopen the Equal Pay Case paved the way for the 'equal pay for work of equal value' ruling in 1972, and in 1974 Labor supported the creation of an adult minimum wage. From July 1973, the Supporting Mothers Benefit provided welfare payments for single women with children, challenging the stigma of having children outside of marriage and giving women more autonomy to pursue single parenthood. Free tertiary education in 1974 allowed women who had left school aged 15 an opportunity to pursue academic and career goals. The *Family Law Act 1975* gave access to no-fault divorce, allowing women to leave abusive relationships. From 1973, Commonwealth Public Servants were given 12 weeks of paid maternity leave, with a further 40 weeks unpaid.

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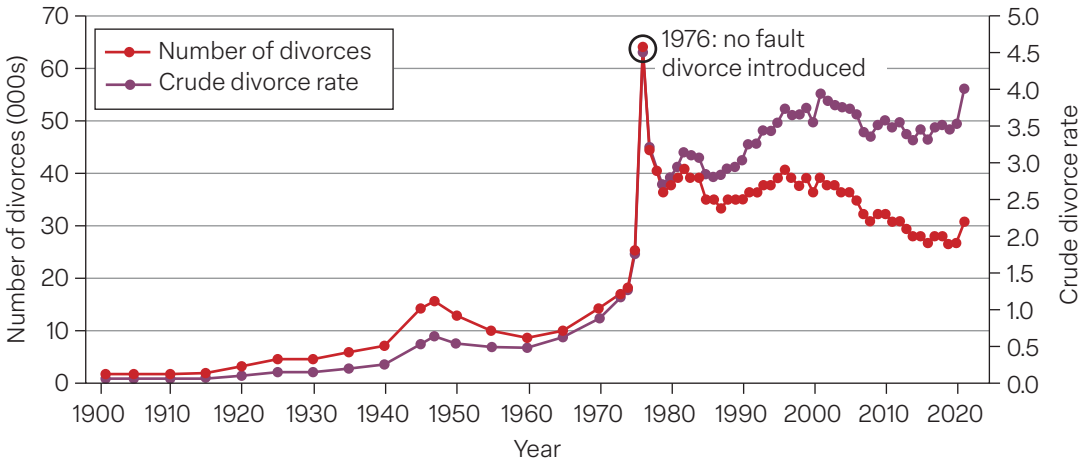
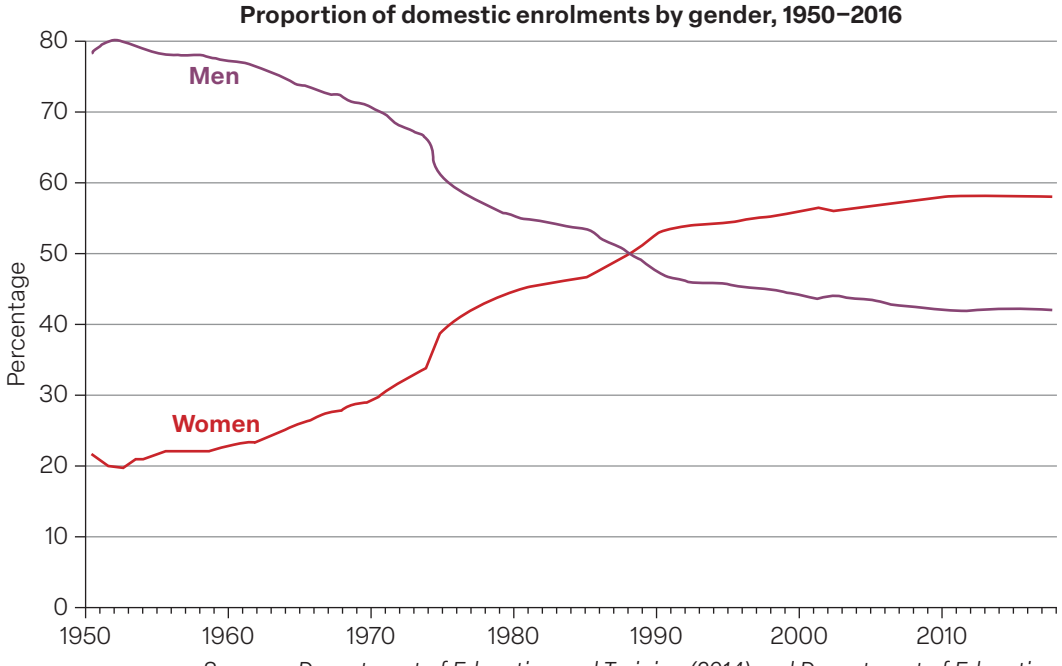
The statistics in Sources 8.44 and 8.45 suggest the impact of Whitlam's reforms.

Sources **8.44** and **8.45** The impact of Whitlam's reforms



SOURCE 8.44 ABS (various years), marriages and divorces Australia

Note: Crude divorce rate = number of divorces per 1000 of estimated resident population at June for each reference year.



SOURCE 8.45 Grattan Institute, domestic higher education enrolments by gender 1950–2016

Responding to the graphs

1. How useful is the data in these two sources for supporting the statement: 'The Whitlam government gave women more freedom to lead independent lives'?
2. What other factors, apart from financial cost, might have influenced these changes to male and female participation in higher education?
3. While divorce could lead to more personal independence, how could it sometimes also produce negative effects financially and socially?

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SOURCE 8.46 Elsie House in 1974

Previous shelters, such as those run by the Salvation Army, provided only beds for the night but not accommodation during the day or access to any health, legal or social services. Why would having these services at refuges like Elsie House make a difference to women leaving abusive relationships?

Women's services – Elsie

Securing permanent government funding for services that had their origins in grassroots, community activism was one of the main challenges of the women's movement. This was demonstrated by the struggle to create women's refuges. In 1970s Australia, domestic violence was not considered a crime and, instead, was viewed as a 'private matter'. The social stigma of single motherhood prevented many women in abusive relationships from seeking help.

In 1974, a group of Sydney Women's Liberation members led by Anne Summers broke into two adjacent vacant houses, changed the locks, declared squatter's rights and opened the Elsie Women's Refuge Night Shelter – a place for women and children fleeing domestic violence. Within six weeks of opening, Elsie House had provided shelter to 48 women and 35 children. By the end of the year, other women's groups had followed their example and established 11 refuges nationwide.

Aware of the challenges of running such services on donations, the Elsie volunteers actively campaigned for government funding and in 1975 received a one-off grant. Commonwealth funding for Australia's refuges followed later that year. However, funding remained inconsistent into the 1980s.

Refuges were not the only service initiated by the women's movement at this time. The first Rape Crisis Centre was established by a group of volunteers in Redfern, Sydney, in 1971, and other centres followed in major cities across the country. Women's health centres were also initiated by community groups, a response to women's experiences of feeling dismissed and judged by the medical profession. In 1971, the establishment of the Aboriginal Medical Service (AMS) by community activists – also in Redfern – was an acknowledgement of the particular barriers faced by Aboriginal women in accessing quality health care, and reinforced the idea that women needed services dedicated to their specific needs.

Royal Commission into Human Relationships

In 1974, the Whitlam government established a Royal Commission into Human Relationships. The Commission had its origins in a 1973 private members' Bill seeking to legalise abortion in the Australian Capital Territory. The Bill failed, but such was the diversity of opinion among MPs that Labor MP Race Mathews proposed a Royal Commission to bring to light further information on such a contentious issue. The Commission invited Australians to share their experiences, beliefs and ideas about all aspects of their relationships.

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The Commission received over 1200 submissions, revealing Australians' thoughts and experiences on everything from education (including sex education), work, marriage, family planning and parenting to gender discrimination, homophobia, domestic violence and rape. Some Australians felt uncomfortable with the progressivism of the decade. However, many submissions mirrored the aims of the women's movement, including some men who expressed frustration at society's narrow definition of what it meant to be a husband and father, and wished to take a more active role in their children's lives.

Initially a three-year project, the work of the Commission was curtailed by the Liberal government after its victory over the ALP in November 1975. The Commission's final report was issued at the end of 1977, in the middle of an election campaign. Although the proposed changes would be recognised as today's social and political norms, at the time many of the recommendations were controversial.

SOURCE 8.47 'What do you think?' pamphlet

In what way does this pamphlet suggest that the Royal Commission was aligned with the aims of the women's liberation movement?

Sources **8.48** and **8.49**

SOURCE 8.48 Elizabeth Reid reflects on failure

Not one of its 511 recommendations, which covered almost every aspect of Australian society – human relationships and social change, sexuality and fertility, including unwanted pregnancies, adoption, abortion, and fertility control, changing nature of the family, domestic violence, rape, child abuse, single parenting, discrimination against women, Indigenous Australians, migrants, gay and bisexual men, and the people with disabilities – was ever implemented. Nevertheless, the Commission and its commissioners, through the hearings and discussions, the research program, the Reports, and the recommendations, had a profound effect on the lives, norms and values of many Australians and on our nation's culture.

Elizabeth Reid, *Revolution and Reform: The Women's Liberation Movement and the Whitlam Years*, 2023, p. 16

SOURCE 8.49 Cardinal Sir James Freeman on the Commission's report

Report has no moral authority – Cardinal

Standards of moral behaviour could not be decided by human authorities alone, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, Cardinal Sir James Freeman said yesterday.

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He was commenting on the report of the Royal Commission on Human Relationships, which has proposed controversial changes in Australia's laws on sexual matters.

... He said he had not studied the report in full, but he would be 'gravely concerned' if people concluded that the report had some kind of moral authority, or that it reflected the attitudes and values of the community as a whole.

'The report and its recommendations are not, as such, criteria for those moral attitudes and standards which befit the dignity of the human person. Nor are they necessarily reliable guidelines for legislative reform,' Cardinal Freeman said.

The president of the Doctors' Reform Society of NSW, Dr Nan Waddy said ... the report was possibly the most comprehensive, constructive report on human relationships ever undertaken in Australia and deserved 'long and serious consideration'.

Sydney Morning Herald, Friday, 2 December 1977, p. 8

Responding to the sources

1. Writing in 2023, Reid notes that although none of the Commission's recommendations were implemented at the time, they nonetheless had a 'profound effect on the lives, norms and values of many Australians'. How could these recommendations, not developed into government policy, still have such a 'profound effect'?
2. What evidence might Reid be drawing on, in 2023, to suggest such a 'profound effect'?
3. Analyse evidence from Source 8.49 to explain Cardinal Freeman's opposition to the changes suggested by the Commission's report. On what principles and values does Freeman seem to base his opposition? How reasonable do you think his arguments are?

International Women's Year in 1975

The year 1975 was designated by the United Nations (UN) as International Women's Year (IWY). A National Advisory Committee (NAC) was established, chaired by Elizabeth Reid, to coordinate Australia's participation.

In the press, Reid spoke about the three objectives for IWY: to identify suffering and discrimination of women, to change social attitudes, and to make the year a 'joyful' celebration, one that stimulated women's creativity (Keavney, 1975). She described the importance of intangible gains – a change in how men saw women, and how women saw themselves – as a necessary addition to legislative reform.

The NAC, given an initial budget of $2 million in 1974 and a further $1.3 million in 1975, was able to fund 80 projects from almost 700 submissions. These included conferences, information and community support services for women. Cultural projects were encouraged, with funds provided for the creation of non-sexist school materials, books celebrating women's sporting achievements and the establishment of the feminist journal *Hecate*. Funding was given to Lilla Watson and Julianne Schwenke for the production of a video about Aboriginal women in Queensland. Zelda D'Aprano was given $8000 to write her autobiography. Both the Gorton Liberal government (1968–71) and Whitlam Labor government (1972–75) increased funding for the arts, and the film industry also received IWY support to promote films made by women, about the realities of women's lives.

Despite Reid's aim for IWY to bring positive change for women, the grants process was criticised by many in the WLM. Some felt that once women's causes were administered by government, their demands were diluted and the impetus for revolution – directed by women themselves – was lost.

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Activity **8.4**

Discuss

Some feminists were concerned that having their goals adopted and to some extent fulfilled by the government was a weakening – and even a failure – of the movement. Do you agree that protest movements must stay independent of the people and institutions they challenge? Should it matter if your goals are achieved by different people using different means than the ones you intended?

What did IWY reveal about the strength of the women's movement in Australia?

The historical significance of IWY in Australia has been debated. Read Sources 8.50–8.52 to help you make a judgement about it.

Sources **8.50–8.52** The significance of International Women's Year

SOURCE 8.50 A historian notes some tensions in IWY

Any hint of conflict between women or criticism of Reid and IWY from women across the political spectrum became a recurrent motif in media coverage of the International Women's Year. Radical feminist organisations felt that the independence of the women's movement might be compromised by taking government money and some groups refused to participate at all. Many long-established women's interest groups saw a chance for recognition and a funding boost to their activities.

Gillian Appleton, 'Whitlam, Women and the Media', in Michelle Arrow (ed.), *Women and Whitlam: Revisiting the Revolution*, 2023, p. 196

SOURCE 8.51 A newspaper comment on IWY, June 1975

$2 million for the sheilas.

Surprisingly, it's not a joke.

Today marks the beginning of International Women's Year 1975.

Which means what?

Since the Federal Government's announcement last year of $2 million for International Women's Year (IWY) it has not been uncommon to hear the male exclamation – in one version or another: 'Two million for the sheilas? They'd have to be joking.'

The Federal Government isn't joking, nor are the sheilas.

Women's organisations have already put in requests for $3.5 million to subsidise activities to promote women's interests. They cover fields as varied as fares to attend IWY meetings, money for seminars, films, art exhibitions, discussions on discrimination and publication of books.

The Age, 1 January 1975

SOURCE 8.52 An IWY insider reflects on what happened

For much of 1974 and 1975 the energies and attention of the women's movement were focused on IWY ... Unfortunately, the controversies surrounding IWY almost completely eclipsed the far more significant drama concerning child care.

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> ... With hindsight it is clear that the movement was fobbed off with a poorly funded public relations exercise that deflected its energies and obscured what was happening in an area involving substantial structural change and redistribution of resources. The divisiveness engendered by the availability of IWY funds could not have been more effective if it had been cynically instigated by an actively hostile government. But the fact is that this occurred through the good intention of a sympathetic government advised and assisted by committed feminists. A sobering experience.

Sara Dowse, 'The Women's Movement's Fandango with the State: Some Thoughts on the Movement's Role in Public Policy since 1972', *The Australian Quarterly*, 54(4), 1982, pp. 332–5

Responding to the sources

1. Would the differences mentioned by Appleton be likely to weaken the achievements of IWY?
2. What does the extract from *The Age* suggest about the impact of IWY?
3. What does Dowse mean when she says the women's movement had been 'fobbed off' by IWY?
4. How useful and reliable would you expect evidence from Dowse to be for investigating the impact of IWY, considering her role as head of the Women's Affairs Section of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet during IWY?

The Women in Politics Conference

One of the IWY projects was a Women in Politics Conference, held in Canberra in September 1975. Attended by over 700 women, the conference revealed the energy and commitment of the women's movement. However, divisions were also brought to the fore, with delegates airing their frustration about the slow pace and narrow focus of reform. The direct criticism of Whitlam (he was heckled during his opening speech to the conference) convinced the Prime Minister that Reid was an election liability. Offered a move to a less high-profile bureaucratic role, Reid chose to resign.

Funding had already begun to be withdrawn for some women's projects when Whitlam's government was dismissed by Governor-General John Kerr in November 1975. However, eager to maintain the momentum of reform, women's groups campaigned vigorously for his re-election in December of that year, forming new 'Women for Whitlam' groups, and joining protests in cities across Australia with the call 'We Want Gough'.

SOURCE 8.53 Elizabeth Reid speaking at the Women in Politics Conference, 1975

What does the attempt to move Reid to a bureaucratic position rather than continue as Women's Advisor to the Prime Minister suggest about the Labor government's commitment to women's issues in 1975? What conclusions might have been drawn by liberal and more radical feminists about the significance of Reid's tenure as Women's Advisor?

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SOURCE 8.54 Union of Australian Women protesting against the dismissal of the Whitlam government, Perth, 1975

Summing up

The Whitlam years saw significant political and media attention paid to women's issues. The Labor government had acted on a range of feminist goals, although the extent of change had frustrated many within the movement. While Elizabeth Reid's role as Women's Advisor was seen as an important milestone, women's liberationists continued to debate the merits of working within the political system or remaining outside of it. The dismissal of Whitlam's government in 1975 was greeted with dismay by many feminists, and the economic climate of the mid-1970s made it clear that political commitment to meaningful change for women could not be guaranteed.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

What changes in women's rights, role and status occurred under the Whitlam administration?

Thinking about the Whitlam years, how do you think second wave feminists might have reflected on:

a. the benefits and risks of working both within and outside of the political system
b. the significance of government funding for women's policies and projects
c. the role of the media in achieving change for women
d. the level of support for feminist goals from the broader Australian public
e. the most significant changes yet to be achieved by the time of the dismissal in 1975?

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SUB-QUESTION 5: Was the women's movement 'less visible' during the Fraser years?

Following Reid's resignation in October 1975 and the subsequent dismissal of the Whitlam government, in December of that year Sara Dowse became department head of the newly named Women's Affairs Branch. However, by 1977 Dowse too had resigned, observing that there had been less visibility of the department's activities since the departure of Elizabeth Reid.

In this sub-question, you will explore what led Dowse to make this comment, and whether reduced visibility made the women's movement less effective.

A change of government

By the mid-1970s, Australia was facing a new economic climate. After the economic optimism of the early Whitlam years, the country was now in a recession. There were fears that women's issues would be overlooked in the election campaign of 1975; budget cuts (for example, to children's services) had already begun and Whitlam did not include any specific promises to women in his campaign.

The Liberal Party won the 13 December election with a landslide victory and formed a coalition government with the National Country Party. Fraser's promise to return to 'small government', with lower taxes and fewer government-funded public services, appeared to put many of the women's movement achievements at risk.

Six weeks later, WEL expressed concerns at its national conference in Perth.

Sources **8.55** and **8.56** The WEL national conference, 1976

SOURCE 8.55 The *Canberra Times* reports WEL's appeal at its national conference, Perth

WEL calls for demonstration.

The Women's Electoral Lobby has called for a nation-wide demonstration tomorrow by its State groups to support the retention of what it regards as essential Federal Government programs.

... The programs they support are the Children's Commission, Legal Aid, the NEAT scheme, the supporting mother's benefit, the Royal Commission on Human Relationships, and final grants for International Women's Year.

WEL believes all these programs are likely to be affected by current efforts to cut government expenditure.

The conference regarded the programs as significant gains made by Australian women over the past three years.

[A spokeswoman said] 'WEL calls on the Government to honour the commitment to women it had expressed during the recent election campaign, by supporting these vital expenditure programs and ensuring that they are not affected by cuts in overall government expenditure'.

The spokeswoman said the conference, attended by more than 200 women, supported the needs and rights of Aboriginal women.

It had supported the setting up of a WEL sub-committee for Aboriginal women, to ensure that WEL members were made aware of the special needs of Aboriginal women.

The Canberra Times, 28 January 1976, p. 12

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Responding to the sources

1. What challenges of working with government are revealed by WEL's statement and rally?
2. One of the placards in Source 8.56 calls on the government not to 'scrap Legal Aid'. Find out what Legal Aid is. Why might the threat to Legal Aid be of particular concern to feminists?
3. What is the significance of WEL's comment in Source 8.55 on the particular issues faced by Aboriginal women?

SOURCE 8.56 WEL rally, Perth, 29 January 1976

Women's affairs in the Fraser government

The restructuring of women's affairs within government led some to doubt the commitment of the Coalition to women's issues. In December 1975, Dowse had become head of the Women's Affairs Branch; two years later, this was renamed the Office of Women's Affairs (OWA). However, Dowse suspected that this apparent increase in status might signal an eventual downgrading.

Dowse's suspicions were correct; in December 1977, the Office was moved to the newly created Department of Home Affairs, ranked 26 out of 27 government departments.

How do women really rate with the Federal Government?

SARA DOWSE~ "WHY I QUIT"

ON DECEMBER 20 the Prime Minister announced that the Office of Women's Affairs had been shifted out of his department. Soon after I resigned from the public service.

Since then I have received many telegrams, letters and phone calls expressing regret but support for the stand I have taken. Only a very few felt it necessary to ask why.

Yet it is that question I would like to answer now. My resignation caused much more fuss than I thought it would, but I am grateful that it did. I wanted people to realize what was happening. **Simply, women had been demoted.**

Women's Affairs brief but significant association with the most powerful office in the land had been brought to an end. Half the population became the responsibility of the newly created Department of Home Affairs, of Mr Robert Ellicott, a junior minister whose other concerns include museums, archives, shipwrecks, external territories, arts and the Australian

Sara Dowse — making a point

if it was an accident, it was a lucky one.

In those days Elizabeth Reid was working in the Prime Minister's private

Someone could read those letters with sympathy, understanding and a commitment to do something about them.

On July 14, 1974 I went to work as senior Adviser, Women's Affairs, in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

If I thought I knew the problems women face before I took that job I soon learned of many more from these letters. Like the one from the woman who lost her widow's pension when, to make ends meet she took in a male lodger. Or the migrant woman who wanted a child care centre near the factory where she worked. Or the women who wrote about their jobs being reclassified so their bosses could avoid giving equal pay. Or the widows who wrote of the crippling imposition of heavy death duties.

We took note of these letters and others like them, followed them up, and took steps to change the policies. In the Prime Minister's department we were in touch with the pulse of things. We were also in a position to influence change.

The Prime Minister's department is the

SOURCE 8.57 Sara Dowse explains her resignation to the *Australian Women's Weekly*, 1 February 1978

Why do you think Dowse chose to write publicly about the reasons for her resignation? From the perspective of the women's movement in 1978, what might have been gained, and lost, by Dowse's resignation?

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One WEL spokeswoman commented that women's issues had now been 'dumped among museums, archives and the Australian War Memorial' (Sawer & Radford, 2008:160). Dowse resigned over the move, asking whether the Home Affairs Minister Mr Ellicott would 'take women seriously' (Dowse, 1978). In 1979, Anne Summers expressed doubts that the Liberal government had any commitment to women's issues at all.

However, restructuring also gave feminists some hope. Fraser was the first to establish a Portfolio for Women's Affairs, creating the role of Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for the Status of Women, first held by Tony Street in 1976. An Equal Employment Opportunity Unit was created in the Public Service Board, headed by founding member of WEL, Gail Radford. The Minister for Social Security, Margaret Guilfoyle, set up a Women's Welfare Issues Consultative Committee in December 1976. Guilfoyle had become the first female Cabinet minister, holding the education portfolio, on Fraser's victory in December 1975.

In 1977, Fraser established a National Women's Advisory Council (NWAC), chaired by vice-president of the Victorian Liberal Party Beryl Beaurepaire, and including members from across the political spectrum. NWAC aimed to open channels of communication between Australian women and the federal government, and to make recommendations to the Prime Minister on a range of women's issues.

Sources **8.58–8.60**

SOURCE 8.58 Michelle Arrow pinpoints a weakness of the National Women's Advisory Council

> **... women's policy structures under Fraser replicated some of the important consultation and research work that had already been done by the Royal Commission on Human Relationships and the International Women's Year program. The NWAC undertook a wide program of consultation and discussion with women across Australia, just as Elizabeth Reid and the Royal Commission on Human Relationships had done. The Committee completed a report on the needs of migrant women just a few years after a report on the same subject was completed as part of International Women's Year. They also researched domestic violence, as the Royal Commission had done. The NWAC was duplicating work that had been initiated under the Labor government, rather than building capacity to transform some of this research into policy.**

Michelle Arrow, *The Seventies: The Personal, the Political, and the Making of Modern Australia*, 2019, pp. 184–5

SOURCE 8.59 A historian comments on 'moderate feminism'

> **The formation of the National Women's Advisory Council (NWAC) by the Liberal-National Country Party coalition government suggested an acceptance of the need to improve women's status in Australian society. It expressed some recognition that sexist discrimination structured and limited Australian's lives, that women were its principal victims, and that the society as a whole suffered in consequence. It also expressed the coalition's acceptance that the federal government should have a role in improving the status of Australian women. Moderate feminism had become respectable, even commonplace.**

Irene Webley, 'Women Who Want to Be Women', in Marian Sawer (ed.), *Australia and the New Right*, 1982, p. 135

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SOURCE 8.60 Marilyn Lake's qualified praise

> By the early 1980s, women had made dramatic inroads into Commonwealth and State bureaucracies, reaching positions of unprecedented seniority. ... Equal opportunities seemed to be within the reach of women – especially if they were white, English speaking and tertiary educated.

Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*, 1999, p. 262

Responding to the sources

1. Compare the perspectives of Arrow and Webley on the NWAC.
2. How does Lake qualify her acknowledgement of the progress made by Australian women?

Whitlam's dismissal and the changed political climate of the Fraser government appeared to confirm for some feminists the inherent flaws of working within the political system. Progress had been left vulnerable to political change, and some felt that the original goals present in the early 1970s had been weakened as a result of what Dowse described as the 'fandango with the state'.

Working with the government had also exposed divisions within the movement. Although calls to acknowledge differences between feminists, such as those expressed at the Women in Politics Conference of 1975, had initially been seen as an important part of securing gains for all women, this diversity was now being seen as fragmentation, weakening the ability of the movement to be a united force for change. Different reactions to the experience of working with the government led to the isolation of feminists within the political system and the questioning of the direction of the movement from those outside. Some felt that the original aims of the desired social revolution had been lost, sparking a period of introspection and revaluation. This analysis was itself seen by some feminists as a time-wasting activity when the needs of women needed most actively defending.

In 1982, Dowse wrote an article in *The Australian Quarterly*, reflecting on the role of the women's movement in public policy since 1972. She pointed out that the movement had become increasingly sophisticated, and developed expertise in introducing feminist ideas into society. However, she also noted that as women moved into an ever greater range of fields - such politics, the professional and artistic spheres, and the trade union movement - there was a risk that focus on feminism might be diluted as they focused their energies on other endeavours. She was concerned that the women's movement might lose its ability to be an effective force for change.

Sources **8.61** and **8.62** Working with government

SOURCE 8.61 Susan Magarey comments on the strength of the Canberra women's movement by 1976

> We had agreed with Sara Dowse when she told the Women and Politics conference on 4th September 1975 that women may be able to forge a strength from their physically and spiritually scattered weakness by operating 'on many fronts at once', that the 'patriarchal system' might be brought down just as much by a thousand blows [as] by one well-directed powerful punch. But now, instead of attempting to support and co-ordinate these blows, the Women's Movement in this city [Canberra] seemed fragmented, groups and individuals isolated, sometimes antagonistic. Some participants in the now defunct group appeared to have carried the 'personal is political' argument to the extreme of opting out of the feminist struggle altogether, turning inwards to sole concern with dwellings and personal relationships. Some had become heavily involved in what looked like alternative social services, making

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themselves into an unpaid labour force to supply welfare needs largely ignored by the state. Many appeared to have developed a mendicant attitude to government, trimming demands to accord with those that could be advanced within the bureaucracy.

... Several of us believe that it is necessary now to revive the expectations and commitments that characterised Women's Liberation.

Susan Magarey, 'And Now We Are Six: A Plea for Women's Liberation', in *Dangerous Ideas*, 2014, pp. 69–70 (originally published 1976)

SOURCE 8.62 A historian describes the women's movement

By the late 1970s, the voices of persistent activist women had propelled many aims and demands of the women's movement into prominence, acceptance and consideration, to varying degrees. WEL and women Liberationists could look back over four years of Whitlam and their own protesting and lobbying and feel that they had had a sometimes startling impact on the views of mainstream Australia, whether it had been through true conversion, guilty compliance or vote-gaining acumen. However, their force had begun to subside, divide and particularise at the same time as a distinct transformation in the political arena took place. Many participants in WEL and WLM had become disillusioned with collective action, or had placed energies into specific projects that necessitated a redirection of attention away from the idea or practical reality of a 'united' women's movement. Many women were no longer buoyed by the expectation, almost an assumption, that their voices would have a substantial impact upon those who had traditionally controlled the definitions of the 'political'. Iola Matthews, a prominent WEL member, described the 'burnout' that many activist women experienced as simply 'running out of steam'. For WEL women particularly, it seemed that it was more difficult for the group to grab headlines or achieve impressive 'victories' because much had already been achieved and the novelty of a women's political lobby organisation had worn thin.

Katy Reade, 'The Discourses of Crisis in the Women's Liberation Movement and the Women's Electoral Lobby in Melbourne in the late 1970s', *Lilith: A Feminist History Journal*, 9, 1996, p. 127

Responding to the sources

1. The title of Magarey's article is 'A Plea for Women's Liberation'. What plea do you think she is making, and why?
2. To what extent do Magarey and Reade agree about the strength of the women's movement during the years of the Fraser government?

Securing funding for community projects

The challenges of securing stable funding for grassroots projects continued under the Fraser government. The Australian Assistance Plan (AAP) began in 1975 under the Whitlam government and brought together representatives of local government and community groups to form Regional Councils of Social Development (RCSDs). RCSDs were able to access funding for projects such as women's shelters, playground facilities and after-school clubs. The AAP aimed to bypass the states to ensure funding went directly to communities in need. Funding for the AAP was withdrawn by the Fraser government in 1976. However, some RCSDs continued their work, and oral history research has found that for many of those involved, the AAP strengthened their commitment to the delivery of social welfare programs, raising the profile of community involvement in addressing disadvantage (Collins & Oppenheimer, 2019).

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Source **8.63** Australian Assistance Plan poster

SOURCE 8.63 A poster for the Australian Assistance Plan

Responding to the poster

1. What issues of funding for community services were being acknowledged by the introduction of the AAP?
2. How effective do you think posters like this would have been in encouraging people to get involved in RCSDs as part of the AAP?
3. Watch the 30-minute AAP video *A say in your community* at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10737 and compare the message in the poster with the attitudes expressed by the vox pops in the video.

Childcare

Childcare was one of the central demands of second wave feminists. The *Child Care Act 1972* (Cth) established a framework for grant-funding of childcare centres and began the process of fulfilling Labor's promise of providing one year's free preschool. The women's movement, including WEL, were strong advocates for childcare, with its longer hours more appropriate for working parents, over the shortened days of preschool, which was more likely to be used by middle-class families.

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However, the grant-funding process favoured the better-organised lobby of the Australian Pre-Schools Association and childcare projects received only 20% of the funding allocated in the July 1974 budget – already reduced from a promised $130 million to $75 million (Dowse, 1982). The Fraser government created a new Office of Child Care, headed by Marie Coleman. Under Coleman's leadership, the government gave new emphasis to the development of childcare centres, withdrawing all Commonwealth funding from preschools, which were now seen as the responsibility of the states. As women's participation in the workforce grew, demand for childcare continued to increase.

How much influence did anti-feminists have?

In the later 1970s, the women's movement found itself increasingly challenged by those who did not see themselves reflected in feminist calls for change. The Women's Action Alliance (WAA) formed in 1975, and the offshoot Women Who Want to be Women (WWWW), from 1979, argued that feminists' campaigns for equal pay and childcare threatened the traditional nuclear family.

Anti-feminist groups campaigned particularly strongly in the early 1980s against Australia's ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and Australia's Sex Discrimination Bill, introduced by Labor's Senator Susan Ryan in 1983.

Sources **8.64** and **8.65** Anti-feminist groups

SOURCE 8.64 A leading member of WWWW explains her position in a letter to *The Canberra Times*

Sir – just in case readers think all women have jumped on the women's-lib bandwagon to demand 'women's rights to abort their offspring' we must state that women all around Australia are sick of the anti-male, anti-child feminists claiming to speak for women, and are rallying to say they are Women Who Want to be Women.

Formed just 12 months ago, the WWWW does not aim to turn the clock back, rather to make sure the baby does not get thrown out with the bathwater.

Openly Christian and pro-life, WWWW is all for equal opportunity, but feels that men and women have different needs and abilities, and dismissing the differences between the sexes works *against*, not *for* women.

Women's Lib has gone too far, and most women realise that for certain privileges they have responsibilities, yet many of the new 'equal opportunity' deals have lost us those privileges and added to our responsibilities.

We feel the decade of the eighties belongs to those who understand that the sexes are equal, but different, and the more women prepared to stand up and say they are Women Who Want to be Women (not unisex persons) the quicker the sick anti-male, anti-child influences of women's lib will vanish.

(Mrs) Jackie Butler

State co-ordinator

Women Who Want to be Women, Queensland Branch

The Canberra Times, 3 May 1980, p. 8

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SOURCE 8.65 Babette Francis, Founder of Women Who Want to be Women, writes in *The Age*

Senator Susan Ryan claims the campaign against ratification of the UN convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women is 'mischievous and dishonest' (The Age, 15/7) yet she has refused every challenge to debate the issue publicly. More than 100 000 citizens have petitioned Parliament not to ratify the convention and another 50 000 await Senator Ryan when the Senate resumes.

Mr Doug Anthony, leader of the National Party, ... said 'We believe it would make it more difficult for women to follow a traditional role in the home and the raising of their children should they wish to ... the National Party does not wish to hasten the institutionalisation of society ...'

... In the long term, the feminist objective of equal numbers of males and females in every occupation and at every level is unattainable because it is not based on biological reality but on the fantasy that the sexes are interchangeable commodities.

In the short term, great harm can be done to women, men and children and to the freedom and rights Australians enjoy.

The Age, 10 August 1983

Responding to the anti-feminist groups

1. How useful and reliable is the evidence presented by Jackie Butler in Source 8.64 for investigating the views of anti-feminists?
2. What are Francis' objections (Source 8.65) to Australia's ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women?

In 1983, Fraser's Liberal-National coalition government was defeated by the ALP under the leadership of Bob Hawke. Looking back, many feminists felt that the late 1970s and early 1980s had been a challenging time for the women's movement.

Feminist and historian Anne Summers, writing in 1979, described the social and financial conservatism of the Fraser years as having 'led to a downgrading of the expectations of ordinary people about what they can expect from government'. She noted the irony of International Women's Year – 1975 – as having marked the end of women's concerns as 'a serious political issue' and called on the women's movement to bring feminist issues back to the political agenda.

Academic Marian Sawer looked back on the progress of the women's movement in the Fraser years.

Source **8.66** Australian feminism in the 1970s and 1980s

SOURCE 8.66 Political scientist Marian Sawer on the achievements made

As we have seen, the political traditions of Australia, Canada and New Zealand encouraged women to look to the state to meet their claims and significant gains were made by feminist interventions in the 1970s and 1980s. Unfortunately the very traditions of social liberalism which enabled women to make these gains were at the same time being eroded by a loss of faith in the state as a vehicle of social justice. There was increasing hostility, regardless of the political complexion of the government in power, to the kind of social provision and regulation needed if women were to have equal opportunity. This makes the achievements all the more remarkable.

Marian Sawer, *Femocrats and Ecorats: Women's Policy Machinery in Australia, Canada and New Zealand*, 1 March 1996, p. 23

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Responding to the Marian Sawer

1. Use evidence from the source to explain Sawer's perspective on the progress of the women's movement by the early 1980s.
2. What does Sawer's evidence suggest about the advantages and disadvantages of working within the political system to bring about change?

ACTIVITY **8.5**
Measuring the immeasurable

Summing up

The Fraser years saw the women's movement responding to a changed social, political and economic landscape. Concerns in 1975 about how this new landscape could threaten the achievements of the women's movement were, for some, mitigated by the ongoing, if 'less visible', work of feminists within and outside of the political system. However, the expectation for government to address social inequality, to see 'the personal as political', was subject to even greater scrutiny in the latter part of the decade. These challenges were both a sign of how much had been gained and how much was yet to be achieved.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

Was the women's movement 'less visible' during the Fraser years?

1. Sara Dowse commented that the work of women in government became 'less visible' after 1975. What evidence would you use from this chapter to support her claim? What evidence would you use to challenge it? Think about whether the evidence you use applies to the work of women in government or the women's movement more broadly.
2. When you have collected your evidence, make an overall judgement on the women's movement in the Fraser years. Consider whether 'less visible' also meant 'less effective'.
3. If the women's movement could be considered less effective in the Fraser years, what do you think were the most significant barriers the movement faced?

SUB-QUESTION 6: What have historians said about second wave feminism?

Most historians consider the early 1980s as marking the end of second wave feminism. Since then, another 'wave' of feminist action has developed. This 'third wave' involves a new generation of women, with newly defined goals, and new – and old – methods of protest. As you saw in the opening story, the status of women and girls in society remains a contemporary issue.

Just like second wave feminists looked back to assess the achievements of their 'first wave' predecessors, now modern commentators can assess the progress made by feminists of the 1960s and 1970s.

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Sources 8.67–8.70 are four commentaries on the achievements of second wave feminists.

SOURCE 8.67 Gisela Kaplan, Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of New England, 1997

To locate the end of a movement is difficult at the best of times. In the case of the Australia women's movement it is particularly hard to speak of an end at all, because it so quickly became diffuse and diverse, both structurally and in terms of the projects in which feminists had become involved. If a movement connotes a certain public energy, the movement did appear to peter out. In fact, it had only acquired a different shape by being regularised and to some extent harnessed by funding requirements. However, there have been large-scale mobilisations of women since the 1970s. They include the International Women's Day marches and the Reclaim the Night marches which became a feature in Australia in 1978.

The organisational base of women's groups is actually better today than it was in the 1970s. There are few if any street demonstrations today, and some of the movement's self-appointed spokeswomen have no grassroots mandate. Yet legislative action, international pressure and the appointment of a series of feminist women in state and federal senior public service roles have kept the machine rolling, if more slowly and less energetically. If one defines a movement as a demonstrated ability to mobilise then there are, I believe, grounds for saying that the second-wave women's movement has never stopped, in the 25 years since it began.

Gisela Kaplan, *The Meagre Harvest: The Australian Women's Movement 1950s–1990s*, 1997, pp. 35–6

SOURCE 8.68 Author, feminist and women's rights activist Sara Dowse

At the same time, the one lasting legacy of the 70s women's movement and its involvement in the Whitlam government has been women's view of ourselves, and the aspirations we have held for our futures. As Elizabeth Reid once put it, what has been a women's movement had become a movement of women, as women became a visible presence in all walks of life. I marvel that for years after my arrival in Australia in 1958, I never saw or heard a woman reading the news or anchoring a current affairs program, let alone driving a bus or piloting a commercial aircraft. Women then formed a tiny minority of management positions, on the order of 3 per cent, and these were mostly in the public sector, or in gender-segregated occupations. It is salutary to be reminded too that when Whitlam came to office, not a single woman held a seat in the House of Representatives. All that has changed, and dramatically so.

Yet somewhere along the way the egalitarian ethos of the earlier movement was abandoned, with class divisions evident in the 1970s substantially deepened today. It's true that we feminists of the second wave were predominantly middle class, with many having benefitted from the expanded education and tertiary scholarships initiated under Menzies. Yet not all the women who participated were products of middle class privilege, and the socialist bent of women's liberationists in particular made us acutely aware of the entrenched inequalities in what was all too often touted as Australia's classless society. So while it can be said that the movement's composition was largely middle class, it would be wrong to characterise it as such. That feminists didn't always succeed in erasing unexamined, often racist assumptions about Aboriginal women, for example, doesn't mean we didn't try.

Sara Dowse, 'Legacies: What Remains to Be Done?', in Michelle Arrow (ed.), *Whitlam and Women: Revisiting the Revolution*, 2023, pp. 248–9

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SOURCE 8.69 Author, feminist and commentator Anne Summers

The past 20 years have not been without their setbacks. Governments have either reduced spending on programs that fund services like refuges or have failed to allow them to grow in real terms. Many women were especially hard hit by the economic recessions of the 1980s and 1990s, and their real levels of unemployment failed to be accurately recorded in official statistics. In many areas of employment, the initial rush of progress seems to have stalled and women complain that their prospects for promotion and higher earnings, especially in the corporate sector, seem as remote as ever.

But in surveying more than 20 years of accomplishments, the women's movement is entitled to feel some satisfaction, and to recognise that far more has been won than has been lost. For instance, the commitment to meet total demand for child care, especially, and its announcement as part of a general economic statement rather than in the women's package during the 1993 election campaign, represents a quantum leap forward, an acknowledgement that women's claims are integral to the political process. So, why don't more feminists, especially those of my generation, feel more of a sense of pride?

... I think we are actually more pleased with ourselves than many of us are prepared to let on; no-one who grew up in the 1940s or 1950s, or even the 1960s, can seriously claim that women's choices and opportunities are not immensely greater than they were then. But it is not really in the makeup of rebels to rest on their laurels, or to announce that the war is over; there is always another issue, a fresh outrage, a dire cause to command our attention and keep us battle-ready.

Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police*, 2016, pp. 661–2 (original work published 1975)

SOURCE 8.70 Development practitioner, feminist and academic Elizabeth Reid

Marilyn Lake argues that discord was always a part of the women's movement, and that feminism, like other social and political movements that operate against the dominant discourse, is always open to fracture and discord. Furthermore, our own consciousness raising was showing how deeply traumatised most women were. This made fractures even more likely.

There was a revolutionary intensity about those times that made discord almost inevitable. There was, for example, from time to time, a quickness to condemn and a tone of critical contempt from parts of the movement that sat awkwardly with an espousal of feminism. Funding is always a site of contention within social movements. It can be seen as a ploy to divert attention and energies into various service areas and so weaken the movement's capacity for reflection and analysis and/or weaken its ability to be a critical watchdog for issues of rights and discrimination. For some, funding is a means of enabling groups within a movement to make required changes. The discussion of this dilemma had rumbled on in the women's movement. There was a clear need for funding for women and so some said, 'Let's go' while others stood at some remove from it.

Nevertheless, sisterhood reigned and still reigns. Some of the richest moments of the job came from the on-going discussions with and support from, the women's movement and from women all over Australia. We were connected by a deep vein of feminist solidarity and a shared desire to get something of value done.

Elizabeth Reid, *Revolution and Reform: The Women's Liberation Movement and the Whitlam Years. A 50th Anniversary Legacy Paper*, 2023, p. 31

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 6

What have historians said about second wave feminism?

1. Responding to historical interpretations

Create and complete a table like the one below, summarising the historians' arguments about the achievements and limitations of second wave feminism.

	Achievements of second wave feminism	Limitations of the movement
Kaplan		
Dowse		
Summers		
Reid		

2. Which points do the writers agree on?
3. On which points do they disagree?
4. How might the perspective of each author be influenced by their connection to the women's movement?

Depth study: Summing up

In this depth study, you have looked at a range of primary and secondary sources to develop an understanding of second wave feminism in Australia up to the early 1980s.

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: By the early 1980s, what goals of second wave feminism had been achieved in Australia?

1. Go back to Source 8.14, the goals of the Women's Liberation Agenda from 1973. Next to each goal, use what you have learned in this depth study to note the extent to which it had been achieved by the early 1980s.
2. What other goals of the movement emerged during the 1970s – for example, those expressed by Elizabeth Reid about International Women's Year, or WEL's goals in response to the change of government in 1975? To what extent had these goals been achieved by the early 1980s?
3. When change did occur, what actions or strategies of the movement seemed to be the most successful, and why?
4. What broader social, political and economic factors contributed to changes – or continuities – in women's lives during this period?
5. Use your notes to plan and write an essay of 1500 to 2000 words in response to the key inquiry question: *By the early 1980s, what goals of second wave feminism had been achieved in Australia?*

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Significance and legacy

This concluding study gives you an opportunity to consider the significance of second wave feminism at the time, and the issues that continue to exist for women and girls today.

Significance at the time

As you have learned in the depth study, many of the aims of second wave feminism had been addressed, if not entirely achieved, by the early 1980s. Many of these were at the political and policy level, but others were grassroots projects, driven by feminists themselves, directly addressing inequality and the attitudes that held women back. Still other changes were seen in the media, arts and popular culture; greater representation for women began to break down the stereotypes that had, as Greer and Summers noted in the early 1970s, prevented women from living full, autonomous lives.

However, whether or not these changes were reflected in ordinary women's lives in the 1970s is another issue. Watch the videos in Sources 8.71 and 8.72 to hear from women who were living through the second wave.

Sources **8.71** and **8.72** Reflections on second wave feminism

Watch the videos in Source 8.71 and 8.72.

SOURCE 8.71 Women's attitudes to gender equality, 1976 (duration 03:21), available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10798

SOURCE 8.72 Reflections on second wave feminism, 1983 (duration 10:28), available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10799

Responding to the videos

1. How would you describe the responses to the women's movement from those interviewed in 1976?
2. What reasons might there have been for the women's responses?
3. One of the women interviewed said she felt there was a danger in 'women being dominated by other women'. Which aspects of second wave feminism do you think might have led her to this conclusion?
4. How had the women's movement impacted the women interviewed in 1983? Discuss how these responses differed according to the women's age and social class.
5. Beatrice Faust described the difference between two types of women: struggling housewives frustrated by the multiple demands of family, study and part-time work; and employed women 'out to lunch' in a group, with high morale and feeling like they were 'bathing in champagne'. At the time, how might each group have thought about women's liberation, if at all? Do you think there is a similar divide between 'types of women' in Australian society today?
6. The sociologist Cecilia Morris observed that women in 1983 were 'looking for – still – the right man to come along'. From what you have learned in this chapter, does this surprise you? Explain your answer.
7. Tina Owens, interviewed in 1983, said 'the transition stages are never easy, and that's what we're working on now'. What did she mean in relation to her own life? Could this statement apply to the movement as a whole by the early 1980s?
8. What do both videos suggest about the significance of second wave feminism to women at the time?

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Legacy – significance for today

In sub-question 6 you heard from four historians who all noted that society today owes much to the work of second wave feminists. Many of the rights women gained in the 1960s and 1970s have since been built upon; changes for women seen as groundbreaking at the time are now considered the norm. As of 2023, women make up a record 39% of Australia's federal parliamentarians (Australian Government, The Treasury, 2023). More women than men are enrolled in higher education, and women have higher rates of course completion than their male counterparts (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2021). Paid maternity leave, first introduced for Commonwealth employees by the Whitlam government, has now become the Paid Parental Leave Scheme, recognising the role of both men and women in raising children. As of 2022, the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth) incorporates a positive duty that requires employers to actively prevent, rather than just respond to, gender-based harassment and discrimination in the workplace (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2023). Women are represented in public life – in politics, business, the media, arts and sport – to much a greater degree than they were in the 1970s. For the most part, women in leadership roles no longer create the kind of fuss or furore experienced by trailblazers such as Elizabeth Reid.

Still, there are many areas of life in which women and girls remain disadvantaged.

Feminists have continued to campaign for gender equality. **Third wave feminism** is generally recognised as beginning with women who were in their 20s in the 1990s, who had grown up with the second wave of feminism simply being part of history rather than something they experienced themselves. Third wave feminism responded to cultural changes in the 1990s, differentiating itself from second wave feminism by embracing individuality, pluralism and a diversity of forms of feminism. Since 2010, **fourth wave feminism** has emerged, which has continued to focus on diversity, including intersectionality and transgender rights. Social media has been a key component of fourth wave feminism. Activists have revealed the extent of gender-based online harassment, and harnessed social media to build powerful, global campaigns for change.

third wave feminism feminist activism beginning in the 1990s; it differentiated itself from second wave feminism by embracing individuality, pluralism and diversity

fourth wave feminism feminist activism, emerging in the early 2010s, which expanded the goals of the third wave to embrace diversity in feminism, including oppression experienced by trans and non-binary people. Activists use the internet to build solidarity, highlight injustice and call for change.

To find out more about third and fourth wave feminism, use the link below to listen to an interview with Australian feminist Clementine Ford.

SOURCE 8.73 Listen to an interview with Clementine Ford at the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10800

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SOURCE 8.74 Anne Summers (left) at a speaking event with former Prime Minister Julia Gillard (right)

What challenges remain for women and girls today?

Domestic violence

March 2024 marked 50 years since the Elsie women's refuge was established in Sydney.

Anne Summers was one of the founders of Elsie House and is now Professor of Domestic and Family Violence at the University of Technology Sydney. In an ABC radio interview to mark the anniversary, Summers spoke about the progress made in addressing domestic violence over those 50 years. Despite a much greater awareness of domestic violence, and increased funding for support services, she described the issue as far from being solved. Technology is now expanding the ways in which women – and men – can be threatened by intimate partner violence. Perpetrators, Summers noted, now have 'a phone as well as a fist'. Summers also challenged the belief that domestic violence will end when gender equality is achieved, citing the much higher levels of gender equality in Scandinavian countries, where levels of domestic violence remain high. You can listen to the full interview at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10736.

Summers' call to think differently about violence in a changing world reflects the way movements like feminism reshape and reform in response to broader societal changes.

What does Summers' title at the University of Technology Sydney suggest about the progress made for women since second wave feminism?

Conduct research to find out more about why higher levels of gender equality might not always lead to reduced levels of domestic violence.

Sexual harassment

Recent national statistics on sexual harassment, for the financial year 2021–22, highlight the scale and nature of the issue.

Source **8.75** Statistics on sexual harassment

SOURCE 8.75 Sexual harassment behaviours, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2021–22

Of the 1.3 million women who experienced sexual harassment in the last 12 months:

- 63% (792 900) received inappropriate comments about their body or sex life
- 40% (505 100) received an indecent text, email, or post
- 32% (401 700) experienced unwanted touching, grabbing, kissing, or fondling
- 18% (220 100) were exposed to pictures or videos, which were sexual in nature, that they did not wish to see
- 14% (170 300) received an indecent phone call
- 10% (126 900) experienced indecent exposure
- 4.1% (51 700) had pictures or videos of themselves, which were sexual in nature, distributed or posted without their consent.

Australian Bureau of Statistics, Sexual harassment, released 23 August 2023

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Responding to the statistics

1. Overall, what do these statistics indicate about the seriousness of the problem of sexual harassment?
2. Which types of harassment are probably facilitated by modern digital technologies?
3. What would you want to know about the data collection process to help evaluate its reliability?
4. Explore further substantial detail (and check for updates) on the ABS website via the link at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10532.

In 2017, the issue of sexual harassment gained massive attention when American actresses began speaking out about the long-entrenched misogyny and 'casting couch' culture of Hollywood. This sparked the #MeToo social media campaign, which revealed the extent of unreported sexual harassment and assault experienced by women across different areas of their lives. #MeToo campaigns have highlighted issues of consent and called for accountability for perpetrators of sexual assault. The global reach of the campaign and the solidarity inspired by the #MeToo message has led to thousands of women now speaking out about gender-based harassment and violence.

Investigate the broader #MeToo movement. What does the movement reveal about the progress made in women's status in society since the second wave of feminism?

In Australia, 2021 Australian of the Year Grace Tame did much to stir public awareness of the issues. High-profile legal cases, centred on the Australian Parliament and a leading theatre company, heightened that awareness. Sexual harassment also emerged as an issue at the 2023 Women's World Cup football final, played in Sydney. As the Spanish team celebrated their victory, Spanish FA President Luis Rubiales kissed player Jenni Hermoso on the lips. Hermoso said the kiss was non-consensual; Rubiales claimed that it was. The scene was broadcast around the world and attracted widespread criticism of Rubiales' behaviour. One Spanish football journalist called this event 'Spain's #MeToo moment' (Falkingham, 2023).

SOURCE 8.76 The World Cup-winning Spanish players collect their medals after the grand final victory, 20 August 2023

This photo was taken just before the non-consensual kiss by Spanish FA President Luis Rubiales (Rubiales is not pictured in this image). Does it help the feminist cause – and society generally – for the issue of sexual harassment to be raised by celebrated women in public situations? Find out whether this incident was resolved in a way that you think was appropriate. Discuss.

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Women in politics

On 9 October 2012, Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard gave an address to Parliament accusing the Leader of the Opposition, Tony Abbott, of sexism. She described an entrenched culture of misogyny in Australian politics. Gillard's speech, popularly known as the 'Misogyny Speech', attracted international support and led to the Macquarie dictionary changing its definition of misogyny from 'hatred of women' to 'entrenched prejudice against women'. In 2020, in a *Guardian Australia* poll, Gillard's speech was voted the most unforgettable moment in Australian TV history. Gillard continues to campaign against the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions.

SOURCE 8.77 9 October 2012: Julia Gillard's Misogyny Speech (15:01)

Also in 2020, an episode of the ABC's current affairs program *Four Corners* titled 'Inside the Canberra Bubble' explored allegations of sexism and inappropriate behaviour of senior politicians and their staff. Program reporter Louise Milligan described the culture within the federal government as 'heady, [and] permissive, [one which can be] toxic for women' (Milligan, quoted in Heurich & Coghlan, 2021).

Activity **8.6**

Research women in Australian politics

1. Research and present on the current representation of women in Australian politics.
2. Include the challenges that have affected and continue to affect women's participation in politics.
3. How much progress has been made for women in politics since second wave feminism?

Women in the workforce and the gender pay gap

In 1966, women made up 30% of the paid workforce; now this figure sits at almost 50% (ABS, 2021). However, a report from the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet in 2023 concluded that 'Australia is currently held back from reaching its full social and economic potential by pervasive and systemic gender inequality'. The report noted that gender norms still influence career opportunities, 'feminised work' is still undervalued, and women still take on the greater share of unpaid work and care in the home (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 2024). Of interest to feminists during the second wave might have been the part of this report that recognises the need for governments to play a leadership role in embedding gender equality.

One area of focus for those advocating for change has been the gender pay gap. Data released in February 2024 revealed that Australia's total remuneration average gender pay gap was 21.7%. This means that women earned 78c for every $1 earned by a man (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2024). Some of Australia's best-known companies were found to be paying their female workers 30% to 40% less than their male counterparts (Evershed & Ball, 2024). Some jobs have continued to be paid at lower rates because they have traditionally been seen as 'women's work'.

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In 2012, in a landmark equal pay case, Fair Work Australia decided to award all social and community workers dramatic pay rises of between 19% and 41% to acknowledge that this sector had historically received lesser pay rises only because 'it is [work] predominantly done by women' (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012).

Every year, Australia's Workplace Gender Equality Agency marks Equal Pay Day, highlighting the number of extra days women must work into a new a financial year to have earned the same as a man did for his work in the previous financial year. In 2023, this was an extra 56 days (Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2023).

Source **8.78** What's missing matters

SOURCE 8.78 An advertisement from Australia's Workplace Gender Equality Agency, 2023

Responding to the advertisement

1. Do you think the image of the car is an effective metaphor for the issue? Discuss.
2. Research the global gender pay gap; how does it compare with Australia?
3. Why are women, on average, still paid less than men? Research the barriers to gender pay parity.
4. Which barriers are shared by women in Australia with women in developing nations?
5. What are some of the solutions to the gender pay gap in Australia and overseas?
6. What does today's gender pay gap reveal about the progress made by second wave feminism?

Summing up: Second wave feminism today

Undoubtedly, significant challenges remain in achieving gender equality. This chapter has focused on the experiences of Australian women, but studying the international position of women and girls will add depth to your conclusions about the impact of second wave feminism. The momentum of that time is still felt today: WEL continues to advocate for policy change to improve women's lives, and Reid, Dowse and Summers are among a number of second wave activists whose careers since the 1970s have been dedicated to the feminist cause. Understanding the impact of their work, and that of the women who spoke out to call for change, not only makes you a better historian, but also makes you better placed to make your own contribution to a fairer world.

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Chapter 9

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT SINCE THE 1960s

Aspect: Actions for environmental justice in Australia and elsewhere

RICHARD LEO

It's October 2018. In the small country town of Castlemaine, Victoria, Harriet and some friends send a letter to the local newspaper about the story of 15-year-old Greta Thunberg in Sweden. Greta has been protesting alone, holding her own 'School Strike for Climate' (SS4C) outside the Swedish Parliament for the past month. The next Friday, with two dozen classmates, Harriet and friends travel to the offices of their local Members of Parliament in Bendigo and protest for urgent action on climate change.

Feeling dismissed by the local politicians, the teens decide to organise a bigger protest. When 10 000 people gather at the huge rally in Melbourne on 30 November 2018, the Prime Minister of Australia declares that there should be 'more learning … and less activism in schools'.

Refusing to be discouraged, in March and September the following year, Harriet, other teens and supportive adults, conduct a national campaign that observers believe are the largest public demonstrations in Australia for a generation. Joining tens of thousands around the world inspired by Greta Thunberg, over 300 000 Australians in 60 cities and towns across the country protest for meaningful climate action.

The global attention attracted by Thunberg and her fellow school students shows that young people can make a difference and inspire people of all ages to take 'action for climate'.

SOURCE 9.1 Students lead a SS4C protest on 15 March 2019 in Melbourne

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The growing awareness of environmental problems

Greta Thunberg and the SS4C movement emerged because young people were concerned about how slowly politicians around the world were acting to address ongoing climate change. These young people wanted politicians to take their future seriously and treat climate change as the most important environmental crisis facing humanity today.

Greta and her thousands of followers think about 'environment' in a very different way from students a century ago. Then, a student's textbook may have included the following text:

Source **9.2** A geography textbook used in Australian schools pre-World War II

SOURCE 9.2 A geography textbook used in Australian schools pre-World War II

> [Man] is limited by the forces of nature: but he controls and directs those forces so that they become ever more obedient to his will. ...
>
> Gradually, ... the conflict between the giant plants and man is being decided in favour of man ... trees ... are being hewn down ultimately to become tables and chairs in distant lands. The forest gives place to grass that more readily answers man's purposes ... man's control over vegetation is so complete that he preserves in his parks ... remnants of the plant life that once dominated him.

W. Weston, *Transport and Trade*, 1929

Responding to the geography textbook

1. The author uses the verb 'control' to describe the human relationship to nature. What other words are used to describe that relationship?
2. What specific type of control does the author describe?
3. Do you think the author approves of the 'control' he describes? Explain.
4. How differently would you expect a modern school textbook to describe the human–nature relationship?

SOURCE 9.3 Logging of deep red myrtle old-growth forest in Eagle Hill, Tasmania, 2003

What are the different ways that you could respond to this photo, depending on which of the six 'attitudes' you hold? (See Activity 9.1 on the following page.) What questions would you need answered before making an informed response to the question?

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It's highly likely that you would not describe your relationship with nature that way. You can get a sense of how you think about nature by answering the questions in Activity 9.1.

Activity **9.1**

Self-assess your attitudes about natural environments

SOURCE 9.4 Thinking about natural environments

Earth-centred attitudes						Human-centred attitudes
	The natural environment is valuable in itself, regardless of what people think.	The natural environment has a 'right' to exist. It has intrinsic value.	People and nature can be connected in deep and meaningful ways.	People can care for natural environments and still gain economic, social and emotional benefits from them.	People should use natural environments as fully as they wish for economic benefits. Nature has instrumental value.	The natural environment is mainly valuable because people can use it for their benefit.

Adapted from Brian Hoepper, Amy Cutter-Mackenzie and Rob Gilbert, 'Sustainability', in R. Gilbert and B. Hoepper (2017), *Teaching Humanities and Social Sciences*, 6th edn, p. 439

Which of these six descriptors do you most identify with? What do you do in your everyday life that reflects that way of thinking? How might that way of thinking affect the choices you make about your future? Share your thoughts with a classmate, and discuss.

In recent decades, people have been thinking much more about how they should relate to natural environments. That's because scientists and other experts have been alerting us to serious human-produced environmental problems. Most recently, the warning has come from the renowned Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), which stated in 2023 that 'climate change is a threat to human well-being and planetary health' and that there is 'a rapidly closing window of opportunity to secure a liveable and sustainable future for all'.

That alarming 2023 warning follows decades of research, publicity and advocacy that have made 'climate change' and 'global warming' topics of everyday conversation and also made them key issues in politics.

Since the 1960s, there has been a growing awareness of environmental problems. The 1962 publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* awakened many to the environmental damage of human practices – in her case, the poisoning of the environment by pesticides. From the 1960s to 1980s, there were some dramatic environmental crises, including the Chernobyl reactor meltdown in Ukraine (1986) and the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill in the Prince William Sound, Alaska (March 1989). On a more local level, citizens started to question and oppose actions that seemed to degrade the environment – for example, clearing old-growth forests, damming rivers, overfishing and dumping toxic waste at sea. A realisation that we live on a 'spaceship Earth' with limited resources emerged.

SOURCE 9.5 Extract from *Silent Spring* (with questions) ·····>

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The idea of 'sustainability'

By the 1980s, activist groups from across Asia, Latin America and Africa had connected with European and North American campaigners. Environmentalists recognised the connections between their concerns and issues of human rights, cultural diversity and social and economic justice. Put simply, environmental degradation often went hand-in-hand with poverty, ill health, discrimination and lack of political power. Out of those connections came a focus on one useful term – 'sustainability'.

The United Nations (UN) was at the forefront of developing that focus. In 1987, the UN released the landmark 'Bruntland Report', published in a popular book titled *Our Common Future*. It defined sustainable development as that which 'meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Brundtland, 1987). What followed was a series of UN-sponsored meetings and declarations. In 1992, the 'Rio Declaration on Environment and Development', guiding sustainable development, was signed by 170 countries at the United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. In 1997, that declaration was built upon with the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol, an international treaty by which countries agreed to reduce their greenhouse emissions to combat climate change.

In 2000, the UN published its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), with an ambitious 15-year agenda. The UN's member states committed to that agenda, but after 15 years the results were mixed. The UN's *Millennium Development Goals Report 2015* claimed that there had been 'remarkable gains', but admitted that 'inequalities persist' and that 'progress has been uneven'. The report signalled a new focus, on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), hoping to 'put all countries, together, firmly on track towards a more prosperous, sustainable and equitable world'. Source 9.6 shows those goals.

Source **9.6** The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

SOURCE 9.6 The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

Responding to the goals

A number of the SDGs are not explicitly 'environmental' in their focus. Which goals do you think would have an 'environmental' aspect, either direct or indirect? Discuss.

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The words 'sustainable development' have a different meaning from the usual idea of 'development' (meaning construction, production, consumption and affluence). 'Sustainable development' involves the goal of a healthy, dignified life for all the world's people, combined with the sustainable use and protection of environments.

In terms of 'thinking environmentally', it means thinking socially, politically and economically about how we relate to our environment.

The table in Source 9.7 describes two 'extremes' of thinking socially, politically and economically about how people relate to environments.

Activity **9.2**

Consider the extremes of thinking about environment, society, economy and politics

SOURCE 9.7 Extremes of thinking about the environment

Ecocentric/conserver		Anthropocentric/instrumentalist
Environmental resources are used to meet basic human needs while aiming for minimal impact on the environment.	Environment	Environmental resources can be used to the maximum level that does not produce immediate collapse.
Communitarian, cooperative, egalitarian, aiming for the dignity and wellbeing of all.	Society	Individualistic, competitive, aspirational, stratified by criteria such as wealth, success and influence.
Productive activity should meet basic needs and wants. Work is guided by ethical principles, socially and environmentally.	Economy	Maximum productive activity to try to meet increasing needs and wants. Work satisfies individual, materialistic goals.
Politics should be as locally focused as possible, with full participation of citizens in decision making wherever it is practicable.	Politics	Centralised political authority takes precedence, aiming at effective and efficient national systems.

Adapted from Brian Hoepper, Amy Cutter-Mackenzie and Rob Gilbert, 'Sustainability', in R. Gilbert and B. Hoepper (2017), *Teaching Humanities and Social Sciences*, 6th edn, p. 431

Working in pairs, one of you creates an imaginary Australian whose thinking is anthropocentric/instrumental. Create a list of diary entries for a typical day, highlighting that thinking. The other does the same for someone with ecocentric/conserver thinking. Compare your diaries, then probe further into each other's beliefs and actions through some interview questions.

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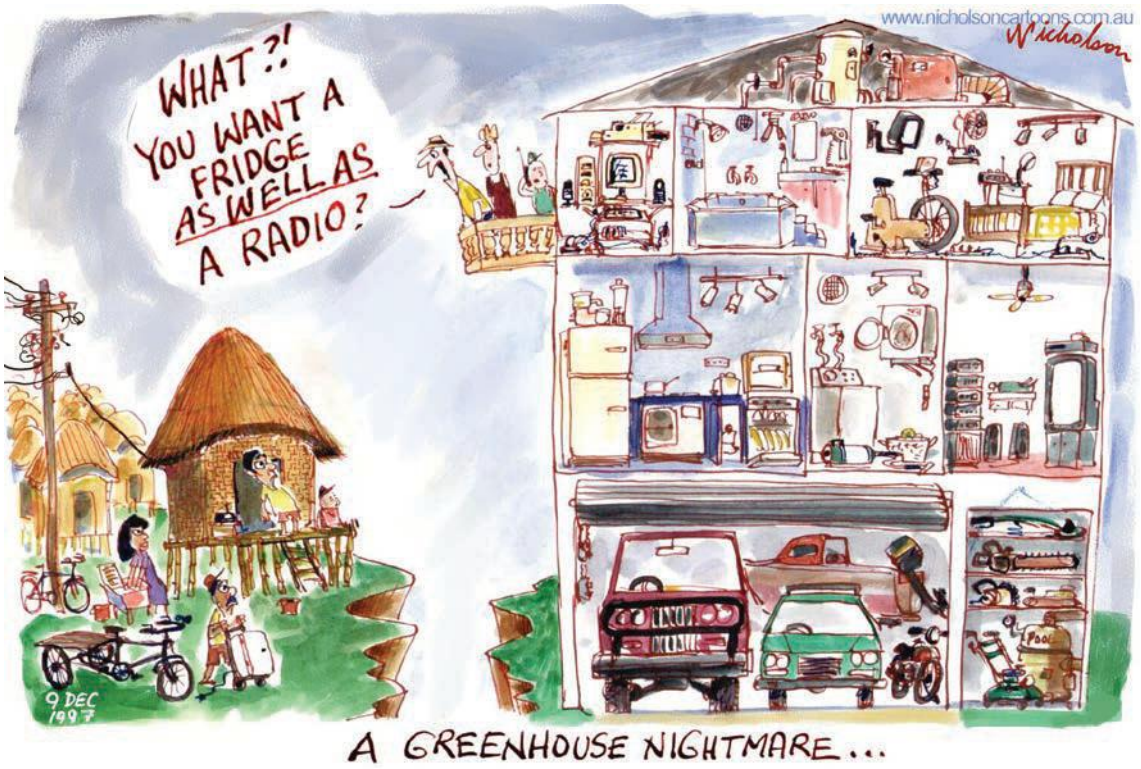
A global debate about sustainable development

At the 1992 Rio conference, a serious debate developed between delegates from the wealthier, industrialised nations and those from poorer, less industrialised nations. The debate is depicted in the cartoon in Source 9.8.

Source **9.8** Cartoonist Peter Nicholson comments on the global picture, 1997



SOURCE 9.8 Peter Nicholson, 'A Greenhouse Nightmare', *The Australian*, 8 December 1997

Responding to Peter Nicholson

1. What impression of a Western (**global North**) family lifestyle has Nicholson created? How valid a depiction does that seem?
2. What impression of a non-Western (**global South**) family lifestyle has he created? How valid a depiction does that seem?
3. What message do you think Nicholson is sending by the words he ascribes to the Western man?
4. Nicholson published this cartoon in 1997, five years after the Rio conference and the same year the Kyoto Protocol was initiated. How might this cartoon signal an underlying tension in the world as nations tried to agree on policies and strategies to create sustainable futures?
5. What change in thinking do you think Nicholson might have been trying to encourage through this cartoon?

global North the nations of the world that have a high level of economic and industrial development. They are typically located in the Northern Hemisphere, although nations located in the Southern Hemisphere, such as Australia and New Zealand, are also included.

global South the regions of the world outside of Europe and North America that have historically been low-income and less industrially developed. The global South has also been referred to as the 'developing world', or the 'Third World', although the latter term is rarely used, if ever, anymore.

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A new urgency

Progress towards the SDGs has taken on a new urgency as experts emphasise the accelerating rates of climate change. Since the 1990s, the UN's IPCC has issued a series of reports based on reviews of climate-related research. The 2021 report was notable for stating that the world will most likely reach 1.5°C global warming in the period 2021–40.

Since 1995, a succession of annual conferences – titled the Conferences of Parties, or COP – has debated the actions needed to respond to climate change. In 2015, the Paris conference (COP 21) was groundbreaking. Delegates agreed that their countries should work to limit future global temperature rises to less than 2°C above pre-industrial levels. The key strategy is the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, particularly carbon dioxide and methane. Countries are given freedom to determine how they will reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Critics noted that there was no way to force countries to announce or meet specific targets and dates.

Activity **9.3**

Research current events

Find out what the Australian Government's current emission reduction plan is, and how it is progressing.

New ways of acting for the environment

The changes described regarding the awareness of environmental problems, and ways of thinking about how humans relate to environments, can be termed 'ecological thinking'. They influenced the way environmental movements changed over time. The changes can be described as four 'waves' or 'frames'.

The earliest 'wave' of environmental campaigns, beginning in the late 1800s, adopted a 'conservationist' frame focused on protecting natural vegetation and animal species. This produced, for example, the creation of national parks that are so valued today.

By the 1960s, environmentalists had developed a 'collectivist action frame', which linked the environment with other related issues such as pollution, chemical usage and the threat of nuclear war.

The third wave, beginning in the 1980s, adopted the 'sustainable development' frame described above.

Today, a fourth frame, termed 'environmental justice', drives the most significant environmental activism. It highlights the way 'environmental' issues impact unfairly on poorer communities and people of colour – not only in the global South but also in the more affluent, developed countries. Sub-frames of '**environmentalism of the poor**' and '**environmentalism of the dispossessed**' now inform environmental activism, along with issues of 'power' and 'democracy' (Martinez-Alier, Temper, Del Bene & Scheidel, 2016:732).

environmentalism of the poor social movements that emerge from environmental conflicts when poor people have their livelihoods, health or culture threatened by government or business interests

environmentalism of the dispossessed social movements that emerge when Indigenous peoples' access to the resources of their traditional lands are blocked or threatened by government or business interests

In the United States, racial issues have prompted discussion of 'environmental racism', highlighting how marginalised communities such as African Americans, Latines, First Nations peoples and Pacific Islanders experience significantly greater environmental problems from industrial facilities built in their communities when compared with wealthier, predominantly white communities, where industrial facilities are usually rare or nonexistent.

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This 'fourth frame' way of thinking is often termed 'thinking ecologically' or 'ecological consciousness'. Because it is more holistic than 'environmental thinking' – recognising the complex relationships between the environmental, the social, the economic and the political at all levels from the personal to the global – it promises a more effective response to the problems described earlier.

SOURCE 9.9 A refugee in drought-stricken Africa, 2020. This woman fled to Sudan from her homeland in Ethiopia's Tigray province, where a murderous civil war and a years-long drought had made life dangerous and insufferable. Her new location in the Um Raquba refugee camp is also drought-stricken.

In what ways does this image reflect the 'frame' of 'environmentalism of the dispossessed'? What would have to change for this woman to enjoy the benefits of 'sustainable development'?

Environmental movements can differ remarkably in vision, goals, membership, scale, strategies and tactics. Some are global in scope and huge in size – for example, Greenpeace or Friends of the Earth. At the other extreme are small, local groups that emerge due to a significant community issue – for example, a 'Save the glossies' campaign on Queensland's Sunshine Coast, fighting against the possible destruction of glossy black cockatoo habitat as the result of a building project. Some of the very large movements are sometimes accused of being 'too cosy' with governments and business. For example, a business might 'greenwash' its product by gaining a questionable endorsement from a major environmental organisation.

Perhaps the most notable difference among environmental groups is their choice of tactics. Some are 'mainstream', focused on lobbying governments to introduce environmental policies. At the other extreme are groups such as Extinction Rebellion, which choose disruptive tactics, demonstrations, rallies and sit-ins that have become the main strategies of grassroots environmental organisations (Ogrodnik & Staggenborg, 2016:224).

Those differences in tactics can often reflect differences in the ideological and political positions of the groups.

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Exploring ideological and political approaches to environmental activism

The 'four waves' analysis demonstrates how the vision and purpose of environmentalism has shifted over the past century or so. The shift has been dramatic, from the 'first wave' protection and preservation of 'natural' environments to the current fourth wave, where the agenda of environmentalism embraces issues of global social justice.

In parallel with this analysis of increasingly broad and ambitious targets, there has been a categorisation of environmental movements in terms of their ideological foundations, goals and strategies. Broadly speaking, movements can be categorised as 'conservative', 'liberal reformist' or 'radical transformative'. The scale in Source 9.10 highlights the differences.

SOURCE 9.10 A scale of the ideological and political orientation of environmental movements

Conservative	Liberal-reformist	Radical-transformative
The changes needed in terms of 'environments' are minimal, not particularly urgent and will not require significant changes in ideas, institutions or practices, and will be achieved gradually through established social, political and economic systems. →	The changes needed in terms of 'environments' are in some cases serious and urgent. They might require some rethinking of ideas and the reform of some institutions and practices. The changes may require strong initiatives and interventions by governments and public sectors, but current social, political and economic systems will largely manage the changes in a timely and effective way. →	The changes needed in terms of 'environment' are urgent and interwoven with social and cultural issues. The problems, in many cases, are the consequences of the current ways in which modern societies are organised, what they value and what practices they adopt. Effective change will require rapid adoption of new ways of thinking, valuing, organising and acting. Current forms of politics, policy, institutions and social relationships will need radical transformation.

SOURCE 9.11 A view of North and South Era beach in the Royal National Park, looking south from Thelma Head. Proclaimed in 1879, it was Australia's first national park, and the second in the world, following Yellowstone National Park in the United States (1872).

Considering this history, which of the three ideological approaches noted above do you think produced this park?

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Activity **9.4**

Research authors of environmental works

Books are often used to spread and popularise new ideas. With its warning against the overuse of chemicals and the effect of pollution on modern lives, *Silent Spring* (1962) quickly became a popular and influential book. Other influential books followed that helped shape the ideas of diverse environmental movements, including *The Population Bomb* (Ehrlich, 1968), *Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972) and *Small Is Beautiful* (Schumacher, 1973). The following authors have all written books that have contributed to the history of ideas in environmentalism. Working individually, or in pairs, choose one of the following authors (or your teacher will allocate) and research how they have contributed to growing diverse environmental movements:

- Rachel Carson
- John Muir
- Henry David Thoreau
- Aldo Leopold
- Fritjof Capra
- Wendell Berry
- Arne Næss
- Carolyn Merchant
- Vandana Shiva
- David Pepper
- David Suzuki
- Bruce Pascoe
- Charlene Spretnak
- Thomas Berry
- Murray Bookchin
- Naomi Klein
- Paul Ehrlich
- Donella Meadows, Jorgen Randers and Dennis Meadows
- E.F. Schumacher
- Kate Raworth
- Carolyn Finney
- William Cronon
- William Stanley Jevons
- David Foreman
- Julie Cruikshank
- Bill McKibben
- Al Gore
- Jonathan Safran Foer
- Charles III, King of England
- James Lovelock
- Murray Bookchin
- David Attenborough
- Marjory Stoneman Douglas

1. What book are they particularly famous for (title, date)?
2. What is the problem or opportunity that they focused on?
3. What is the key message of the book?
4. What attitude to the environment is promoted?
5. What action or behaviours does this author recommend?
6. Which 'framing wave' does this author belong or contribute to? What is your reasoning?
7. Which ideological and political orientation do you think is reflected in the author's work?

When presenting the findings, your class should report in chronological order. At the end of the reporting session, reflect and discuss as a class the ways you can see a progression or widening of environmentalist thinking represented. Note, this list is not fully representative, and you or your partner are free (under the guidance of your teacher) to add to the list!

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Source **9.12** Logos of different environmental organisations

SOURCE 9.12 Logos of different environmental organisations

Responding to the images of various environmental groups

Create and complete a table like the one below to respond to the images in Source 9.12.

1. Identify the environmental movements and organisations represented by the logos. Based on the logos, what might be the interests of these international environmental organisations?
2. Research and identify what each tries to achieve. Identify whether each one is a 'conservative', 'reformist' or 'transformative' movement. Use the table to document your findings.

Name of environmental movement/ organisation	Focus or goal: what does it aim to achieve?	What activities does it undertake to achieve its goals?	Is it a 'conservative', 'liberal reformist' or 'radical transformative' organisation?	Identify other organisations or movements that have similar goals or activities

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Source **9.13** An Extinction Rebellion (XR) protest, Brisbane, 8 October 2019

SOURCE 9.13 Queensland Police and Fire and Rescue attempt to cut Extinction Rebellion protesters from barrels filled with cement and tyres used to block traffic on George Street, in the Brisbane Central Business District, during the second day of the Rebellion Week protest

Responding to the XR protest

1. Why would some people criticise this particular protest action, labelling it unacceptable and wanting the protestors charged with criminal offences?
2. Why would some people disagree, applauding the protest action, labelling it 'valuable' and wanting the demonstrators not to face any police charges?
3. Why might some people be ambivalent about the protest?
4. What is your position? Explain.

Defining 'environmental movement'

You've now learned about quite a lot of 'environmental movements'. As 'movement' is the key concept of this chapter, it's now appropriate to form a definition. Source 9.14 shows how two academics define an 'environmental movement'.

SOURCE 9.14 Grasso and Giugni define an environmental movement

> ... a loose, noninstitutionalized network of informal interactions that may include, as well as individuals and groups who have no organizational affiliation, organizations of varying degrees of formality, that are engaged in collective action motivated by shared identity or concern about environmental issues.

Mario Grasso and Marco Giugni, 'Environmental Movements Worldwide', in *The Routledge Handbook of Environmental Movements*, 2022, p. 2

? Before you engage with the depth study, discuss with a partner whether this definition captures all the examples of movements that you've encountered in the chapter so far. What would you add or take away from this definition? If you wish, create your own (perhaps better) definition, and share it with classmates.

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Contextual study: Summing up

The contextual study has traced how the awareness of environmental problems has increased and improved over the past century. In parallel, environmental movements have developed from a concern with the protection of 'nature' to an understanding of the global relationship between environmental issues and those of poverty, inequality, conflict and political power. Commitment to a deeper 'environmental justice', emphasising the relationship between environment, society, economy and politics, is a key feature of many modern environmental movements. At the same time, there are many people who have not embraced a new 'ecological consciousness', as well as some environmental movements that embrace less ambitious goals and adopt more conventional tactics. The depth study offers an opportunity for you to explore some of the leading movements in Australia that are pursuing 'environmental justice'.

Activity **9.5**

Sum up the contextual study

1. Draw on the information in the text, together with additional research, and use an online tool such as Sutori to create an interactive timeline of key moments or events in the history of environmentalism since the 1960s. Include relevant videos, articles or images as part of your interactive timeline.
2. Conduct research into the UN's SDGs. Can you identify any that could impact on your own life? Are any of these being debated politically today in Australia? Explain.
3. Form groups of three students. Each student selects one of the following environmental movements:
   - the historical 'national parks movement' in Australia and/or the United States
   - Australian Conservation Foundation
   - Greenpeace.

   Research your selected movement. Prepare a brief report that explains:
   a. what type of 'awareness of environmental problems' motivates the movement
   b. what the movement mainly does
   c. which 'wave' or 'frame' the movement belongs to
   d. where the movement is positioned on the scale of ideological and political orientation.

   Share your reports within your group. Then arrange a whole-class or group discussion on:
   e. whether you approve of all three types of environmental movements
   f. what the strengths and weaknesses are of each type
   g. whether all three types of movements can be valuable in helping create a more sustainable future
   h. whether you are personally involved in one type of movement, or know of a local example.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: In what ways have environmental justice campaigns in Australia demonstrated new and effective ways of mobilising for the environment?

In April 2012, the towns of Keerrong and The Channon in the Northern Rivers, New South Wales, came together to declare that their towns would be Coal Seam Gas (CSG) Free Communities. This campaign against CSG mining, and others around Australia and overseas, are examples of 'fourth wave' environmental movements that combine concerns about environmental damage and social justice.

The following depth study investigates how movements such as 'Lock-the-Gate' (LtG), Extinction Rebellion (XR) and School Strikes 4 Climate (SS4C) influenced people with varying social, political and economic interests to think environmentally while considering broader ethical issues. Commencing with an investigation of LtG's place as part of a broader global anti-CSG mining movement, the depth study will then analyse the more recent environmental movements of XR and SS4C. The study concludes by considering their activities, along with LtG, as examples of 'fourth wave' environmentalism and whether environmental movements are entering a new stage that engages a broader section of society to think differently about the environment.

This depth study unfolds through a series of five sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.

The five sub-questions are:

1. How did the growth of the CSG industry in Queensland instigate new concerns about serious threats to communities, environments and sustainable futures in Australia?
2. How have people mobilised around the world in actions against CSG extraction?
3. In what ways did LtG's campaign in the Darling Downs demonstrate a fresh approach to environmental campaigning?
4. What strategies have other organisations used in pro-environmental campaigning around Australia and the world?
5. What have historians said about the approaches and impacts of pro-environmental campaigning?

SOURCE 9.15 The communities of Keerrong and The Channon in the Northern Rivers region of New South Wales come together at a community event to create a human map of their region and declare it a 'CSG-free Community' in April 2012

SOURCE 9.16 Interviews with people involved in a campaign to create a CSG Free Community in northern New South Wales, from the ABC 2021 documentary *The Big Deal* (03:13).

Scan the QR code to watch the video. Outline how the power of community managed to successfully challenge the growth of gas companies in northern New South Wales.

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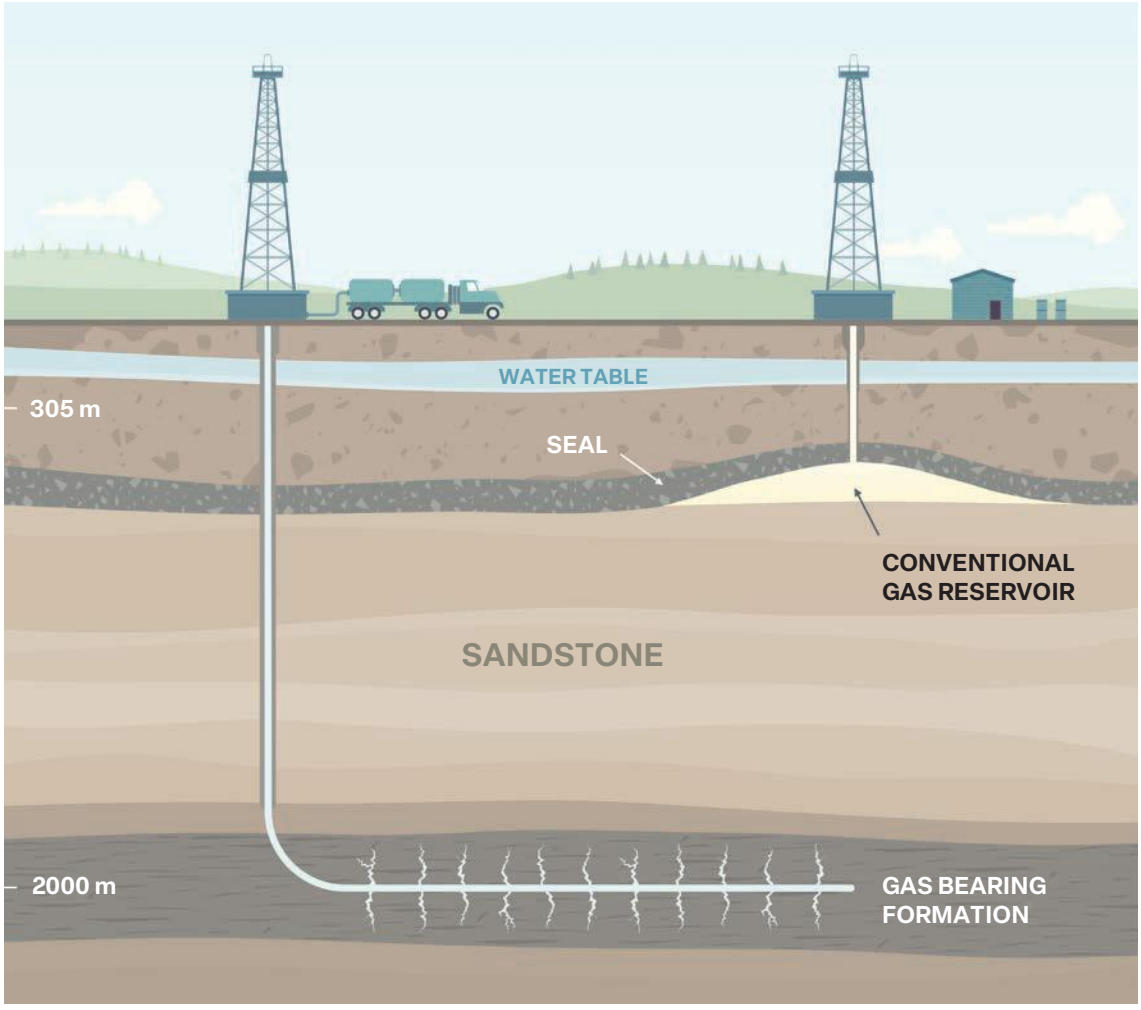
SUB-QUESTION 1: How did the growth of the CSG industry in Queensland instigate new concerns about serious threats to communities, environments and sustainable futures in Australia?

CSG is also known as coal bed methane (CBM) gas, unconventional gas or tight gas. It is extracted using a process called hydraulic fracturing, or fracking. The diagram in Source 9.17 illustrates how fracking works. Once CSG has been extracted, it is cooled so that it becomes a liquid (liquefied natural gas, or LNG) and can be stored and transported safely.



SOURCE 9.17 Diagram of how a fracking well is used to extract coal seam gas

Activity **9.6**

Conduct research into fracking

To understand how fracking works in detail, undertake internet research to find various educational videos, such as those created by TED Talks (search the terms 'TED Ed Fracking'). Make a list of reasons as to why mining companies would employ fracking.

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The coal industry from the 2000s

In the 2000s, Australia experienced a 'once in a generation' mining boom. Historian David Lee, in his book *The Second Rush* (2016), describes a boom led by demand for Australia's coal from Asian countries, especially China. Between 2007 and 2009, China increased its imports of Australian coal from four million tonnes to 47 million tonnes per year, representing nearly a fifth of Australia's coal exports.

Such rapid expansion of the coal industry saw coal mines encroaching on land already used for agriculture. As governments approved the increasingly intensive activities of mining companies, many in rural communities began to experience a sense of disenfranchisement from the political process. Some communities began to create protest groups, like the Friends of Felton on Queensland's Darling Downs in 2008. These emerging anti-coal mining movements drew on familiar arguments of environmental degradation and intergenerational sustainability as they started another chapter in the history of Australian environmental campaigns. It was within this context that anti-fracking environmental movements also grew.

The CSG industry from the 2010s

The CSG industry in Australia is mainly located in Queensland and provides around 90% of all CSG extracted in Australia. Although conventional gas had been mined in Queensland since 1915, the unconventional gas (including CSG) industry was still small in the mid-2000s. The Queensland Government had committed to ecologically sustainable development since the early 1990s. However, a desire by resource companies for rapid development of the CSG industry challenged key principles embedded in this strategy. So that commercial contracts for CSG to LNG extraction could be established, historians Geralyn McCarron and Shay Dougall have found that 'overt political pressure was exerted' by gas companies on the government to relax some of these principles in mid-2010 (McCarron & Dougall, 2022:48). Oil and gas exploration company Santos Limited received approval for the first major CSG to LNG project from the Queensland Government on 28 May 2010, and two further projects to other companies were approved within months (Queensland Cabinet and Ministerial Directory, 2010).

Investment in the CSG industry was rapid. A special Resources Cabinet Committee established under the Deputy Premier in September 2012 identified numerous ways to fast-track investment. McCarron and Dougall identified that over the next six months the Committee had cut the Environment Impact Statement's terms of reference from 100 to 25 pages, reduced conditions in the new approvals process from 300 to 65, and cut the timeframe for issuing approvals down from 18 months to 30 days (McCarron & Dougall, 2022:49). By 2013, a $70 billion investment had established the world's first CSG to LNG export industry by linking production in the Surat and Bowen Basins to processing plants on Curtis Island near Gladstone. Soon after this, in 2017, there were four main companies involved in producing CSG-LNG in Queensland, working predominantly in the Surat and Bowen Basins: QGC-BG Group (Queensland Gas Company), Arrow Energy, Origin Energy and Santos. By 2020, Australia had briefly overtaken Qatar as the world's largest exporter of gas.

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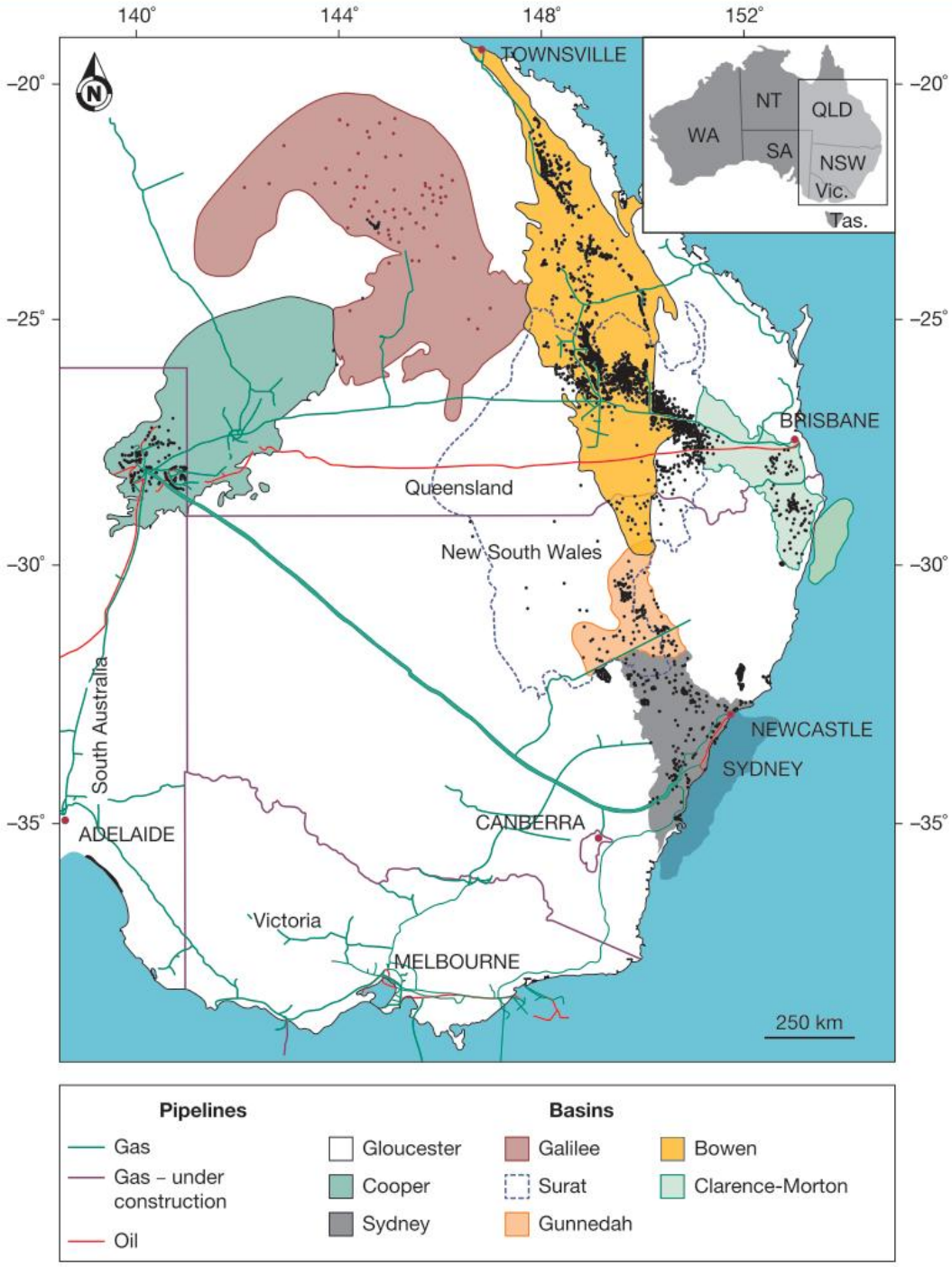
Source **9.18** Map of CSG industry locations in eastern Australia



SOURCE 9.18 Map of CSG wells, high-productivity aquifers and gas/oil pipelines in eastern Australia, May 2021

Responding to the map

1. There are several CSG aquifers (different zones in the underlying bedrock where gas is found) in the map of eastern Australia in Source 9.18. Identify the names of the aquifers that are found in Queensland.
2. There are two aquifers from where most of the gas is mined in Queensland. Which ones are they?

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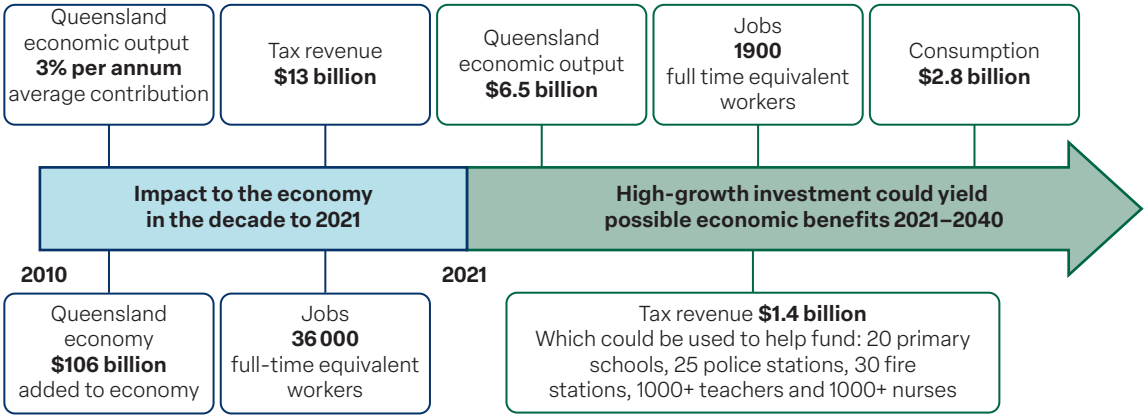
3. Each black dot on the map represents a location where gas wells are situated. Describe the spread of gas wells across Queensland. Compare this map with maps of Queensland that show both land usage and where towns are located (you may need to use more than one map). What can you learn about potential issues between current use of the landscape and the location of gas wells?
4. Which aquifers are not located wholly within Queensland? What issues in the management of these fields do you think might occur given that they cross state borders? How might this factor influence the growth of anti-CSG environmental movements across Australia?

Fracking technology had made these fields financially viable, and the Queensland Government was the beneficiary of the economic benefits of this new industry. Developing the industry was described as 'once in a generation opportunity' (Queensland Government, 2010) that would bring jobs and economic growth and promised:

1. cheaper gas due to increased supply
2. to tackle climate change because CSG-LNG was a 'bridging fuel' in the transition to renewables
3. more jobs
4. an increase in government revenue.

The Australian Petroleum Production & Exploration Association (APPEA) reported in 2023 that the royalties received by the Queensland Government were the equivalent of funding a new public hospital every year (Luwela, 2023). A 2021 APPEA report identified that since 2010 over $80 billion had been invested in the oil and gas industry creating significant economic benefits, with more projected for the future.

Source **9.19** Infographic about economic benefits to Queensland



SOURCE 9.19 Actual and projected impact to Queensland of the oil and gas industries, 2010 to 2040

Responding to the infographics

1. How has the Queensland economy benefited from the CSG industry?
2. The graphic states the resource sector delivers 'potential annual benefits' for various areas. Which parts of the economy are identified as potentially benefiting in the future from the gas industry? Why might the report choose to emphasise these benefits?
3. How is the utilitarian idea of the 'greatest good for the greatest number' expressed through this graphic?

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Source **9.20** Tara-Chinchilla gasfields

SOURCE 9.20 Satellite image of a small section of the Condamine State Forest near Tara-Chinchilla, showing the extensive road networks providing access to CSG wellheads

Responding to the image

1. There are 33 wellheads identified in this image of the Condamine State Forest from Google Earth. Using the scale indicating 500m in the bottom right corner of the image, what is the area (in square kilometres) of this location? How many wellheads per square kilometre are represented in this image?
2. This image is only a small section of the CSG infrastructure in this region. It has been estimated that for each wellhead in the CSG fields, around 1 kilometre of road has been created. Undertake a search on Google Earth around the Tara-Chinchilla region for other locations where CSG wells are located. How extensive is the CSG infrastructure?
3. What short- and long-term impacts could the construction and use of these roads have on local ecosystems, including flora, fauna and waterways? Find out whether CSG projects require environmental impact studies to be approved.
4. The fracking of one CSG well requires, on average, two to three million litres of water in its lifetime. In the gasfield framed in this photograph, potentially how many litres of water could be required over the lifetime of the field? Extrapolate to make a judgement about water usage by the gas industry across the region. Undertake research to identify how has the CSG industry tried to mitigate any issues raised by water usage.

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Concerns about the CSG industry

Grassroots anti-mining campaigns since the 1960s and the rapid expansion of coal mining in the 2000s provided the context in which movements such as Lock the Gate Alliance (LtG) materialised. The CSG resources in the Surat Basin, when compared with the Bowen Basin, were located under a more closely settled agricultural district (the Darling Downs), and the boom of 2008–13 encouraged companies to move into areas of prime agricultural land or natural reserves. According to GasFields Commission Queensland, this 'set the stage for a rocky start to relationships between gas companies, landholders and rural communities' (June 2017:17).

Source **9.21** Narelle and Nood Northdurft's story

Scan the QR code to watch the video before answering the questions below.

SOURCE 9.21 Narelle and Nood Nothdurft's story, *Lock the Gate Alliance,* 2014 (05:10)

Responding to the stories

1. Describe the Nothdurft family's motivations for moving to the Chinchilla region.
2. Outline how their property is being used as an industrial gas site.
3. According to both the video report and this recount, what issues do the Nothdurft family have to deal with on a regular basis?
4. Narelle describes the gas company's use of their property as an invasion. What clues in the video account help you to understand her perspective?
5. Referring to the video at the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10801, make a list of the range of issues Scott and Kate Lloyd face by having CSG wells on their land.
6. Lock the Gate has continued to document the stories, experiences and concerns faced by those living and working in the Queensland Gas Fields. Review the following videos provided at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/11111 to identify any additional issues not listed by the Nothdurft and Lloyd families. Based on the information provided by Lock the Gate, categorise each of the concerns faced by communities living in the Queensland Gas Fields as short, mid or long term concerns.

Fracking is not an issue isolated to Australia. Communities around the world have faced the challenge to the sustainability of their communities that fracking presents. Director Josh Fox released the documentary film *Gasland* in 2010, and screenings popularised many anti-fracking campaigns. With the tagline 'Can you light your water on fire?', the film became a staple of community-led anti-fracking campaigns around the world. France halted fracking exploration in 2011 two months after the release of *Gasland* in national cinemas there, Bulgarian activists shared versions of the film on video-sharing sites throughout 2011, and the film became a prominent feature of anti-mining campaigns in Australia during the same period.

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In 2014, the community gathered to successfully prevent fracking at Bentley, a small town just outside of Lismore, New South Wales. This campaign has been documented in the film *The Bentley Effect* (2016).

Activity **9.7**

Watch a documentary

1. Watch either *Gasland* (2010), based in the United States, or *The Bentley Effect* (2016), based in northern New South Wales. Documentaries are useful for learning about a historical or contemporary issue even though they, like all source material, can reflect a particular standpoint and project a certain perspective. Watch either (or both!) movies and consider how the director(s) has positioned you to understand (and possibly respond to) the issue. Some questions you could ask include:
   - **a.** What makes this documentary memorable?
   - **b.** Where can the director's point of view be identified in the documentary?
2. How are some, or all, of the following elements (listed a–h below) used to develop the narrative of the documentary? Which elements are particularly used to convey the filmmaker's point of view about the issue, as distinct from simply conveying undisputed information?
   - **a.** Clear-voiced commentator and their gender
   - **b.** Editing of images
   - **c.** Re-enactments
   - **d.** CGI
   - **e.** Interviews: living participants, historians or both
   - **f.** Use of alternative views or those who disagree
   - **g.** Talking head experts with their names and affiliations in titles
   - **h.** Location filming

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How did the growth of the CSG industry in Queensland instigate new concerns about serious threats to communities, environments and sustainable futures in Australia?

1. Create a graphic that explains the ways in which CSG mining in Queensland can be a threat to communities, environments and sustainable futures.
2. Create a blog post in which you argue that the benefits of CSG mining for a local mining community outweigh the alleged threats.
3. In Activity 9.7, you watched one or both of *Gasland* and *The Bentley Effect*. Identify some of the key issues in the documentary you watched then create and complete a table like the one below to recount, explain or interpret, and provide the justification for each issue.

Issue or event in *Gasland* or *The Bentley Effect*	Recount: What happened?	Explain or interpret: Why did it happen?	Justification: How do individuals try to justify their actions?

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SUB-QUESTION 2: How have people mobilised around the world in actions against CSG extraction?

From around 2010, anti-fracking campaigns have increased in frequency around the world, coinciding with increased consumption of natural gas globally for electricity generation.

Natural gas is often touted as a 'transition energy' source towards renewable energy, given its lower carbon emissions when compared with oil or coal. However, it contributes significant greenhouse gas emissions. Research has found that over a 20-year period, the contribution of methane to potential global warming is 86 times greater than CO_2 and up to 34 times over a 100-year period (McCarron & Dougall, 2022:53). Many environment campaigners have also raised ethical questions about developing new fossil fuel sources that contribute to climate change.

Naomi Klein, in her 2014 book *This Changes Everything*, describes a global movement called 'Blockadia' that encourages ordinary people who might not normally be activists to engage in environmental action. The Canadian academic Sibo Chen argues that Blockadia differs from traditional environmental campaigns in three areas: the use of confrontational tactics, integration of environmental with social justice concerns, and a reliance on grassroots coalitions of politically and socially diverse backgrounds (Chen, 2021). It organically appears wherever 'projects are attempting to dig and drill, whether for open-pit mines, or gas fracking, or tar sands oil pipelines' (Klein, 2014:294–5).

Klein says that those involved – going to local council meetings, or marches or being arrested – do not look like your 'typical activist': they include local business people, school students, academics and elderly members of the community. She views this broad, grassroots activism on a global scale as being unlike most previous forms of environmental movement. She further argues that perhaps it isn't even an environmental movement, but rather is driven by a desire for a type of democracy that gives communities control over vital natural resources - and their actions at a local level are stopping actual climate crimes from happening.

SOURCE 9.22 A blockade against construction of a pipeline at Tar Sands in Texas, 2012. Naomi Klein says that the term 'blockadia' has its origins in a 2013 documentary about this protest, *Blockadia Rising*.

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We saw earlier in this chapter how 'thinking environmentally' draws in social, economic and political issues as well as concerns about ethics and values. Both Klein and Chen indicate that Blockadia is a movement with more holistic concerns than simply issues of nature and identifies a key shift in how environmental activism is practised.

The Balcombe 'Picnic Protest' of 2013

Balcombe is a small English village located about 50 kilometres south of London. From July to November 2013, it became the focus of a Blockadia-style anti-fracking campaign when the UK energy company Cuadrilla wanted to drill an exploratory gas extraction well in the village.

The villagers of Balcombe, described by the BBC as 'very conservative' (Tarver, 2013), formed a protest group, and on 25 July over 250 people blocked the company from bringing equipment onto the site. A protest camp was set up, and on Sunday 11 August a 'picnic protest' was held at the drill site. Choirs and musicians from across the region united with locals and supporters to protest at the 'Great Gas Gala'.

Source **9.23** The Great Gas Gala

Scan the QR code to watch the video.

SOURCE 9.23 Independent documentary by LifeArtsMedia about the 'Great Gas Gala' on 11 August 2013 (09:40)

Responding to the video

1. Make a list of the different issues that anti-fracking campaigners raise during the day of protest.
2. It was reported that 82% of the villagers of Balcombe were against fracking. What were the variety of ways that people protested? Explain the different ways these actions contributed to building a community of opposition.
3. Naomi Klein describes Blockadia-style actions as 'place-based stands'. Why might the singing of the 'unofficial national anthem of England', the traditional hymn 'Jerusalem', help to contextualise the concerns of the protestors? How might singing the hymn in protest help the wider British public to understand that attempts to prevent fracking in Balcombe are more than just NIMBY-ism ('Not In My Back Yard') at work?
4. During the singing, a series of names are read aloud. Propose possibilities for who they might be.
5. Compare this event in the United Kingdom with the events held in Keerrong and The Channon in 2012 (re-watch the videos of the two events if necessary). Using Klein's observation that activists look like the places in which they live, what can you learn about these two communities from how they 'look' at these events. In what ways might this practice be an unreliable determinant of what a community is like? Where are the issues raised by the community similar? Where are they different? How are these events similar? Where are they different?

In the video, you saw protestors singing the traditional hymn 'Jerusalem' by the English poet William Blake, who had lived nearby as a child. The hymn describes 'dark satanic mills' that contrast with 'pleasant pastures' and the green landscape of England. It is usually assumed that Blake was describing the foundry of Coalbrookdale, one of the first English towns to industrialise in the Industrial Revolution.

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Source **9.24** Philip James de Loutherbourg's 1801 painting of Coalbrookdale

Responding to the painting

1. What do you think it is about this painting that caused people to embrace it as symbolic of the Industrial Revolution's beginnings?
2. There are debates about de Loutherbourg's intention – about whether he was simply 'depicting' a situation or 'commenting' on it. Which do you think is more likely? Explain.
3. Would it be possible for different people to interpret the painting as both a celebration of industrialisation and a critique of it? Explain.
4. Comment on the artist's technique of 'hiding' the full picture of industry in the background, foregrounding the activities of ordinary people, but having the intense glow of industry dominating the middle of the painting.

SOURCE 9.24 *Coalbrookdale by Night*, 1801. This image has come to symbolise the birth of the Industrial Revolution in England. Coalbrookdale was indeed one of the first industrial towns, but the artist painted this scene decades after that 'birth'.

The Great Gas Gala, and the other actions that followed, dramatically brought the issue of fracking to the attention of the British public. While some people in the village supported the drilling, the media reported that studies showed 82% of the residents of Balcombe were opposed to drilling taking place. Many, although opposed to the potential environmental effects of fracking and industrialisation of the English countryside, were also expressing their dissatisfaction at a perceived lack of consultation between the local community, Cuadrilla and the government.

Source **9.25** Greens MP Caroline Lucas speaks after being arrested at a protest in August

SOURCE 9.25 *The Guardian* newspaper records a statement by the Greens MP Caroline Lucas, who was arrested at one protest in August

> Along with everyone else who took action today, I'm trying to stop a process which could cause enormous damage for decades to come. The evidence is clear that fracking undermines efforts to tackle the climate crisis and poses potential risks to the local environment. People today, myself included, took peaceful non-violent direct action only after exhausting every other means of protest available to us. I'm in the privileged position of being able to put questions to the government directly and arrange debates in Parliament, but still ministers have refused to listen. Despite the opposition to fracking being abundantly clear, the government has completely ignored the views of those they are supposed to represent. When the democratic deficit is so enormous, people are left with very little option but to take peaceful, non-violent direct action.

Adam Vaughan, 'Fracking Protests Around the UK – As It Happened', *The Guardian*, 19 August 2013

Responding to Lucas

1. List the reasons given by UK Greens MP Caroline Lucas for why the people were protesting the drilling at Balcombe.
2. Lucas talks about a 'democratic deficit'. What do you think she means by this term? What words or phrases in her statement support your understanding of this term?

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As the summer progressed, numerous protests and attempts to blockade access to the drill site took place. *The Guardian* newspaper said the Balcombe protests signalled a 'major shift in the public consciousness of the issue' (Harvey, 2013).

Sources **9.26** and **9.27** *The Guardian* reports on the Balcombe demonstrations

SOURCE 9.26 Photograph in *The Guardian*: a protester in Balcombe holds a poster featuring a quote from Gandhi

SOURCE 9.27 Report in *The Guardian* on the Balcombe demonstrations

> The partially drilled oil well at Balcombe, which has been besieged by thousands of protesters, is not the UK's first or largest fracking site. ... But it has caught the public imagination in a way that the recent history of fracking in the UK has not, with the scale of the last few days of protest signalling a major shift in the public consciousness of the issue, and a major headache for the government. Anti-fracking is drawing together a sizeable coalition of people at demonstrations: 'middle England' has been as much in evidence as Occupy; Daily Mail readers have outnumbered Guardianistas; first-time protesters mingled with veterans; old and young joined hands; and people whose primary concern is preserving the countryside found common cause with climate change activists.

Fiona Harvey, 'Anti-fracking Protests in Balcombe Signal Major Shift in Public Awareness', *The Guardian*, 20 August 2013

Responding to *The Guardian*

1. *The Guardian* uses a variety of terms to describe the protestors. Define what might be meant by using the following terms:
   - **a.** 'middle England'
   - **b.** 'Occupy'
   - **c.** 'Daily Mail readers'
   - **d.** 'Guardianistas'.

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2. The protestors are described as a 'sizeable coalition'. Who are the people identified in this 'coalition'? Where might each part of this coalition possibly be placed on the 'left–right political spectrum'? (It may not be clear where to place some at all.) Why might 'coalition' be an appropriate term to describe the opposition to fracking in Balcombe?
3. In the photograph published with this article, how does the framing of the drill rig help or hinder you in understanding why some people would object to the type of industrialisation taking place?
4. Look at the sign in the accompanying photograph of this article. Use the statement by Caroline Lucas to explain what the concerns of this protestor might be. What message do you think the protestor is trying to communicate by using a quotation from Mahatma Gandhi to communicate these concerns?
5. How does Harvey's description support or discount Naomi Klein's description of Blockadia protestors and the various ethics and issues of Blockadia as identified by the academic Sibo Chen?

One local protestor, Anna Jordan, who attended a protest with her daughter, was reported in the media as saying that she'd written letters and signed petitions but still did not feel as though she was being heard. She said that she'd never considered 'direct action before' but felt as though she 'had to act … [and] dashed across the road and linked arms' to join a blockade (Sewell, 2013). Support from across the country emerged for the residents of Balcombe opposed to fracking, including celebrities such as human rights activist Bianca Jagger (daughter of Rolling Stones vocalist Mick Jagger), fashion designer Vivienne Westwood and various politicians.

For five months, protestors joined locals and camped in nearby fields and on the side of the road leading to the drill site. They blockaded trucks entering the drill site, using human chains, 'glue-ons' and lock-ons, a fallen tree or parking an antique fire engine across the entrance (you can read an illustrated timeline of the events on the BBC website, available at the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10533).

The protestors were ultimately unable to prevent Cuadrilla from undertaking drilling and the company completed its testing. In November 2013, the last protestors left as the company finished work and, in January 2014, Cuadrilla announced it would not use fracking in Balcombe saying, by way of explanation, that the rocks contained insufficient natural cracks for gas extraction. Campaigners responded that Cuadrilla should not be undertaking any gas extraction projects in Balcombe, with or without fracking, due to the larger threat from climate change through fossil fuel usage.

The events at Balcombe signalled to the UK Government that fracking had become an issue that engaged a diverse range of people. Opposition to fracking crossed generations, gender, country and city, and political voting patterns. Concerns about the environmental impacts, local and global, were often seen as the triggering issue, but deeper questions about community rights, political engagement and future economic development of the energy sector in an era of climate change all influenced the direction of debate. It was the complexity of these issues that drew many previously unaligned individuals and groups together to object to the ongoing development of the fracking industry in the United Kingdom during the summer of 2013.

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The transnational anti-fracking environmental movement

As a global movement, the transnational anti-fracking environmental movement came to many people's attention through key campaigns in locations such as Balcombe in the United Kingdom, across Romania from 2012 to 2014 and ongoing protests against the Marcellus Shale project in the United States.

Concerns usually focused on environmental impacts, especially on underground water sources. There were also concerns that local communities or landholders were being aggressively overruled by energy companies seeking a quick profit, and what they saw as overly close relationships between politicians and energy companies. Violent clashes occurred, such as in the Revolt of Pungesti, Romania (2013), and in Ain Salah, Algeria (2015).

In each location, grassroots organisations emerged to coordinate local anti-fracking actions such as the 'Frack Off' campaign in the United Kingdom and Lock the Gate Alliance in Australia. As we turn our attention to the development of Lock the Gate Alliance, a key focus will be to see how similar coalitions of interest emerged for an environmental movement in opposition to CSG extraction in Australia.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

How have people mobilised around the world in actions against CSG extraction ?

According to the US Department of Health and Human Services (2024), environmental justice, is 'the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income in the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies'.

1. How would you describe environmental justice in your own words?
2. In what ways is the Balcombe Picnic Protest an issue of environmental justice?
3. The EJAtlas is an interactive global atlas of environmental justice. Go to the 'About' page of the atlas (available online via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10534). What is the mission of the atlas? What are the administrators of this atlas aiming to achieve? Navigate to the Natural Gas section of the map via 'Browse Maps' → 'Commodity' → 'Natural Gas'. Explore the conflicts listed there, and create and complete a table like the one below.

Location of natural gas conflict (town, state/province, country)	Summary/ description of conflict	Explain why this is an environmental justice issue	Describe how people have mobilised against the issue

4. Blockadia, as a global movement, differs from traditional environmental campaigns in three areas: the use of confrontational tactics, integration of environmental with social justice concerns, and a reliance on grassroots coalitions of politically and socially diverse backgrounds. Do you agree with including the Balcombe Picnic Protest as an example of Blockadia? Is the Picnic Protest an example of a community addressing an issue of environmental justice? Explain your responses.

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SUB-QUESTION 3: In what ways did LtG's campaign in the Darling Downs demonstrate a fresh approach to environmental campaigning?

The story of the protest in Keerrong and The Channon at the beginning of this depth study is an example of the 'social licence' required for mining companies to operate in a region. Former mining executive Jim Cooney says companies require a 'two track approval process' for projects: a formal legal licence from governments and an informal 'social licence to operate' (Franks, 2015:43) – that is, the level of acceptance or approval by local communities who are affected by the project. Anti-fracking groups like Lock the Gate Alliance (LtG) challenge that social licence in ways that demonstrate the complex and unexpected alliances they have formed.

In Australia, the various anti-fracking and anti-coal mining movements coalesced around LtG, which originated in the region around Tara-Chinchilla in south-west Queensland. These groups, such as People for the Plains in Narrabri, New South Wales, or the Knitting Nannas Against Gas, are community based and formed in response to locality-specific issues. Combined, however, they provide a powerful presence behind the symbol of the yellow LtG triangle that challenges the social licence of mining companies to operate.

Aims and objectives

On its website, LtG offers a clear vision of 'healthy, empowered communities which have fair, democratic processes available to them' so that land and water is protected and able to be used to 'deliver sustainable solutions to food and energy needs' (Lock the Gate Alliance, n.d.). It unites farmers, First Nations peoples, conservationists and urban residents in their concerns about the risks entailed by coal mining, CSG and fracking.

The mission of LtG is twofold: to protect Australia's natural, cultural and agricultural resources from 'inappropriate mining', and to educate and empower everyday Australians to seek 'sustainable solutions to food and energy production'.

A strategy of affiliated decentralisation emphasises the mutual interests between groups in the fight against the CSG industry. Since its launch in 2010 as a formal alliance of connected groups that held similar views and attitudes towards coal and CSG mining in the Tara-Chinchilla regions of the Darling Downs in Queensland, LtG has described itself as a 'national grassroots organisation' that consists of around 200 local groups and more than 120 000 supporters.

Seasoned environmental campaigner Drew Hutton remembers how, in the early days of the movement, he 'went from farmhouse to farmhouse [where he] found despair, bitterness, anger and depression' (Hutton, 2012a). A recent political fight over tree-clearing laws between farmers and environmentalists was still fresh in the minds of both camps. Despite often being met with resentment by the farmers he talked to, many still saw value in having a 'strategic alliance with environmentalists' (Hutton, 2012a).

SOURCE 9.28 Lock the Gate sign on a fence in rural Australia. The triangle symbol has become ubiquitous across communities opposed to coal and gas companies. The symbolism of the sign has its roots in the Franklin Dam campaign of the early 1980s – a famous, successful campaign to prevent a dam being built on Tasmania's Gordon River and thereby flooding its tributary, the Franklin River.

Research the No Dams symbol and how it was used in that campaign. How would the symbol's history and imagery contribute to galvanising a community to remove the social licence of a company to operate?

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SOURCE 9.29 A collection of photographs from the LtG website depicting the movement

Look closely at each of the images collected here. According to LtG, how is the 'social licence' being transgressed in rural Australia?

On 20 November 2010, representatives from eight farmers' and residents' organisations assembled at state parliament in Brisbane to officially launch the campaign. Gathered around the dramatic prop of a farm gate, they declared their opposition to new coal mines and the planned 40 000 CSG wells across the agricultural regions of Queensland. Some of the concerns raised included poor environmental legislation and regulation, land access laws, sustainable food production in the Darling Downs, the creation of industrial zones in agricultural areas and increasing mining activity by multinational mining companies.

Social tensions

The emphasis that LtG places on community-focused alliances as a strategy can be traced to the division that existed in regions where it began.

University of Queensland researcher Kim de Rijke has found that the introduction of the CSG industry 'exacerbated … prior community tensions' and may have contributed to forming various anti-CSG groups in the Tara-Chinchilla area. He found sharp social divisions between 'town people' and farmers, and also between powerful multigenerational farming families and more recent arrivals to the region (2013:9).

The tensions that existed between the residents of the Tara Estates and residents of the town of Tara is one example. The 'Blockies', as they were known, lived on the Tara Estates, which is a subdivision of over 2000 lifestyle rural blocks developed in the early 1980s, several minutes' drive from the historical town of Tara. Today, there are around 3000 residents located on the outskirts of Tara town, a population larger than that of the traditional town of Tara. The residents of the estates have been called Blockies since the 1980s.

One Estates resident remembers an area without facilities that was all bush in 1981. Over time, the residents improved the properties but, according to researcher Muhammad Makki, locals still described Blockies as 'backward, whinging, uncivilized, and a bit grubby, with a baggage full of social diseases like violence, drugs, and gambling' who threatened the socio-cultural values of the community due to being 'dole-bludgers and druggies' (2015:127). These attitudes extended beyond the local area. One resident describes how he was ashamed to tell nurses in a Brisbane hospital he was from Tara because he was afraid of the possible reaction. The *Courier Mail* also described Tara as a 'town full of misfits' (McCarthy, 2014).

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Source **9.30** Tara locals speak about the Blockies

SOURCE 9.30 Statements by Tara locals, 2013

Oliver: Don't tell me they represent Tara. I have been here forever. I've probably been here for 47 years and the people living here in the subdivisions were here for 30 years max. I know most of the people here.

Bruce: When the [CSG] industry came along, there were promises of thousands of jobs and wealth. But this is all for the townies ... Nobody gave them jobs, I mean to the Blockies, because of the tag they've got ... I know a nice bloke who got a security licence and was struggling to get a job with the gas people, but I told him to forget it. Companies aren't giving him jobs because he owns his property at the Estates. So for them [Blockies], there are no jobs.

Blake: I can tell you who is who. Country blokes are not hard to identify; they are different. You can tell who has lost their pride. [...] Many of them [Blockies] are in dirty, untidy clothes and are in need of a proper shower ... I think it's the way place claims the people.

Interviews conducted in 2013 by Muhammad Makki, *Coal Seam Gas Development and Community Conflict: A Comparative Study of Community Responses to Coal Seam Gas Development in Chinchilla and Tara, Queensland*, 2015, pp. 136, 132

Responding to the Tara locals

1. What type of attitudes towards the Blockies are being expressed here?
2. How are the social divisions identified by Kim de Rijke expressed in these statements? What do they indicate to you about the social tensions in the town of Tara?
3. Drew Hutton wrote in 1987 that there 'should be little reason for [green movements] to have a social base only in the professional and middle classes' and that they 'should take working-class concerns' into consideration as well (1987:27). How do these accounts of the social divisions in Tara contribute to your understanding of the membership of LtG?

Property and mining rights

Earlier in this chapter, the Nothdurfts and the Lloyds described the challenges they faced if they did not agree to further wells on their property. This threat illustrates how the issue of individual property rights engaged numerous landowners and others against the CSG industry. Many asked how it was possible that a gas company could have the right to enter onto their land and establish wellheads and other infrastructure without a landowner's permission.

Under Australian law, property rights and mining rights are considered separately. The state owns the mineral rights under all farmland and can give permission for exploration and mining to occur even if a landowner objects. In 1915, Queensland legislated for public ownership of petroleum, including gas, as a mineral resource. So, the question surrounding an individual's property rights is whether companies, with government permission, have the right to access land for exploration of and drilling for CSG because the industry will have economic benefits for the wider population, or whether farmers have the right to prevent access to private land to protect their own interests.

In Queensland, the *State Development and Public Works Organisation Act 1971* (section 11d) allows mining companies to enter a property because their work is approved as 'Infrastructure Facility of State Significance'. If a landholder wants to prevent access, the *Petroleum and Gas (Production and Safety) Act 2004* says that agreement must be reached within 20 business days.

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If there is no agreement, an additional 20 days are provided to allow further meetings between the landholder and the gas company. If there is still disagreement, the company can then file the case to the Land Court, and 10 days after filing, companies can commence activities on the land selected.

Landowners were also concerned about how they were treated by representatives of the gas companies.

Source **9.31** Tara and Chinchilla locals speak about gas company representatives

SOURCE 9.31 Accounts of attitudes held by gas company representatives

Daniel (Chinchilla): If you ask me the question, was the concern with water? My answer is no. It was really the case of how they [CSG industry] were and are treating the landowners, walking over the top of, lacking respect for and disregarding the rights of the landowner. It was that attitude which caused people to look at the wider picture. And the issue of water wouldn't have happened until people's [water] bores started to drop, but, because of their attitude, people started to look at the other issues.

Gilbert (Tara): They [CSG Company] don't say, 'Can we come in? Would you mind if we come in? Can we put a well here?' Or 'We are sorry our activities caused you trouble'. It's just, 'we are coming here and we will be putting wells here and there'.

Timothy (Tara): I wish they [CSG companies] would have worked with the people. We were not after big money, as in the past there never had been any big compensation. It was just the attitude of companies ... [they] walk over the landowner and will do whatever they like to them ... the bluffers. The more CSG started to ramp up there were more cases of companies' attitude towards the landholders. [The CSG company] almost had the attitude that we are the colonial masters. And that's what really started the landowners to resist.

Interviews conducted in 2013 by Muhammad Makki, *Coal Seam Gas Development and Community Conflict: A Comparative Study of Community Responses to Coal Seam Gas Development in Chinchilla and Tara, Queensland*, 2015, pp. 94, 99, 102

Responding to the accounts of landholders

1. What does Daniel's account indicate about the original concerns of many landowners who were in conflict with the CSG industry?
2. What do you think Daniel is referring to when he mentions the 'issue of water'?
3. How would you describe the attitudes of the gas company representatives portrayed here?
4. Timothy describes the attitude of the gas company as being like a 'colonial master'. What do you think he means by this comment? How might this help explain Narelle Nothdurft's assessment that she felt 'invaded'? (See Source 9.21.)
5. How do the landowners wish they were treated by the gas companies?
6. Refer to earlier sections on ecocentric and anthropocentric worldviews. Based on the evidence you have seen so far, where on this spectrum of viewpoints would you place the views of landowners who object to the CSG industry? What evidence could you point to that supports your decision?
7. Search online for any sources that provide CSG companies' descriptions of and comments on their encounters with landowners. If such sources conflict with the sources provided here, how might you evaluate the veracity of the conflicting sources?

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Wider concerns

As landowners and the 'Blockies' increased their opposition to the CSG industry, they began to understand that an anti-fracking campaign was about more than individual property rights but also involved wider political, social, ethical and ecological concerns.

Source **9.32** Word cloud image created from transcripts of interviews and surveys with CSG protesters in the Darling Downs

SOURCE 9.32 Word cloud image displaying CSG protesters' concerns (from Boyd, 2013:18)

Responding to the word cloud

1. Try to group the concerns of the protesters identified in the word cloud into different categories. What appear to be the main concerns of these CSG protesters?
2. In what way do these concerns indicate that the issue of CSG fracking is an example of 'thinking environmentally', which you learned about earlier in this chapter?

The Darling Downs is regarded as a food bowl region sustaining a quarter of the state's agriculture. It is claimed that, during winter, the Lockyer Valley supplies up to 90% of Australia's fresh vegetables. The potential loss of this farmland – along with concerns about the overall ecological impacts on groundwater, chemical pollution of local waterways and aquifers, salinity, and stability of the underlying rock layers through fracking – focused the objections of anti-fracking campaigners. These issues became encapsulated in images of methane emissions bubbling up in the Condamine River. Some long-term locals argued that bubbling in the Condamine River was well known in local knowledge and, in January 2013, the Queensland Government released a report stating that the bubbles posed 'no risk to the environment or to human and animal health' (quoted in Buckmaster, 2015). The potential impact on the local environment and agriculture galvanised many to the point where the *Courier Mail* reported on 21 November 2010 that 'depression, frustration and anger are making conservative farmers … [turn] to the Greens' (quoted in Munro, 2012).

LtG did not confine its focus only to the Darling Downs; it also highlighted that industrial expansion in the Port of Gladstone was damaging marine environments, while increased shipping in the area raised concerns about potential damage to the Great Barrier Reef. On a global scale, LtG emphasised that Australia was not acting as a responsible global citizen as it was contributing to climate change through exporting vast quantities of fossil fuels.

These issues galvanised a unique mix of individuals and groups across the Darling Downs and around Australia to form a strategic alliance under the banner of Lock the Gate. What is significant historically is whether LtG broke new ground as an environmental movement in terms of its aims, membership, strategies and campaigns.

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Thinking globally, not parochially, about CSG

Academic Anthony Ladd observes that those who have objected to hydraulic fracking (CSG or shale gas) taking place in their communities have raised important questions about the future of energy usage in modern societies. He notes that, at its core, controversies over fracking are case studies that focus our attention on energy policy, resource usage and the interaction of governments, scientific research and business interests into the twenty-first century. Ladd asks whether societies will support a 'Third Carbon Era' shaped by gas production or will democratic populations force a change towards clean energy and renewables (Ladd, 2018:283–4). In reflecting on the impact of LtG, co-founder Drew Hutton said that the actions of the alliance were only possible by 'forming strategic alliances … progressives and conservatives, left and right, city and country, farmers and environmentalists' (Hutton, 2012b).

This 'democratic' focus of groups like LtG has been strengthened by shifts in the debates about CSG mining. While a 2018 scientific inquiry led the Northern Territory Government to conclude that the risks of mining onshore shale gas (i.e. coal seam gas) could be managed or even avoided, there was expert advice in 2022 that went beyond the parochial perspective of the Northern Territory inquiry.

Energy policy experts McCarron and Dougall have investigated the first 10 years of the gas industry in Queensland.

Source **9.33** McCarron and Dougall on the future of the CSG industry

SOURCE 9.33 Energy policy experts Geralyn McCarron and Shay Dougall write about the future of the CSG industry

> **[I]t is the opinion of the authors of this chapter that the regulation specifically required is legislation to urgently phase out and, in a timely and controlled manner, ultimately ban unconventional gas along with other fossil fuels. No new wells should be permitted. Climate disruption is recognized as an existential threat. It is the single biggest long-term threat to global health this century. … In this changing climate, the fundamental importance of water to our lives and wellbeing, and the need to protect it, cannot be overemphasized. Fossil fuel extraction and usage is a major driver of climate change. The global unconventional gas industry shows no signs of voluntarily slowing down … It is urgent that emissions are reduced. We support … the rapid transition of Australia and its workforce toward clean energy resources (wind, solar, hydroelectric) and that Australia should urgently assist developing countries to transition away from gas power. However, the transition should be entered into 'with eyes wide open' to the true environmental and human cost of alternative energy sources with inbuilt mechanisms to minimize, reclaim, recycle, reuse, and protect earths' precious resources.**

Geralyn McCarron & Shay Dougall, 'An Overview of Unconventional Gas Extraction in Australia: The First Decade', in John Stolz (ed.), *Environmental Impacts from the Development of Unconventional Oil and Gas Reserves*, 2022, p. 69

Responding to McCarron and Dougall

1. Outline the key reasons given by the authors as to why there should be no new CSG wells.
2. The authors argue that alternative energy sources should be used. How have they applied 'environmental thinking' in their assessment of which of these sources should be adopted?
3. How do these authors suggest avoiding entering a 'Third Carbon Era'? How might they respond to the authors of the report on fracking in the Northern Territory?

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In the early 2010s, LtG was a significant movement in Queensland, establishing itself as the anti-fracking voice for Australians. LtG sought to redefine the social licence in CSG-affected communities as it connected diverse groups across social and political lines around the country. It recognised a unique cultural and economic opportunity affecting landowners and farmers. People who may have been previously opposed to environmental thought found cause to unite and challenge the growing CSG industry in Queensland. LtG faced extremely powerful adversaries, including the Queensland Government, wealthy corporations and deep-seated, generational social ties. Despite these challenges, the movement brought together a range of people and groups to focus on reshaping the environmental attitudes of the region. Communities 'locked their gates' to coal and gas and confronted companies and governments to promote their concerns about justice and the environment. Since around 2013, the CSG industry has become a mainstay of the region in south-west Queensland and the movement, and some key leaders, ended up relocating to other parts of Australia. The powerful interests that established the CSG industry in Queensland caused LtG to be unsuccessful in their aim to prevent the establishment of a Queensland CSG industry.

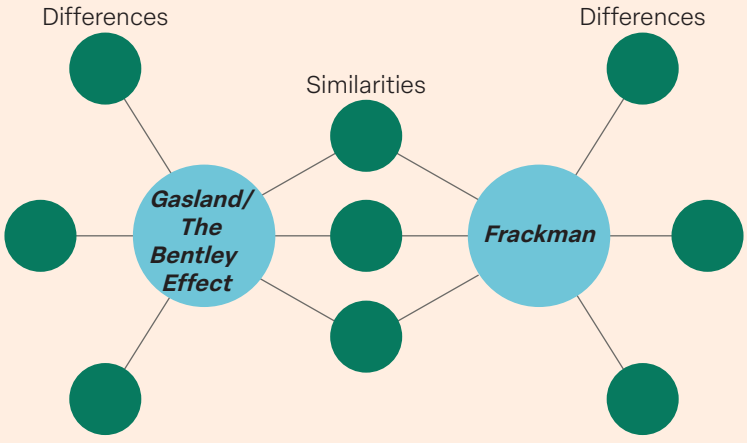
ACTIVITY **9.8**
Research CSG and the 'social licence to operate'

Activity **9.9**

Watch a documentary

Frackman (2015) tells the story of how Dayne Pratzky, a Tara Blockie, was mobilised from being a construction worker and 'roo shooter into becoming an 'accidental activist' for the environment. View the film (available on some TV streaming services and for independent purchase) while using the skills you practised with *Gasland* and/or *The Bentley Effect*. When you have viewed both films, conduct a 'double-bubble map' exercise to compare how both films present anti-fracking movements.

1. Conduct a brainstorming exercise identifying the various ways that *Gasland* or *The Bentley Effect* presents the anti-fracking movement.
2. Do the same for *Frackman*.
3. Now, on a separate page, identify the features that are common between the two films down the middle and then list the features that are different between the two around the outside. Your final product will look something like this:



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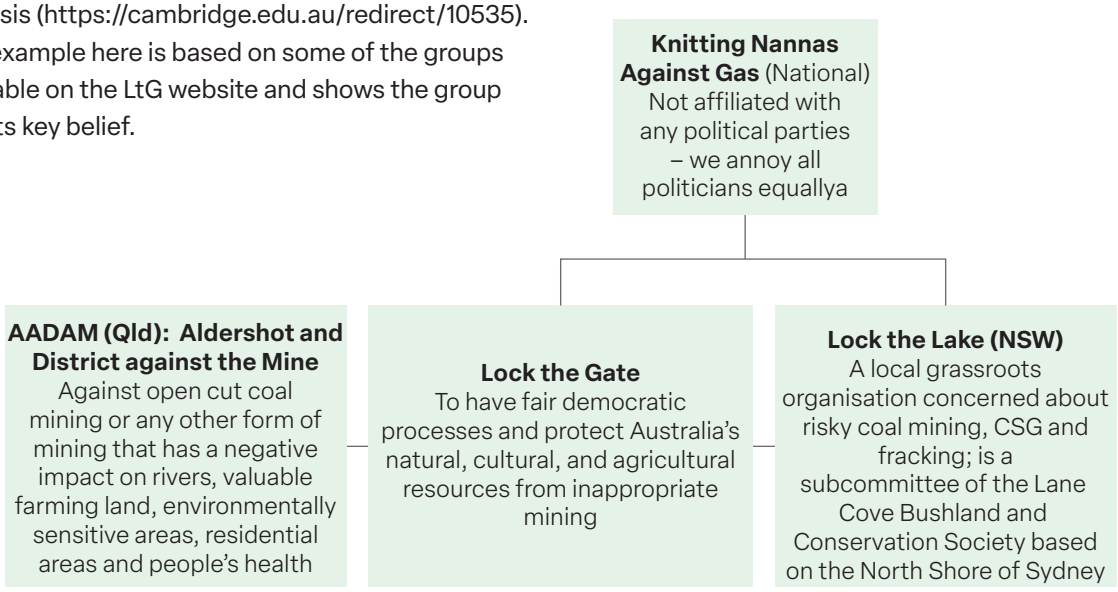
REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

In what ways did LtG's campaign in the Darling Downs demonstrate a fresh approach to environmental campaigning?

1. Create a mind map that summarises the various factors that influenced the growth of the anti-fracking movement in the Tara region. Use the subheadings of this sub-question to guide your summary.
2. For Drew Hutton, LtG was always a landholder movement rather than an environmental one.
   a. How does 'thinking environmentally' help you to understand his perspective?
   b. The Blockies are important figures in the early days of the movement. Explain whether, from its inception, LtG seemed to be focused on 'issues of the environment' or on 'issues of thinking environmentally'?
   c. Research the political views of the Australian Greens and Katter's Australian Party. Where on the political spectrum would you place these parties? At times, both of these parties stood side-by-side against the CSG mining companies. Why do you think it is significant that representatives of these political parties were able to stand united?
3. Go to LtG's 'About Us' section on their webpage. Summarise the 'Our Policy objectives' provided on the site. Do the same for the 'Principles and Aims' on the website. What do you learn about the aims and objectives of LtG as a movement? What is it about their aims that might encourage more right-leaning politicians to support the aims of LtG?
4. Undertake a search for other international anti-fracking organisations. Compare LtG's aims with the other fracking organisations. Where do they differ? Where are they similar? What are the common arguments by international organisations against a fracking operation's social licence? When compared with other international organisations, how would you describe what LtG is trying to achieve? How is LtG's understanding of the 'social licence to operate' different from that of other anti-fracking groups? Assess whether this makes LtG just 'another anti-fracking group' when compared with the aims and objectives of other international groups.
5. Conduct a goal chain analysis of anti-fracking and related groups in Australia. The technique of goal chain analysis compares the aims of various groups. These investigations can show how groups or organisations are linked to each other by association with other groups, even if on the surface they appear to be opposed. Goal chain diagrams can be as complex or as simple as the number of groups added into the diagram. Visit the Lock the Gate Alliance website for a full list of groups you could include in your analysis (https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10535).
   The example here is based on some of the groups available on the LtG website and shows the group and its key belief.



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SUB-QUESTION 4: What strategies have other organisations used in pro-environmental campaigning around Australia and the world?

Working to protect the environment has a long history in Australia. Environmental activists have managed to successfully navigate the interaction of scientific, socio-economic and political contexts to promote change. One way that many have implemented environmental change is through their choice of political party when they vote in elections. Some participate in environmental activism. Others choose to practise sustainable actions and lifestyles.

Academic and activist Aidan Ricketts writes that activism, advocating for social change and democratic practices are all interlinked (2012a). Ongoing participation in democracy can include involvement in actions (e.g. protest, referendum, court action or strikes) that are not necessarily linked to the electoral cycle. Research in German civics education has described an 'empowered' form of community service that reinforces the vibrancy of direct-action democracy. Empowered democratic engagement contrasts with a more traditional 'volunteerism' of community service, as seen through participation in soup kitchens or a litter clean-up campaign, although these are important too (Wohnig, 2016). Practising empowered citizenship is a more dynamic form of activist engagement, as communities work democratically towards sustainable futures.

Empowering communities

LtG inspired communities to engage in empowered citizenship campaigns. Initially, the issue of individual property rights galvanised many to oppose the CSG industry. The slogan 'Lock the Gate' underscored the importance of a landowner's rights to determine land usage. As LtG expanded into new communities across Australia, overcoming social divisions informed the need for an expanded approach.

One approach was the creation of Gasfield Free Communities across northern New South Wales. You were introduced to this strategy earlier in the chapter. Ricketts argues that this strategy in Keerrong and The Channon marked a major shift in the strategy of resistance.

Source **9.34** Aidan Ricketts on the 'Power of Locking Your Gate'

SOURCE 9.34 Aidan Ricketts argues that the 'Lock the Gate' strategy changes the focus of resistance

> The first phase of community resistance took the form of the 'Lock the Gate' strategy in which individual landowners refused to negotiate access arrangements with gas companies during the exploration phase … [but] used in isolation has some shortcomings which are now being addressed by … the 'gasfield free community strategy'. This strategy [launched in the Northern Rivers region of NSW] deliberately takes the focus of resistance away from the issue of private property rights and locates it firmly on the footing of community solidarity and introduces a landscape-wide approach to resisting unconventional gas activities.
>
> … [W]hen hundreds of landowners in a community [refuse] … then the mining company is faced with a rapidly diminishing return … The political and economic cost of launching numerous individual actions against landowners would inevitably cause a political backlash. Thus the real question is not what happens when one farmer locks the gate, but what happens when hundreds of farmers lock the gate?
>
> … The strategy takes resistance from the farm gate to the whole of community level … to protect both private and public land and … resist all activities of miners, not just drilling and fracking.

Aidan Ricketts, 'The Power of Locking Your Gate', *Chain Reaction*, 115, August 2012

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Responding to Aidan Ricketts

1. Describe the 'first phase of community resistance' as outlined by Ricketts. Explain how this phase was practised in Tara. Why was this strategy flawed?
2. Explain how the second phase works. Why would it likely be more effective?
3. What does Ricketts mean by a 'landscape-wide approach' to resisting CSG activities? Assess whether this second phase is more akin to 'thinking environmentally' than the first phase.
4. Assess the effectiveness in each phase of removing a company's social licence to operate.
5. Ricketts says this newer approach protects 'both private and public land'. Investigate the anti-fracking campaign of the LtG-affiliated group 'People for the Plains' in the Pillaga State Forest in New South Wales. Determine if Ricketts' assessment is valid.

Through combining a love of the land and environmental issues, traditionally conservative farmers had participated in acts of non-violent civil disobedience for the first time. Others have worked in less dramatic ways to bring about change. Formed in 2015, as its name implies Farmers for Climate Action (FCA) is part of this new alliance of farmers and environmentalists.

Our Vision

Farming Forever: Farmers and our representatives are climate leaders

Our Mission

To influence Australia to adopt strong economy-wide climate policies and realise a prosperous and sustainable future, full of opportunity for farmers and farming communities

Farmers for Climate Action is a movement of farmers, agricultural leaders and rural Australians working to influence Australia to adopt strong climate policies by growing the number of farmers, farming communities and elected representatives championing ambitious action.

We connect farmers with each other and support them to advocate for and enact climate solutions both on and off farm.

We are independent, non-profit and non-partisan. We represent 8,000 farmers across Australia, and our supporter base includes over 45,000 Australians committed to climate action for agriculture.

Our members and our Board can be found across the country from the tropical north of Queensland to the cooler climes of Tasmania, and from the wine growing regions of Western Australia right across to the sheep and cropping farms of New South Wales. Our staff members are spread across Australia, working remotely and from our office hubs.

We work closely with people and organisations across the agricultural and climate sectors to find opportunities to tackle the challenge of climate change and ensure rural communities' interests are represented.

We are a member of the National Farmers' Federation and a member of the Climate Action Network Australia.

We believe that if we grow the number of farmers, their communities and their representatives who are leading on climate-smart farming solutions and championing strong economy-wide climate policy, we can influence governments to implement climate policies that mitigate climate change and benefit rural communities.

We approach our work with a few key principles

- ✓ We are evidence-based and informed by the best available science.
- ✓ We are collaborative, inclusive and respectful.
- ✓ We respect and embrace the diversity and wisdom of farming communities.
- ✓ We are empowering our farmers to be bold and courageous and widening the space for rural Australia to take action on climate change.
- ✓ We are sustainable and are committed to being here for the long haul through being ecologically, financially and socially responsible.
- ✓ We are strategic and work towards delivering tangible, long-term results, while maximising our impact.

SOURCE 9.35 Farmers for Climate Action (FCA) website

FCA was formed in 2015 by a group of farmers. Summarise its objectives. In what ways does FCA show evidence that it is 'thinking environmentally'?

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A groundswell of change among many farmers has seen the ideas of 'thinking environmentally' enter the agricultural language and practices on many farms around the country.

SOURCE 9.36 The Australian Agricultural Sustainability Framework (AASF) was implemented in mid-2023

Compare the AASF with the SDGs published by the UN. Where are there similarities and differences? In what ways does the AASF show evidence that farmers in Australia are 'thinking environmentally'?

The principles of ESG (environmental, social and governance) reporting are becoming an important part of boardroom discussions in multinational companies around the world. Sustainable farming practices are now commonplace. The Australian Farm Institute, in partnership with the National Farmers Federation, has developed the Australian Agricultural Sustainability Framework, mapping industry-wide sustainability goals into a set of 17 overarching principles and criteria for the Australian agricultural industry. Food and farming contribute to around one-third of global greenhouse gas emissions, so transforming farm management in line with ESG principles will be crucial for Australia to meet the goals of the Paris Agreement.

School Strike 4 Climate

Empowered democratic action can have far-reaching influence. Inspired by Greta Thunberg's actions in Sweden in 2018, students around the world engaged in environmental activism through the School Strike for Climate (SS4C) movement. Now an international movement of school students and 'allies' who skip Friday classes to protest, these activists demand action from their political leaders to prevent, or at least limit, climate change and to transition from fossil fuel reliance to renewable energy.

A global strike in March 2019 saw at least one million strikers in 2200 strikes across 125 countries. In September later that year, the movement organised a series of 'Global Week for Future' strikes, still regarded as the largest climate strikes ever organised. Around the world, nearly six million people demonstrated in various protests across the week.

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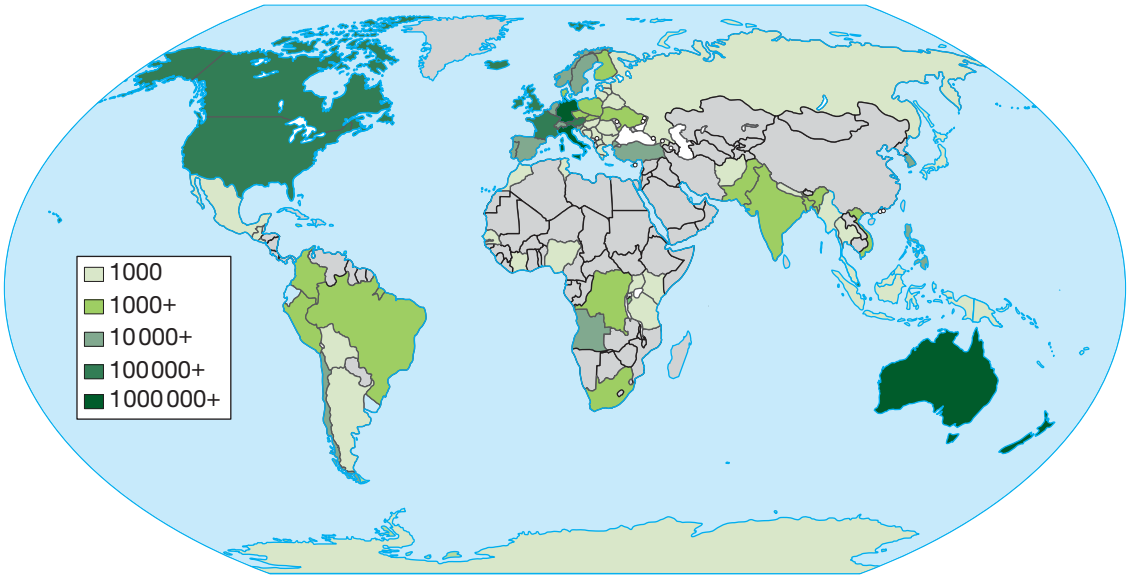
Source **9.37** Numbers of school strikers per country



SOURCE 9.37 Maximum number of school strikers per country

Responding to the map

1. Identify the countries where most of the school strikers are located.
2. Geographers like to talk about the minority and majority worlds. Look up what these terms mean. In which 'world' do most of the strikers live?
3. Which other continent stands out as where many of the school strikers are located? In which 'world' is this continent located? In what ways do you think the concerns of the minority world strikers would be similar to those of the majority world? Where do you think they might be different?
4. Undertake an online search on the state of democracy around the world. Compare a map of the global state of democracy with the map of strikers per country. What do you notice? What do you think a comparison of these maps tells you about how scientific, socio-economic and political contexts interact with each other in 'thinking environmentally'?

On Friday 20 September 2019, over 30 000 Brisbane residents joined with over 300 000 people from around Australia in all the capital cities to stage simultaneous protests for global climate issues. Meanwhile, in Chinchilla, a town at the heart of the LtG movement, 12-year-old Ariel Ehlers sat down outside the Chinchilla Council Chambers and protested by herself (Source 9.39). Look back at the satellite image in Source 9.20 to remind yourself of the extensive fossil fuel infrastructure that exists in the region. These towns are located in the Maranoa electorate, one of the most politically conservative in the country. The ABC reported that the image of her lone protest outside the council chambers resonated around the world, going 'viral'. According to Ariel's mother, given the economic prosperity that the CSG industry had brought to the town and surrounding regions, global warming was a topic that people tended to avoid discussing in the community. A program to build $4 billion of renewable energy projects in the region has been underway since 2019.

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Sources **9.38** and **9.39** Queensland SS4C actions on 20 September 2019

SOURCE 9.38 Protestors holding placards as they march on 20 September 2019 in Melbourne.

SOURCE 9.39 In the small town of Chinchilla, lone protestor Ariel Ehlers staged her own strike outside Chinchilla Council Chambers.

Responding to the photographs of climate protests

1. How is the power of community represented in the protest march in Melbourne?
2. The photograph of a young Ariel Ehlers protesting in Chinchilla went viral around the world. Why do you think this image resonated with people worldwide?
3. Compare the two photographs of protests. Which of the two is a better representation of 'empowered activism'? Provide reasons to justify your position.
4. Sociologist Cécile Van de Velde (2022) says that a common feature of large demonstrations is for participants to make and carry homemade signs that are integral to the political message of the protest. Look closely at the signs that are used at the protest in Melbourne (Source 9.38). Conduct an image search online for the School Strike 4 Climate protests and look at other signs of the protestors. Peruse the variety of messages on the signs in the images. What messages can you identify on the placards they are holding? Are there any common themes or messages? Are there any slogans that are used frequently on these placards?

Since the 2019 protests, SS4C has continued to organise in Australia and around the world. The young people leading this movement believe that the job is not yet finished and more needs to be done. Since the early days of SS4C, the focus of the movement has shifted from a concern with climate justice and environmental issues to the realisation that climate change does not affect everyone equally. Calls for 'climate justice' have replaced calls for 'climate action'.

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Source **9.40** Comments by SS4C climate justice activists

SOURCE 9.40 Extracts from interviews with SS4C activists in 2023

A. High-school student Yehansa Dahanayake:

I think I'd always thought of climate change as sort of a 2D thing. I thought about it as the temperature rise, deforestation, and sea caps melting – and while that is definitely true, I think [when] I started to learn about the justice aspects of climate change, [it] made me realise that there are many other factors that tie in, such as the Global North/Global South difference and how that relates.

B. High-school student Emma Heyink:

You can't look at climate change without looking at all these other issues. It just becomes so much more interlinked and solutions become so much more obvious.

C. School strike organiser Owen Magee:

... at our strikes, we are platforming First Nations people, rural and regional people who've directly been affected by the climate crisis, directly being affected by fossil fuel greed and corporation greed. That in itself is focusing on the intersectional nature of climate justice.

Eve Mayes and Ruchira Talukdar, 'As School Students Strike for Climate Once More, Here's How the Movement and Its Tactics Have Changed', *The Conversation*, 16 November 2023

Responding to the statements

1. Identify the types of concerns raised by the various individuals. In what ways do these individuals express a concern about climate 'justice' rather than climate 'action'?
2. Look back at the 17 SDGs provided in the contextual study. Where do the concerns of these SS4C activists intersect with the concerns of the UN? Do they differ at any point?

Extinction Rebellion

Founded in the United Kingdom by climate activists Dr Gail Bradbrook, Simon Bramwell and Roger Hallam in 2018, Extinction Rebellion (XR) uses non-violent civil disobedience in an attempt to force governments into urgent action and declare a 'climate and ecological emergency' (BBC, 2022). XR is a decentralised, loosely networked grassroots movement that aims to prevent global ecological and social collapse. It argues that life on Earth is in crisis, caused by the collapse of the climate system and the ongoing 'sixth mass extinction'. The group's logo is an hourglass (representing time running out) inside a circle (representing the Earth) to signify that time is running out to deal with the climate emergency.

XR's first major campaign was during the UK winter of 2018–19, when over 6000 protestors peacefully blocked the five major bridges across the Thames River. With politicians soon seeking meetings with XR representatives, their actions rapidly turned XR into a globally significant movement, with groups springing up around the world. By April 2019, several British councils and the UK Parliament had declared a climate emergency. As Matthew Taylor, journalist for *The Guardian* says, 'XR had changed the conversation' on climate change (2020).

XR aims to appeal across age, gender, sexuality, social status and political beliefs. Wanting to engage beyond the 'leftist echo chamber', co-founder Gail Bradbrook tried to connect progressive concerns about social justice and equality with more conservative concerns about family and national security (Taylor, 2020).

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XR has three core demands: that governments admit the truth of the full scale of the climate and ecological emergency; that they limit biodiversity loss and commit to net zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2025; and that 'Citizen's Assemblies' are part of government decision making. The organisation is decentralised and encourages anyone who supports XR's principles and values to organise an action without asking a central authority for permission (Extinction Rebellion, 2024).

The group employs a strategy of disruptive tactics to highlight its demands. By blockading major thoroughfares in and out of central business districts (CBDs), particularly during peak-hour traffic, XR aims to remind everyday people that the climate crisis is real. A key tactic is for protestors to get arrested so that the court system is overwhelmed, forcing governments to change policies. Throughout 2019, XR conducted civil disobedience actions, culminating in an 'International Rebellion' in October, a two-week program in 60 cities around the world. Ongoing campaigns, often coinciding with key political events such as elections, G7 Summits or UN Climate Meetings, continue to the present day.

In Australia, activists occupied the House of Representatives in the Australian Parliament on 15 April 2019 and participated in the 'International Rebellion' in October that year. In March 2021, an 'autumn rebellion' was held in Melbourne, Victoria, and XR has targeted businesses, such as the National Australia Bank, over their financial support of fossil fuel projects. In October 2022, during a 'Spring Rebellion', two protestors conducted a 'glue-on', gluing their hands to a Picasso artwork in the National Gallery of Victoria.

Since its inception, XR has tended to draw its support from younger generations. In the weeks following its initial London campaigns, a YouGov survey in October 2019 found that amongst the UK population, 41% of 18- to 41-year-olds 'strongly supported' or 'somewhat supported' the campaign to disrupt traffic and public transport into the CBD. Opposition to XR increases dramatically among the 50–65 and 65+ age brackets, with 60% and 70% respectively opposing XR's disruptive civil disobedience (BBC, 2022).

SOURCE 9.41 An XR protest in King George Square, Brisbane, in 2020

In climate change activism, why might 'Do it for our kids' be a compelling and effective slogan? Note the simplicity of the Extinction Rebellion symbol. Why, in a practical way, is a simple symbol useful when preparing for a demonstration?

SOURCE 9.42 Police stand on guard as other officers work to remove protesters from the road at George Street, Brisbane, on 8 October 2019 during the second day of the Rebellion Week protest

Decide and share whether you agree with this statement: 'Sometimes, demonstrating for an urgent cause justifies locking a road and delaying traffic'. Discuss whether you agree that this is a difficult question.

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Nuanced criticism of XR's tactic of disruptive civil disobedience has been raised. XR believes that governments have been inactive for too long on the climate crisis and need to be pushed into acknowledging the reality of climate change, biodiversity loss, and potential societal and ecological collapse. Its main strategy of disruption, underpinned by mass arrests and wasting police time, has been criticised by many. It's argued that people of colour are not treated as leniently as white protestors when arrested, and so casually encouraging mass arrest demeans the experience of protestors in previous civil rights actions. Other critiques by the academic Karen Bell (2019) and the journalist George Monbiot have condemned the movement on class grounds as 'too white, and too middle class' (Monbiot, 2019). Other environmentalists see XR's timeframe as too short. Achieving net zero emissions by 2025 is not possible given the lack of action by governments in the past. Some, especially the more politically conservative, have chosen to interpret XR's ideology as extreme and no different from terrorist groups. The UK South East Counter Terrorism police unit listed XR as a terrorist threat alongside neo-Nazi and extreme Islamist terror groups in 2019, a decision it later admitted was an 'error of judgement' (BBC, 2020) after a public outcry led to a reversal of the decision.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

What strategies have other organisations used in pro-environmental campaigning around Australia and the world ?

Develop a mind map of the key features and activities of each of the environmental movements discussed in this section. Include the following:

- Where are their aims, tactics and strategies similar?
- Where do they differ?
- Do you think it is better to talk about the environmental 'movement', or 'movements'?

SUB-QUESTION 5: What have historians said about the approaches and impacts of pro-environmental campaigning?

Environmental movements that seek to bring about change through 'collective public protest' (Rucht, 2017) are studied by academics as part of social movement history and theory. Historians, sociologists and political scientists have all described different ways in which movements are born, change and build influence in society. Psychologists have shown that movements build identities around who participates, who or what is being fought against, and the joint objective (da Costa et al., 2023:2).

Environmental movements such as LtG, XR and SS4C employ multiple 'protest waves' as part of an ongoing protest cycle to enact change in political and cultural norms and practices. As you have seen in this chapter, these movements typically confront powerful adversaries and long-standing societal structures. Thus, their strategies and tactics are analysed closely by researchers to determine their success or otherwise. Staggenborg (2022) suggests that one way we can assess the effectiveness of environmental movements is to use a three-Cs approach: identify the *characteristics* of the movement, such as beliefs, individuals, strategies and organisational structure; explain the *conditions* that contributed to the formation of the movement; and analyse the *consequences* that occurred because of the actions of the movement.

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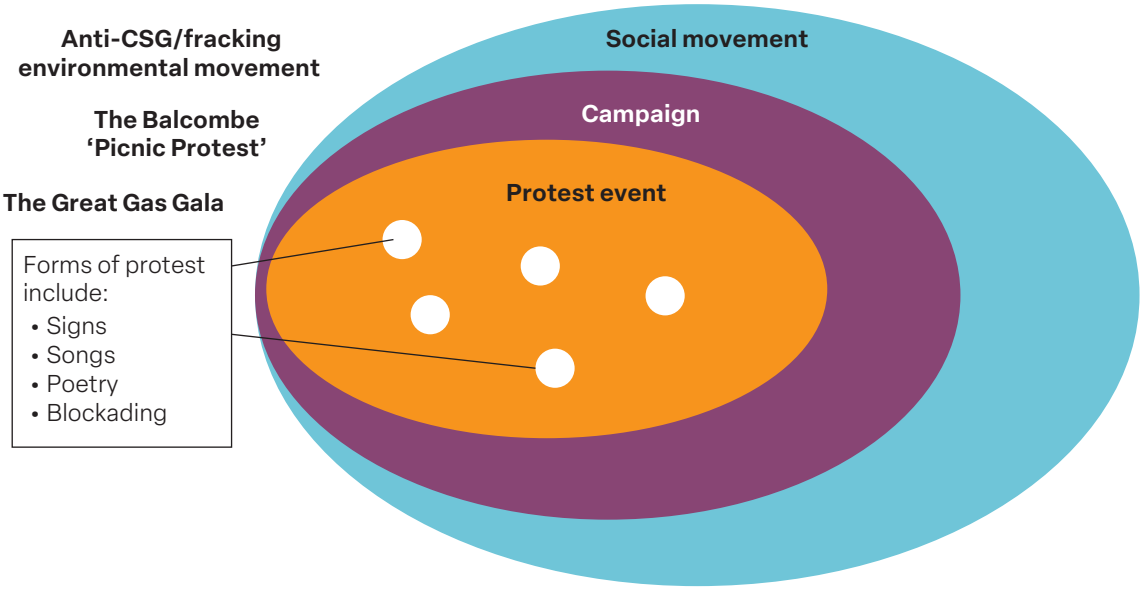
Despite the environmental movement's success in establishing sustainability as an ideal, in the mid-2000s authors Ted Nordhaus and Michael Shellenberger proposed that environmentalism had effectively 'died' and become a 'place-based, small-scale, moralistic movement' unable to achieve meaningful political change (Bosworth, 2022:16). They argued that environmentalists needed to stop solely using the 'environmental protection frame' and look beyond the environment as 'a supposed thing' (Shellenberger & Nordhaus, 2009:125–6).

A few years later, in his study of grassroots environmentalism in the United States, historian Cody Ferguson argued that definitions of 'environmentalism' needed to be expanded. He argued that mainstream environmentalism's focus on 'protecting nonhuman nature and wild places drew attention away from the health and well-being of people'. Instead, he argued for a new form of environmentalism that considers both 'environmental and social dimensions of sustainability problems as entwined and interdependent' (2015:171–2).

The critique that environmentalists are only protecting a 'thing' has been capitalised on by some who oppose environmental movements. Geographer Kai Bosworth has found that 'green' movements are moving beyond the 'jobs versus environment' frame that is often used by many of their mainstream liberal and right-wing media opponents. He says that climate politics has shifted towards discussing what 'real democracy' means by emphasising that it is 'the people' who should have the final say in deciding the planet's future (2022:202).

Protests, also known as 'obstructive direct action' (ODA), are the most prominent actions taken by environmental activists to mobilise communities. Academic Sandra González-Bailón calls protests 'a form of collective action that emerge to influence the decisions of governments or organizations by means of direct action … [such as] demonstrations, petitions, boycotts, sit-ins, or street blockades' (2015:512). As you can see from the diagram in Source 9.43, protests are often at the core of a larger environmental movement.



SOURCE 9.43 Forms of protest embedded within a nested system. The left-hand text provides an example at each level in the nested system (adapted from Hanna, Vanclay, Langdon & Arts, 2016, p. 218).

Using this nested diagram, develop your own diagram to describe the various movements you have studied in this chapter.

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Researchers Philippe Hanna, Frank Vanclay, Esther Jean Langdon and Jos Arts, from whose work Source 9.43 was adapted, argue that protest is a 'legitimate and necessary way' for communities to have their rights respected and their issues addressed. Protests usually only occur when communities feel that their issues have been ignored by key decision makers. These researchers have also described over 200 different forms of protest, including puppetry, songs, speeches, blockading, glue-/lock-ons, signs, banners, chants, petitions and costumes through to ethically dubious actions, such as destruction of property. The introduction of digital technologies and new media has increased the speed at which the messaging of protests can be shared. González-Bailón notes that digital technologies allow protest participants to 'engage in social interactions on a global scale' and access information in real time (2015:512). Despite the diversity of protest forms, protests should be understood as a form of 'social drama' and, as such, tend to have seven key functions: information; fundraising; publicity; mobilisation; solidarity building; political pressure; and direct action.

Source **9.44** The effectiveness of protest as 'social drama'

SOURCE 9.44 Researchers Hanna et al. describe the effectiveness of protest as 'social drama'

We observed that there is constant innovation in protest forms, especially in the performatic aspects of protests, and we argue that this innovation is essential to making protests successful and eventful. Protest actions need to be comprehended as ongoing processes of social drama involving multiple stakeholders, rather than as single events in time. ... We suggest that companies and governments that fully respect [protestors] and meaningfully engage with local people will be less likely to experience the escalation of community protest and will be more successful in establishing a social licence to operate, both with local communities and at the international level.

Philippe Hanna, Frank Vanclay, Esther Jean Langdon and Jos Arts, 'Conceptualizing Social Protest and the Significance of Protest Actions to Large Projects', *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 3(1), 2016, 217–39, p. 238

Responding to researchers Hanna et al.

1. What do the authors mean by the 'performatic aspects' of a protest?
2. Explain what is meant by the phrase 'social drama'.
3. Identify a contemporary protest. How can you see the 'social drama' being practised?
4. What lessons do these researchers have for those facing a community environmental protest?

One of the more common forms of ODA today is 'environmental blocking' (EB). You have studied at least two examples of EB at work in your studies of LtG and XR in this chapter, where people used their bodies or objects to prevent access to a location. Social movement historian Iain McIntyre has shown that this strategy has deep roots in the history of direct environmental action across Australia, Canada and the United States since the 1970s (2021:2). He says that EB occurs when people in the affected community feel they have no further options, and their 'emotional, spiritual, and cultural' voice has been silenced, thereby breaking the social licence (McIntyre, 2021:231). In the same way that mining companies require a social licence to operate in a community, protestors also require a similar licence to be able to share their 'social drama' with the wider public. Sociologists Jordi Muñoz and Eva Anduiza have shown that non-violent protests are more successful in achieving their goals over time than violent movements. They argue that the public tends to dislike violence and so movements adopting violence will lose support in the wider community (2019:495).

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An analysis of the media portrayal for both XR and SS4C climate protests in 2019 is available as a digital activity.

SOURCES 9.45–9.48
Media coverage and portrayal of XR and SS4C

Environmental movements that focus on grassroots citizen activity, such as LtG, XR and SS4C, have been vocal in sharing their message to the wider public. They have encouraged a wider conversation on the meaning of environmentalism that includes broader concerns about community and the climate. This sub-question has also looked at how contemporary 'green' movements sought to change the interpretative frames by going beyond the 'jobs versus environment' trope of former movements. You have also critiqued the effectiveness of the main forms of direct action – protests – and considered their effectiveness within the context of the 2019 climate protests in Australia.

How important is social activism for creating healthy democracies?

In 2012, leading environmentalist David Suzuki caused controversy when he declared that environmentalism had failed. In his view, the crucial paradigm shift that sees humans as ecologically embedded beings had not occurred in wider society (Suzuki, 2012). Since then, the rise of grassroots decentralised movements such as LtG, XR and SS4C suggests that he may have been premature in his assessment.

Even with community-led action, many people find it hard to cope in the face of a crisis. Young people are now reporting a form of 'eco-fatigue'. When young activists are forced into the spotlight, a combination of media overexposure, overwork and the pressure for perfectionism brings many emerging eco-leaders to the point of exhaustion. According to Alaina Wood, a US-based youth environmental leader, such focused scrutiny is driving young people away from engaging in environmental activism (Renwick, 2022). Laura Pitcher, an adult ally of youth eco-leaders in Australia and the United States, says that it is a significant issue when young people become the public face of activism. For many, as soon as they are labelled a 'youth activist for anything, you open the door up to hate comments' (Issuu, 2022).

A study published by the medical journal *The Lancet* (Hickman et al., 2021) found that more than 45% of young people were negatively impacted by climate change–related feelings and that government inaction only made them feel betrayed. When people begin to mistrust the democratic processes and develop antagonism towards government and wider society, healthy democracies do not work as they should.

At the other extreme, there has been growing discussion around the emergence of 'slacktivism'. Coined at a 1995 conference in Bushnell, Illinois, the term describes ways that people engage in social causes for the feel-good factor. As an example, Micah White, the founder of the Occupy Wall Street movement, says that protest marches have become like going to a concert – a way to just connect with friends or have a 'beautiful experience' rather than deep engagement with the political process (Funnell, 2017). Slacktivism is also seen when political or social campaigns use the internet and require little time or involvement. Examples are clicking on an online petition or joining a campaign group's social media website.

However, as seasoned activists report, being involved in activism is not just about engaging in the high-profile forms of resistance and active engagement with system change. For many, the assumption is that the 'frontline' and the public sphere is the only place where meaningful change can occur. Disabled activist Clare Bonetree critiques this attitude, saying the perception is that 'if you're not outdoors, making a show of yourself, you're not part of the solution' (2016).

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The late activist and scholar of social activism, Bill Moyer, identified that effective change happens in healthy democracies when activists practise four interrelated roles (Moyer, 2001). Activists need to be seen as responsible *citizens*, gaining acceptance and legitimacy for their views in the eyes of the wider public, but also act as effective *rebels* who will object to social conditions and policies when needed. He also identified, like Bonetree, that merely protesting is not enough. Activists need to be *social change agents* who educate and engage the general public to seek alternative solutions. Lastly, effective activism needs *reformers* who work within the political and judicial structures of society, integrating solutions into laws and government policies. Many activists are instinctively drawn to a specific role and sometimes campaign leaders do not realise that all four roles are required for an effective movement to appear and build healthy democracies. Some aspects of these roles may not be the most glamorous part of social change, but all are still important.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

What have historians said about the approaches and impacts of pro-environmental campaigning?

1. Using the three Cs approach identified by academic Susan Staggenborg, construct a mind map of the organisation of LtG or any other environmental movement discussed in this chapter.
2. With a partner, and drawing on what you have learned in this chapter, write your own expanded definition of 'environmentalism'.
3. Researchers have identified over 200 different forms of protest. Go back through the various movements and actions studied in this chapter. List as many different forms that you can identify. Are you able to group them into various categories? Evaluate how effective each form has been in contributing to the narrative of the 'social drama' of the protest.
4. Choose one event studied in this chapter and identify where you can see each of the seven functions of the social drama of protest in action.
5. Why do you think some opponents of environmental movements choose to use the 'job versus environment' frame to challenge environmental thought? How does an emphasis on empowered citizenship and democracy change the frame of engagement in the debate?
6. Do you think active democratic participation has been achieved in the movements studied in this chapter?
7. Review the four roles of an activist identified by Bill Moyer. You can find more detailed descriptions of these roles by undertaking an online search. Do you gravitate towards any of these roles? Which roles do you not connect with? What do you think you might need to do in order feel more comfortable in connecting with that particular role?
8. Debate slacktivism. Some people claim that slacktivism is a symptom of laziness when it comes to political engagement. Others claim it can be a powerful tool for change. Discuss any involvement you've had with slacktivism. Investigate newer forms such as the visual activism of the Black Lives Matter movement. How do groups such as GetUp!, Avaaz and SumOfUs build on these forms of democratic engagement? What evidence can you find about their effectiveness?

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Depth study: Summing up

This depth study highlighted the emergence, role and effectiveness of modern environmental movements of Lock the Gate (LtG), Extinction Rebellion (XR) and School Strike 4 Climate (SS4C) as forms of citizenship democracy in contemporary Australia. The depth study highlighted the emergence, role and effectiveness of LtG, an Australian movement focused on the environmental, social and economic impacts of the burgeoning coal seam gas (CSG) industry. LtG is credited with breaking new ground in environmental movements by bringing together two groups traditionally seen as political foes – rural landholders and environmentalists. Through patient work led by long-term activist Drew Hutton, farmers and environmentalists recognised their common interest in safeguarding important environments, particularly valuable agricultural and pastoral land. This common interest acknowledged that protecting such land had important economic, social and environmental benefits.

This chapter began with the story of Greta Thunberg and how she inspired the SS4C movement that engaged young people around the world in climate protests. The SS4C movement has promoted active democratic citizenship among young people, even those too young to vote. These young protesters have provoked government and business leaders to review policy and take action to prevent ongoing anthropogenic climate change. The emergence of XR around the same time also served to highlight climate-based concerns. Using different forms of protest tactics, especially the practice of environmental blockading and civic disruption, XR has engaged many in the social drama of a climate emergency.

All the movements studied have reflected the broad sense of 'thinking environmentally' described earlier in the chapter. Notably, many campaigns have been supported by a range of politicians and public figures across the political spectrum. The depth study ended by describing how communities can act in the interest of the environment and practise 'empowered citizenship' to ensure healthy democracies.

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: In what ways have environmental justice campaigns in Australia demonstrated new and effective ways of mobilising for the environment?

In small groups, devise a debate arguing for or against one or more of the following questions:

1. Are 'fourth wave' environmental campaigns in Australia better described as social justice movements rather than environmental movements?
2. How effective is the use of social drama in promoting the views of activist social movements?
3. Would an environmental movement still be effective if it did not employ obstructive direct action (ODA)?
4. Are activist social movements a help or a hindrance to healthy democracies?
5. How important is it for teenagers and young people to participate in social and political activism?

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CONCLUDING STUDY

The power to change the world?

Throughout this chapter, you have seen the power of people who have changed and influenced their world through social movements when they stand up for environmental issues and social justice. The leaders of the environmental movements studied in this chapter represent a diverse range of age, gender, socio-political background and education. As you have studied their activities, you have been introduced to several important but intersecting themes. At one level is the study of social and environmental activism – that is, what and how people attempt to change in their world to be more sustainably just and equitable. It also raises questions about our usage of fossil fuels or renewable energy resources in the twenty-first century and whether this question causes people to 'think environmentally'. At another level, there are bigger questions to ask about what is familiar to us and how we can develop different ethical responses on politics, economics and other social questions.

Environmental movements as movements for democracy and global justice

McIntyre (2021) reminds us that people turn to activism when they believe they have exhausted all of their other democratic options. Consequently, movements such as LtG, XR and SS4C embrace people from many backgrounds who feel that they have no alternative political, social, economic or legal options remaining. The environmental movements studied in this chapter have, over the life of the movement, broadened their perspective to include issues that affect people living in the global South.

You have already been introduced to one example in the direct-action movement of 'Blockadia', where activists protested to stop fossil fuel projects. The Environmental Justice Project Officer at the European Environmental Bureau, Nick Meynen, has observed that:

SOURCE 9.49 Nick Meynen on Blockadia activists

> **Blockadia activists have to risk jail or even death for what they do, but in the face of the massive political failure on climate change they think more in terms of what is legitimate than what is legal. They put their safety at risk to protect all of us. Having a scientific community supporting them, for example with the Blockadia Map [the Environmental Justice Atlas], means a lot to these people.**

Nick Meynen, 'Blockadia Map Reveals Global Rise of Anti-fossil Fuel Blockades', *European Environmental Bureau: Environmental Democracy*, 2017

These activists' desire for social justice and democratic undertakings are prominent frames of action, and, as such, they rely on cultural and political opportunities where they can practise empowered citizenship to effect change in society. One of the characteristics that you would have likely noticed is that despite engaging people of all ages, modern environmental movements are attracting many young people. Researchers have identified that this is a feature of modern social movements, with one study identifying up to 60% of young people as being social justice oriented in their activism (Taylor-Collins, 2018).

As you conclude this study, consider how youth-led social movements have influenced policy in Australia and around the world. Apart from SS4C, young people have added their voices to, and challenged, practices in other areas of society. The voices of these young people have been uniquely powerful in addressing the problems society faces.

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Utilising distinctive qualities, skills, circumstances and perspectives, young people have ensured that their voices are heard on modern social issues in distinctively powerful ways. Around the world, young people have organised and expressed their views on issues affecting them. For example, on 14 February 2018, in response to gun violence where 17 students and teachers were killed at a high school in Parkland, Florida, a string of student demonstrations organically occurred across the United States. Many news outlets voiced surprise that young people could organise and assert their views on an issue that directly affected them so quickly. Calling themselves the 'Never Again' movement, these students added their voices to the gun laws debate in the United States. In Australia, young people have been active in fighting for gender equality, LGBTQI+ rights in schools, racism (e.g. Black Lives Matter) and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights (Amnesty International, 2022).

SOURCE 9.50 Students in Broward County hold a 'Never Again' protest on 19 February 2018

Activity **9.10**

Research the history of a youth-led movement

Conduct an internet search to understand the history of a youth-led movement. Some suggestions for topics have been provided in the text. As you review your chosen youth-led movement, consider the following aspects:

- What is it that the young people want? What are they doing to achieve their aims?
- What impact are their actions having? Why is that the case?
- What actions seem to be the most effective? Why?
- Are they able to make a lasting impact? Why or why not?
- What challenges or barriers did the young leaders of the movement face? How did they overcome them?
- How might these young activists have acted differently, if at all?
- Undertake a process of self-reflection. What questions did the actions of this youth-led movement raise for you? You might like to share your thoughts with others in your class through a short social media video.

Are the 'rights of nature' part of the twentieth century's rights revolution?

Learning to think environmentally raises a different set of ethical responses, as well as more familiar social, political or economic understandings. Recognising the rights of nature can be seen as part of a growing 'rights revolution' since 1945 across global society.

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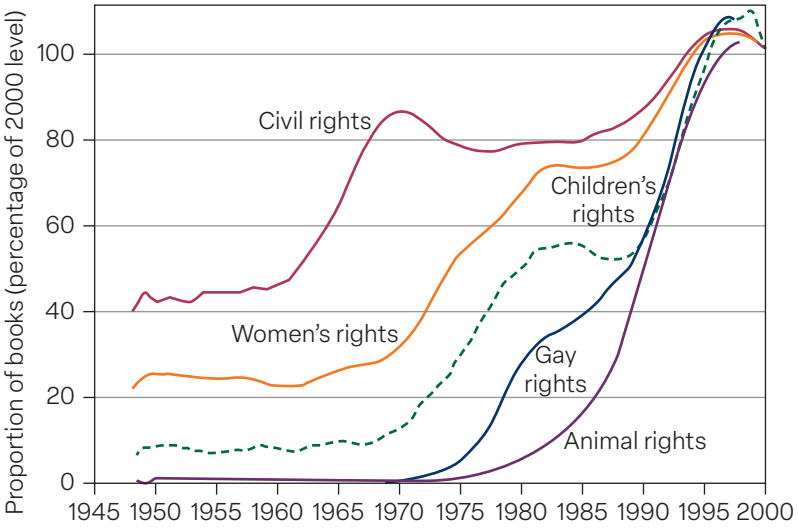
Source **9.51** Graph of terms used in digitised books



SOURCE 9.51 Graph showing the terms 'civil rights', 'women's rights', 'children's rights', 'gay rights' and 'animal rights' in five million English-language books digitised by Google Books, 1948–2000

Responding to the graph

1. For each of the categories of rights in the graph, identify the period when rights awareness of each category began to be important.
2. Undertake research to determine what events may have contributed to this increasing awareness for each group.
3. The trajectories for each group meet in the 1990s. What significant global event(s) occurred at the beginning of that decade? How might that event(s) contribute to encouraging the blossoming of concerns for rights that is evidenced in this graph?

In March 2017, the Whanganui River in New Zealand was granted the same legal rights as a human being. Days later, the Ganga and Yamuna Rivers in India were also legally given rights and in September 2017, in Victoria, Australia, legislation recognising the Yarra River as a living natural entity and its connectedness to the Traditional Owners, the Wurundjeri people, was passed. Giving rivers these rights does not turn rivers into people, but it helps lawyers give voice to things that cannot speak for themselves, just as when corporations gain legal rights. It is a legal way of thinking that is more biocentric and recognises our place as ecologically embedded beings.

Concluding study: Summing up

In this chapter, you have explored several big themes: the emergence of an ecological consciousness that challenged more anthropocentric thinking; the development of 'environmental movements' that eventually broadened their agendas to include a more global vision of justice, peace and sustainability; the particular significance of Lock the Gate (LtG) in forging an unprecedented alliance between farmers and environmentalists; and the nature and practices of contemporary social activism, as seen in the protests of XR and SS4C. You have then been invited to consider whether social activism is necessary for healthy democracies.

ACTIVITY **9.11**
Audit your own life

To conclude your study of this topic, complete the additional digital activity, which asks you to audit and reflect on your own daily life, measured against the ideas you've encountered in this chapter.

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Unit 3

NATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE MODERN WORLD

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 3, students form their own knowledge and understanding about national experiences that have emerged in the Modern World. The national experiences examined may include crises that have confronted nations, their responses to these crises, and the different paths nations have taken to fulfil their goals. These national experiences consist of, for example: civil wars, immigration policies, electoral campaigns and major economic events. Students apply historical concepts and historical skills to explore the nature, origins, development, legacies and contemporary significance of these national experiences within selected historical contexts.

(Modern History 2025 v1.1 General Senior Syllabus © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority.)

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Devise historical questions and conduct research about national experiences in the Modern World.
2. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues about national experiences in the Modern World.
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources about national experiences in the Modern World.
4. Evaluate the usefulness and reliability of evidence from historical sources about national experiences in the Modern World.
5. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to develop historical arguments and decisions about national experiences in the Modern World.
6. Create responses that communicate to suit purpose about national experiences in the Modern World.

(Modern History 2025 v1.1 General Senior Syllabus © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority.)

CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

Chapter 10 Germany since 1914 **Aspect:** The Nazi transformation of Germany
Chapter 11 United States of America, 1917–1945 **Aspect:** The Great Depression and the New Deal
Chapter 12 China since 1931 (DIGITAL) **Aspect:** How Mao's vision shaped China's national experience after 1949
Chapter 13 Israel since 1917 (DIGITAL) **Aspect:** The impact of the creation of Israel

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Chapter 10

GERMANY SINCE 1914

Aspect: The Nazi transformation of Germany

AARON SLOPER

SOURCE 10.1 Melbourne, Australia, 13 May 2023. Neo-Nazi protesters holding Australian flags display National Socialist salutes during an anti-immigration protest. Note the apparent gender, race and age of those depicted.

James* is in Year 11 and a keen student of history, particularly Europe during the 20th century. He enjoys examining the plethora of ideas raised in his history class such as the socialism that transformed Russia, the nationalism that in large part brought about World War I and the anti-colonial movements that upended the former empires of Europe's great powers. However, he finds one ideology especially troubling and fascinating in equal measure: national socialism. He is stunned at the seeming ease with which Hitler was able to convert people to his cause and the swift and disturbing changes that took place within German society. While studying this unit, he is confronted and troubled by content he encounters online while researching this phenomenon further. He comes across platforms and quotes from groups espousing Neo-Nazism, a movement dedicated to reviving the ideologies of National Socialist Germany, as previously implemented between 1933 and 1945, during what is known as the Third Reich.

James notices that there seems to be a clear increase in those aligning themselves with these ideas. Australia is not immune to this, with a number of groups using online radicalisation to recruit new members. The appeal of these groups seems to reflect the fracturing lines of a polarising world that James and other students his age find themselves in.

One Sunday, James and some friends are in Brisbane City when they notice a large group of men, surrounded by police and dressed entirely in black, yelling muffled chants in unison as they move through the Central Business District. What they initially thought was a peculiar protest or social gathering turned out to be a group of 40 Neo-Nazis marched through the streets, shocking him when he is told by a friend the following day at school. The friend however shocks James further when he states that 'they're not hurting anyone' and 'everyone has a right to their own opinions'.

Groups like the one James and his friends saw have prompted the Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) to name 'far right' extremism as an ever-growing threat. ASIO director-general Mike Burgess has stated that the most likely terror attack in 2024 is not from a highly organised international terror group but rather a 'lone actor', usually a young male who has been radicalised quickly online over a 'diversity of grievances and personal narratives'.

Reader advice:

Some resources in this chapter may be confronting, and contain images of deceased people or acts of violence.

* James is a fictional character devised for this opening story

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Conditions that led to the growth of the Nazi Party

In September 1938, over 80 years before, another group of Caucasian men loudly espoused the ideals of National Socialism. They were members of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), or Nazi Party, marching through the streets of Nuremberg, Germany, as part of the 10th annual **Reich Party Congress**. In that final immense, outward celebration of Nazism prior to the outbreak of World War II, over one million Germans spent a week bearing witness to **Aryan** nationalism, a key element of Nazi ideology.

Reich Party Congress also known as the Nuremberg Rallies after their location in central Germany, these massive National Socialist rallies were held regularly from 1923 to 1938. They were carefully choreographed propaganda events designed to reinforce party ideals and enthusiasm for Nazi ideology.

Aryan originally a name given to an Indo-European people group from Iran and Northern India, the term was used as a designation of racial superiority by National Socialists, who equated the term with the 'white race' of whom the Nordic and Germanic peoples were thought to be the purest expression

A mere seven years later, World War II had ended the lives of over 60 million people globally. Of these deaths, between six and eight million perished as a part of the Holocaust, Adolf Hitler's 'Final Solution' in his attempt to exterminate the entirety of the European Jewish population.

Today, few people publicly support the words and attitudes displayed in such demonstrations. So how did those attitudes gain popularity and, ultimately, become government policy in a major European liberal democracy? This chapter will examine how the roots of Nazism lay deep in Germany's history, and how Nazism flourished because of a unique set of historical circumstances.

SOURCE 10.2 Nuremberg, Germany, September 1938. A National Socialist torchlight parade marches through Nuremberg during the 1938 Reich Party Congress.

How does this image compare with the image in Source 10.1? What clues are there that this gathering might have a different status and significance in this society? What impression do you think the organisers of this march were hoping for? What might German people today think about this photo?

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national identity the sense of belonging to one state or one nation, represented by distinctive traditions, culture, language and politics

Germany before World War I

The nation known as Germany did not exist until 1871. Like other ethnically and linguistically similar people groups across Europe, German-speaking peoples lived in multiple separate states and had no sense of **national identity**.

SOURCE 10.3 This map shows some of the various states in which German-speaking peoples lived in 1815 which formed a loose Confederation of German States from 18015 to 1866.

Would the unification of these states into one nation seem a logical step? What factors (historical, cultural, economic, geographical and technological) might impede such unification? Note the way the German-speaking area is bordered by other significant states to both the east and west. Might unification change the dynamics among all the states on the map?

Prussia, the largest state, emerged as a military power in the nineteenth century, guided by leader Otto von Bismarck, who unified the German states into a single empire in 1871. He achieved this by aligning himself with the King of Prussia to build up the military, then manipulating rival powers into wars that he could win with the more powerful army. The first rival was a domestic one in the loose Confederation of German States, Austria, which had been a great power. Bismark provoked the Austro-Prussian War in 1866, which Prussia won quickly, then formed a new Confederation of North German States excluding Austria and most southern German states.

By this time France, which had dominated continental Europe as its greatest power since Napoleon's time, became alarmed at Prussia's rise and reacted against its diplomatic manoeuvres. Again Bismarck manipulated France into declaring war, in 1870, which Prussia won decisively, having persuaded the southern German states to join in because France was their common enemy. In 1871 France signed its surrender at the Palace of Versailles, which would achieve greater significance the next century. As well as humiliating the French leader Napoleon III and his government, Prussia gained the French territory of Alsace-Lorraine.

The Franco-Prussian War cemented Prussia and its allied German states as the dominant power in central Europe, and enabled Bismarck to unify the country as the German Empire in 1871. The event long caused bitterness and a desire for revenge in France over the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

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The vision of Bismarck

Bismarck's next challenge was to ensure that the new nation survived. Germany needed to withstand any internal power struggles, and hold its own among the other great powers of Europe.

Having unified the German nation politically, Bismarck promoted a *Kulturkampf*, or 'culture struggle', to create a single German culture. Traditional ideas of German culture were encouraged, and beliefs that did not align were suppressed, most notably Catholicism (Bismarck himself was staunchly Protestant) and Polish nationalism. These first open signs of sectarian and ethnic persecution demonstrate clearly the substantial effect that **nationalist** sentiment was beginning to have on Germany.

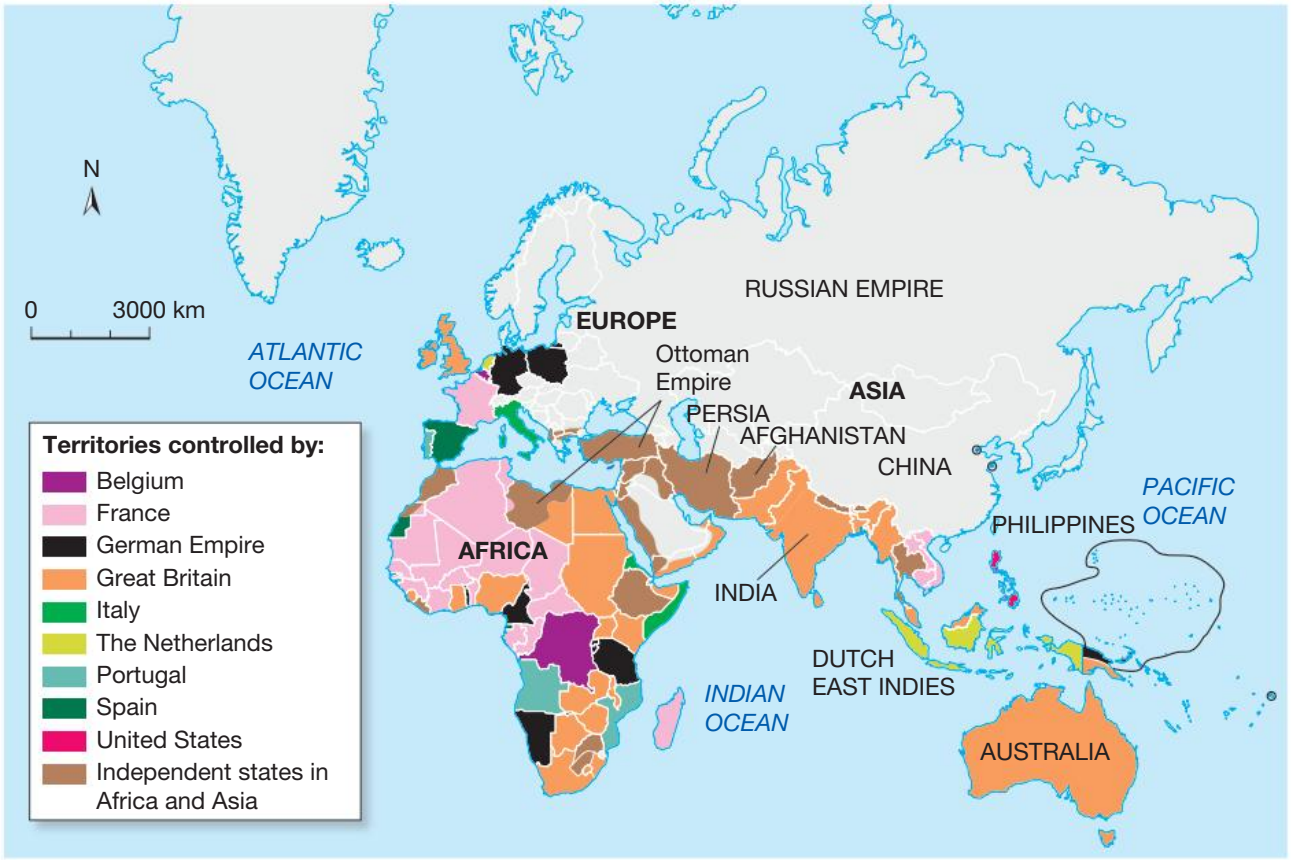
SOURCE 10.4 Berlin, February 1888. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck advocates forcefully for military spending in the German Reichstag (Parliament).

Why would Bismarck want high military spending? Could it have effects that go beyond military goals? What might you read into the faces of the men gathered around him? Do you think Bismarck would be pleased with this painting?

The vision of Wilhelm II

From 1888, when Kaiser Wilhelm II became emperor, the direction of Germany changed radically. Wanting to make his own mark, he forced Bismarck to retire in 1890. Wilhelm II insisted that Germany use its capacity as a now unified and strong nation for imperial expansion.

nationalists individuals who seek to exalt one nation above others and place primary emphasis on promoting that country's culture and interests



SOURCE 10.5 Map showing European colonial claims, 1900. Notice that Britain, with its powerful navy, has substantially larger possessions than any other nation. Germany controls relatively small areas of Africa and the Pacific.

Why would this global situation have motivated the Kaiser to further his imperialist ambitions?

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Source **10.6** Kaiser Wilhelm II outlines his aim

SOURCE 10.6 A speech by Kaiser Wilhelm II, 1901

> In spite of the fact that we have no such fleet as we should have, we have conquered for ourselves a place in the sun. It will now be my task to see to it that this place in the sun shall remain our undisputed possession, in order that the sun's rays may fall fruitfully upon our activity and trade in foreign parts, that our industry and agriculture may develop within the state ...

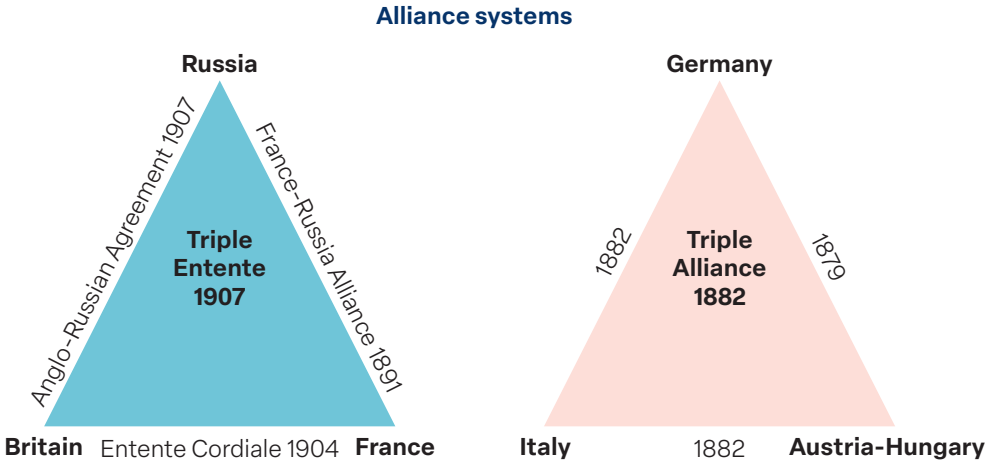
Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany's speech to the North German Regatta Association, 1901

Responding to the Kaiser's speech

1. Consider the explicit and implicit meanings of the source. What does the Kaiser mean by the expression 'place in the sun'? How is he suggesting Germany can maintain it?
2. The Kaiser refers to seeing that this 'place' remains Germany's 'undisputed possession'. What does this indicate about how Germany felt about its future place among the nations of the world?
3. In this 1901 speech, might the Kaiser have been provoked by the popular saying, during Queen Victoria's reign in Britain, that the 'the sun never sets on the British Empire'? Why might this have been the case?

The march towards conflict

Despite Bismarck's 'blood and iron' reputation, his diplomatic actions abroad had presented Germany as peaceful. Wilhelm II was less measured. Increasing apprehension about international security caused leading European nations to form alliances.



SOURCE 10.7 Europe's alliances by 1907. These alliances rivalled each other and reflected nationalistic, imperialist and militaristic motives.

How might the division of Europe into rival groups impact the direction of the continent? How might it potentially heighten the possibility of conflict?

Various international crises created a **war climate** in Europe. Such a climate meant that even small regional conflicts had the potential to implicate any number of European nations. Two areas in particular where these conflicts were prominent were Morocco (on Africa's Mediterranean coastline) in 1905 and 1911 and the Balkans (in south-eastern Europe) in 1912 to 1913. While neither crisis emerged directly into war, they inflamed and further entrenched already existing tensions between the Great Powers, as well as their smaller allies, as seen in Source 10.8.

war climate geopolitical situation in which the potential for armed conflict between two or more states is created due to tensions that build through provocative actions

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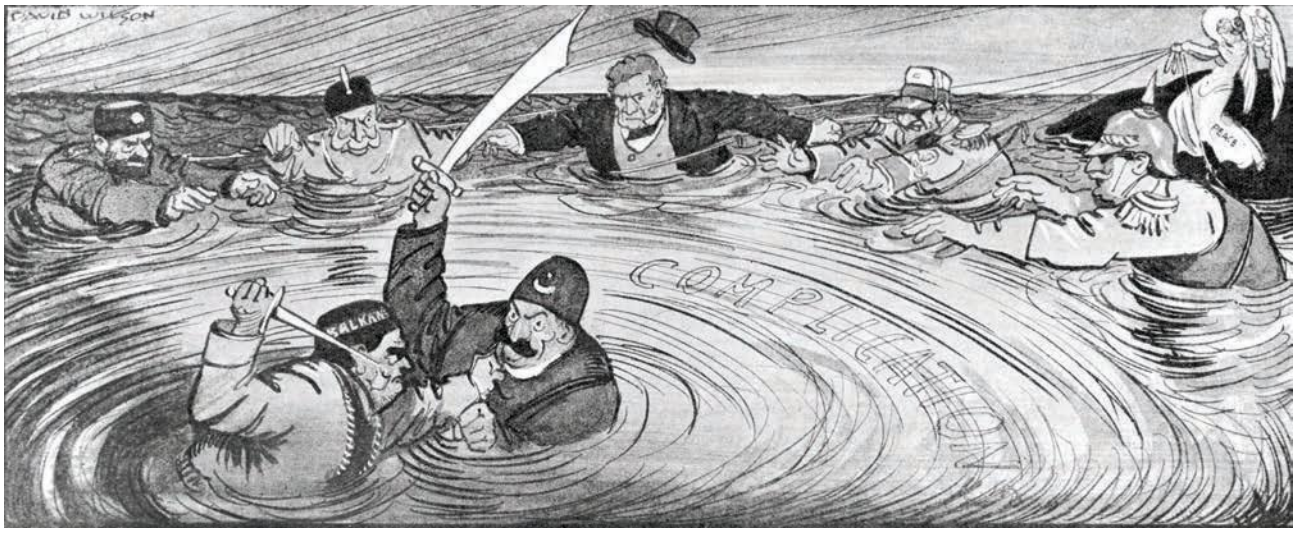

SOURCE 10.8 'The Vortex – Will the Powers Be Drawn In?' An editorial cartoon by British cartoonist David Wilson depicts the Balkan Crises of 1912–13.

Who/what is the figure in the background (top right-hand corner)? Has the cartoonist drawn her in a way that suggests whether she might succeed? Do you think the whirlpool is a clever device for the cartoonist to use? Explain why.

By 1914, Kaiser Wilhelm II's steadfast sympathising with alliance partner Austria-Hungary and its desire to maintain control of the Balkans led to conflict with Serbia and its ally, Russia. Russia, France and Great Britain were allies, thereby drawing in all of Europe's major powers. A crisis emerged when a member of the Serbian 'Black Hand' nationalist movement assassinated Austro-Hungarian heir Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 1914, during an official visit to Sarajevo, in Austrian-controlled Bosnia. After a month of complicated diplomacy, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on 28 July.

Within a week, Germany was at war with Russia, France and Britain. This was welcomed by many Germans as a chance for Germany to prove itself as a truly great power.

SOURCE 10.9 Munich, 1 August 1914. A crowd of approximately 100 000 gathers at the Odeonplatz square in Munich, following the news that Germany is at war. The photo seems to show a young Adolf Hitler in the crowd.

Is it possible to detect whether the crowd is celebrating, or expressing some different thoughts and feelings? What historical sources might exist that could confirm the crowd's sentiments? If the people are celebrating, what possible consequences might they be expecting?

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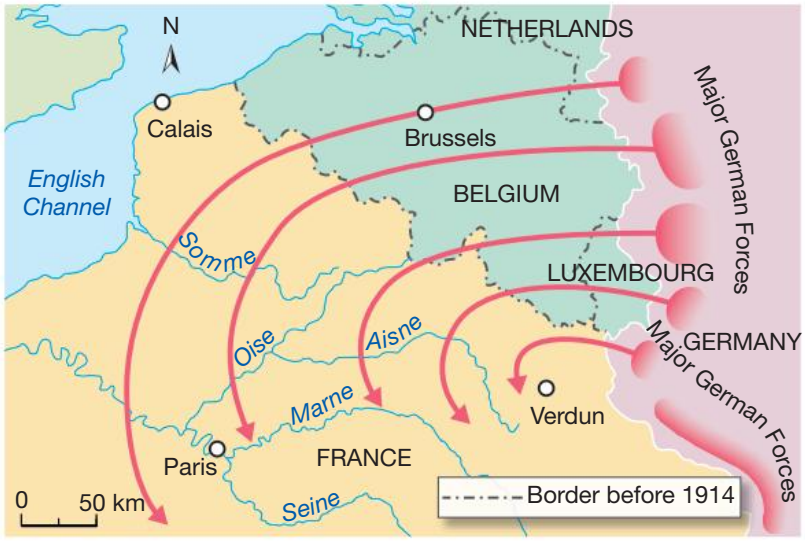

SOURCE 10.10 Map of the Schlieffen Plan leading to stalemate

SOURCE 10.11 Germany, 1918. Amid food shortages, German women and children queue for rations vouchers as the British blockade takes its toll on the home front.

Could such hardship prompt mixed feelings among German civilians about the ongoing war? Do you think such a blockade is a fair tactic in wartime?

What effect did World War I have on Germany?

Initial success

Many people across Europe believed that the war would be rapid and decisive. Germany had originally planned to defeat France before dealing with Russia, in order to avoid fighting on both Eastern and Western fronts. Germany had also hoped to avoid drawing in Great Britain, but when German troops crossed through Belgium to attack France, Britain honoured its treaty obligations and came to Belgium's aid (this was known as the 'Schlieffen Plan'). This put to an end the hope of a quick and decisive victory over the French and instead gave rise to a much more extended conflict.

Stalemate and defeat

A **stalemate** paralysed the Western Front from 1915. For several years, troops were literally bogged down in muddy trench warfare. Hundreds of thousands died at battles such as Verdun and the Somme.

In December 1917, following the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia declared a ceasefire with Germany, and withdrew from the war in early 1918. But, on 6 April 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. This tipped the scales of the conflict, making a German defeat likely.

? Find out about the complicated relationship of the United States with the war in Europe from 1914 onwards. Despite not entering the war until 1917, had the United States been supportive in any way of the Allied cause?

stalemate situation in a conflict where neither side can make progress

Germany began to issue overtures to the Allies for an armistice by July of 1918. The Kaiser went into exile on 10 November, and the following day an armistice was agreed. World War I was at an end.

The Kaiser's departure left Germany without a functioning government, causing political chaos. While military defeat was complete, many Germans came to believe instead in a 'stab-in-the-back' myth: that civilians in government had betrayed the army by surrendering. The would be come to be exploited, and meanwhile, the full economic and social impact was yet to be felt.

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Germany: the aftermath of war

In the year following the German surrender, the nation's future was determined at a peace conference held in Paris.

The Paris Peace Conference, 1919

Representatives of 32 nations gathered in January 1919 to discuss the peace settlement. After several months of negotiations, a treaty was presented to the Germans. They had no real power to challenge the terms. The Treaty of Versailles was formally signed on 28 June 1919 in the same place where France had signed a humiliating surrender after the Franco-Prussian War, and the German Empire had been declared, less than 50 years earlier.

SOURCE 10.12 Paris, 1919. British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, French President Georges Clemenceau and US President Woodrow Wilson attend the Paris Peace Conference.

Why did these leaders in particular dictate the direction of the conference? Why would Wilson have had a say, given the United States' relatively limited role in the war? What might this suggest about the changing world order at this point?

Activity **10.1**

Analyse the Treaty of Versailles, 1919

1. Use a library database or the internet to find a copy of the Treaty of Versailles.
2. Create and complete a table like the one below. Read and summarise each of the articles and determine what you think the motivation and intended result was for each article.

Treaty article	Summary	Motive	Intended result
Article 42			
Article 51			
Article 119			
Articles 159 and 160			
Article 231			
Article 232			

3. Consider what you have read in the Treaty of Versailles. To what extent does it seem a fair document? Is there evidence that its provisions were motivated by vengeance?
4. Why did Article 231, in particular, become a source of controversy? What potential link can you see between this article and the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany?

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reparations the action of making amends by providing payment or rendering assistance to those who have been wronged

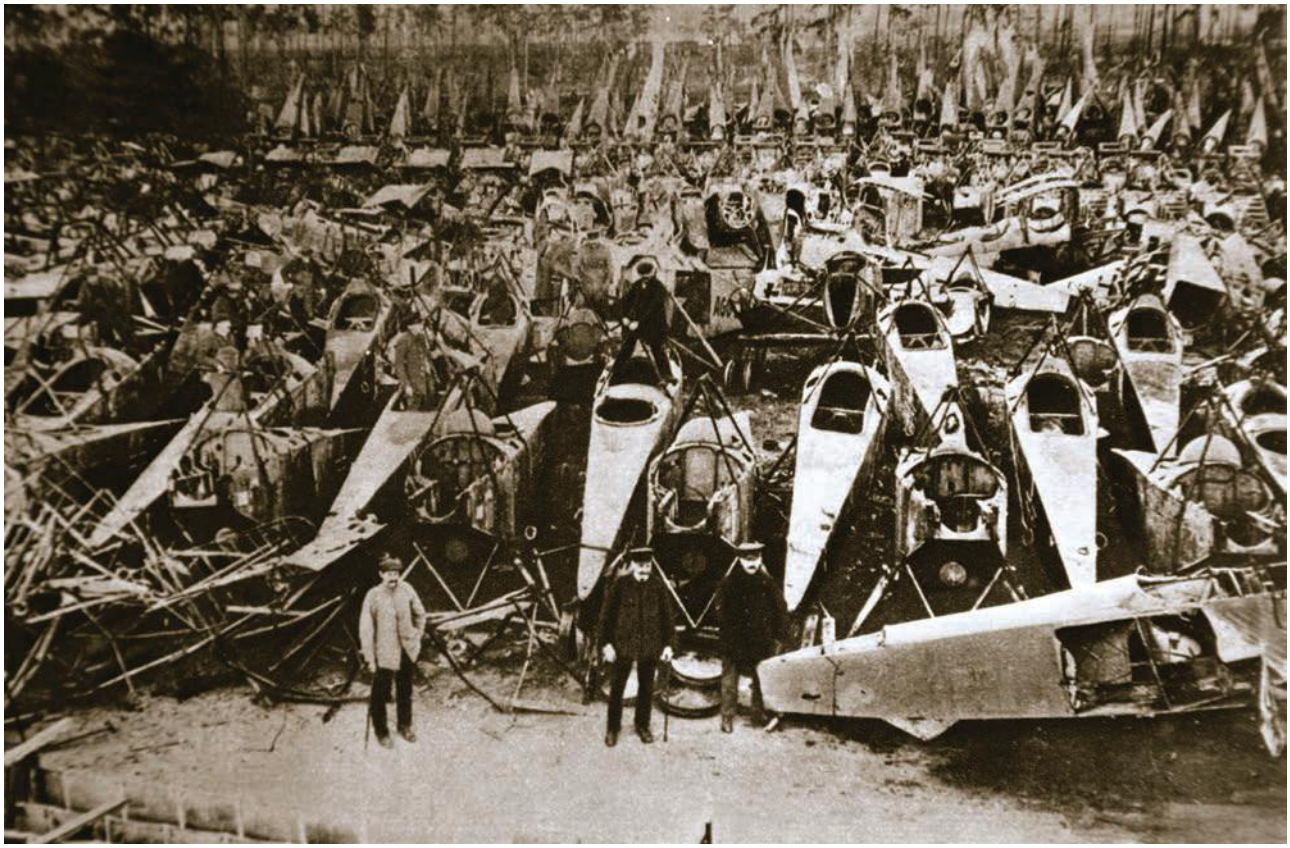
The terms forced upon Germany were severe. Article 231 of the Treaty stated the Allies 'accepted the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage' from a war 'imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany'.

This statement of guilt provided a legal basis for **reparations**. When the Germans signed the Treaty in 1919, the Allies had not specified an amount of money owed. This was not determined until 1921, when the Allies demanded an amount equivalent today to about one trillion Australian dollars. The heavy financial burden caused substantial damage to Germany's economy and morale.

Germany's territory was also affected, with its overseas possessions stripped and its own boundaries substantially reduced and redrawn. Germany's army was restricted to no more than 100 000 men and its navy to 15 000, with accompanying military hardware severely limited and manufacture prohibited. The Treaty of Versailles meant national humiliation and punishment, which was likely to provoke both social unrest and economic turmoil.

The Weimar Republic

Defeat and the humiliating Treaty of Versailles were demoralising and would create ongoing substantial impacts on German society. Some viewed it as an opportunity for change.



SOURCE 10.13 Germany, 1919. German men stand in front of military equipment and supplies being destroyed as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. Almost 50 000 pieces of military hardware, including cannons, machine guns and aircraft, were demolished.

What effect do you think this would have had on German morale? Was this a reasonable action by the victorious Allies?

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A new democratic Weimar Republic and accompanying constitution were declared on 11 August 1919. The new constitution made promising reference to elements of American democracy, including freedom of expression and pursuit of general welfare. But, despite the promise of democratic rights and freedoms, it was also flawed.

Why might a democratic constitution be difficult to enact in a nation that had no historical experience of democratic government and popular participation?

Has that challenge also proved difficult in newly emerging nations after World War II?

As a result, members of both the political left and right were reluctant to embrace the constitution. Political unrest continued, with a left-wing Spartacist uprising of the Communist Party in Germany (KPD) in 1919, and an attempted coup by right-wing conservative and military elements in the 1920 *Kapp Putsch*.

Around this time of German discontent, another group also formed: the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), better known as the Nazi Party.

Many ordinary Germans viewed liberal democracy as a foreign form of government that was being forced upon them. Beyond the political aspects of the Republic, its failures of economic management did little to reassure the German people. **Hyperinflation** took hold in the early 1920s. This left Germany even less able to service the debt imposed by the Treaty of Versailles.

By 1923, one US dollar was worth 10 million German marks. Germans saw their investments and savings rendered worthless. Banknotes became more useful as rags or wallpaper than for making payments.

SOURCE 10.14 In postwar Germany, a housewife uses millions of Deutsch marks to light a stove during a period of hyperinflation

What impression does this image give you of life during the Weimar Republic? Would it help if you knew how typical this scene was? Why can rampant inflation have devastating impacts on citizens' everyday lives? How could those impacts translate into political instability?

hyperinflation an economic situation in which monetary inflation is occurring at an exceptionally high rate, reducing the value of currency and usually resulting in economic hardship and depression

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The emergence of the Nazi Party

While hyperinflation eased after 1923, relative economic stability lasted only six years. Large portions of the German populace remained angry and distrustful of the Weimar state. Many thought the Weimar leaders were those responsible for the 'stab-in-the-back' of surrender. Even when the economy stabilised and art, culture and self-expression bloomed during the period's creative height, members of the middle and lower classes felt alienated. Traditionalists and conservative Germans also felt as if the values and ideals of their nation had abandoned them.

In the mid-1920s, polarisation and political extremism increased, and both communists and right-wing parties became more prominent. Chief among these was Hitler's NSDAP, or Nazi Party.

SOURCE 10.15 A rally of NSDAP members and others on *Deutschen Tag* (German Day) in 1924

Note the array of flags and the range of uniforms. Why do you think symbolism played such a crucial role in Nazi campaigning? How does the use of such imagery benefit a fledgling political movement? Given what you now know of German history, can you explain why this parade would appeal to many Germans?

antisemitism hostility to or prejudice against Jewish people, which is often the basis for persecution and oppression

eugenics the idea that it is possible to improve humanity by allowing only some people to produce children

A key part of the NSDAP platform was the scapegoating of Jews. Prejudice against the Jews (**antisemitism**) across Europe was not new. However, as noted by historian Ian Kershaw (1987), a new 'language of bacteriology' was employed in the twentieth century to further denigrate Jewish people and to blame them for Germany's manifold problems. **Eugenics** and other pseudo-sciences, emerging during the 1920s and 1930s, used racial theories to justify the idea of a social hierarchy that positioned various races according to their supposed worth to society. To Hitler and the Nazis, the Jews occupied the lowest rung of any hierarchy and their existence in German society could not be tolerated. To endure their continued existence could only mean that Germany would persist in turmoil and never regain the strength of the former Reich.

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These and other ideas were explained in the NSDAP's party program in 1920.

ACTIVITY 10.2
Undertake a 'jigsaw' group activity about Nazi plans

Clearly, the pursuit of these plans had the potential for dramatic upheaval in Germany. Nationalistic elements of Nazi policy included its demand that territories lost in the aftermath of World War I be returned; that a stronger central government be formed; that non-ethnic Germans be barred from migrating to Germany; and that newspapers be owned and operated by Germans only. More disturbing still was the party's insistence on the importance of 'German blood' when considering who could be a citizen in a National Socialist Germany.

Ironically, **socialism** also featured prominently in Nazi ideology despite the Nazi Party's scare campaigns around Bolshevism and persecution of German communists. Among the 25 points of its program, the party proposed sharing profits among industry employees; generous pensions; educational assistance for children from poorer families; and banning passive income generation from investments.

socialism a political and economic theory that proposes that the means of producing, distributing and exchanging goods and services should be owned and regulated by the community or state

Activity **10.3**

Annotate a timeline

Construct an annotated timeline (either digitally or by hand) of the events from 1871 through to 1920, tracing the trajectory of Germany's history. Ensure you include brief notes linked explicitly to key dates that we have explored so far.

Contextual study: Summing up

Germany did not emerge as a modern, unified nation until 1871, when its many principalities and states converged. Though separate, these states did exhibit strong cultural commonalities. The potential for Germany to be a disruptive force was clear: it possessed military might and industrial strength, but, having missed the earlier 'grab for colonies' by other European powers, it lacked the prestige of an overseas empire. Combined with growing nationalism, these elements propelled Germany into the increasingly unstable European situation of the early 1900s. This culminated in Germany's significant role in sparking World War I.

You have witnessed that, despite individual military supremacy in Europe and a prolonged stalemate along the Western Front, the Germans could not resist the combined efforts of the Allies, particularly after the United States joined in the latter days of the war. This defeat, along with the terms detailed in the Treaty of Versailles, left Germans humiliated and resentful. The subsequent Weimar Republic was not robust enough to withstand the instability arising from the punitive treaty, economic stagnation and a powerful new political force making attractive promises about the future.

This contextual study has demonstrated that, due to unique historical circumstances, Hitler and the NSDAP were able to take advantage of lingering post-World War I resentment by pledging to address Germany's woes.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: How did the Nazi regime transform Germany between 1933 and 1945?

The photograph in Source 10.16 depicts an extreme, but sadly not isolated, example of the brutality of the Nazi regime between 1933 and 1945. These men, and millions of others, fell victim to an ideology that deemed them subhuman. It represented the horrific apex of Nazism's impact on Germany and its neighbouring states.

NSDAP ideology found a sympathetic ear among the German people during the interwar period. What followed was a transformation of the nation from liberal democracy to totalitarian state. In this depth study, you will explore what historians still debate today: how Hitler and the NSDAP gained power and undertook the wholesale remodelling of German society in accordance with National Socialist beliefs.

You will investigate key aspects of this transformation, as Hitler built his Reich, with devastating impact within Germany's borders and across Europe. This depth study unfolds through a series of six sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.

The six sub-questions are:

1. How did the Nazis come to power?
2. How did the Nazis create a totalitarian state?
3. How did the Nazis create a new national culture?
4. How did the Nazi regime provoke war and what effect did it have on Germany?
5. How did Nazism produce the Holocaust?
6. What have historians said about how the Nazi regime transformed Germany between 1933 and 1945?

SOURCE 10.16 Starved prisoners at a concentration camp at Ebensee, Austria. This photo was taken as the camp was liberated by American troops on 7 May 1945.

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SUB-QUESTION 1: How did the Nazis come to power?

This section will broadly examine how the NSDAP rose to power in Germany and how Hitler was able to circumvent the democratic Weimar Republic.

Capitalising on internal discontent

Economic and social factors in Germany in the wake of World War I and the Treaty of Versailles left Germans bitter and dissatisfied with the democratic Weimar Republic. Hitler and the NSDAP soon rose as a viable political force, despite their extremist ideology.

For example, as a part of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was expected to bear the entire burden of reparations payments for the destruction and loss of World War I. The French launched an invasion of the Ruhr district, an important area for Germany industrial production, in order to collect missed payments. This prompted anger among the German public and accelerated discontent and the move towards more extreme political movements, pre-empting the rise of the NSDAP.

SOURCE 10.17 German police are expelled from the Ruhr District in 1923 by French soldiers (01:12, no audio). Scan the QR code to watch the video.

The NSDAP attempted a coup, known as the Beer Hall Putsch, against the Bavarian state government in Munich in November 1923. Hitler sought to capitalise on the discontent rife within the new German middle class and the conservative elite who, as historian Eric Weitz writes, 'pined for a return to the ordered, authoritarian past of imperial Germany' (2010). These diverse groups would become the political base that supported Nazi power.

While Hitler's initial attempt to seize power in Bavaria failed, the resulting trial gave Hitler and the NSDAP nation-wide notoriety. Although convicted of treason, he was sentenced to a lenient five years, and his sentence began in relative comfort, with a constant flow of gifts from admirers. He served only nine months of his prison term before being released, officially for 'good behaviour'. However, his increasing public profile and public statements from notable supporters potentially played a role also.

SOURCE 10.18 Nazi Party members during the Beer Hall Putsch, Munich, 9 November 1923

This image captures a number of Nazi Party members who participated in the attempted coup in Munich. Among them is Heinrich Himmler (with flag), Ernst Röhm (to his right) and Joseph Seydel (front). Does this photo convey the impression of a determined armed body capable of taking over the government of a German state by force?

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National Socialism the political ideology of the NSDAP consisting of intense nationalism, dictatorial rule and totalitarianism, a prejudicial hatred of perceived national enemies (such as Jews and Slavs) and the desire to establish a people's community to dominate German political and civic life

His incarceration was long enough for Hitler to dictate his memoir, *Mein Kampf*, to his NSDAP colleague Rudolf Hess, who was also serving a sentence for participation in the Putsch, articulating the tenets of his **National Socialism**. It outlined his ideas on racial purity and the restoration of German greatness through an authoritarian, fear-based political regime, the claiming of additional territory and championing the rights of 'true' Germans.

Source **10.19** Hitler on race

SOURCE 10.19 Extract from *Mein Kampf*, 1925

It is idle to argue which race or races were the original representative of human culture and hence the real founders of all that we sum up under the word 'humanity.' It is simpler to raise this question with regard to the present, and here an easy, clear answer results. All the human culture, all the results of art, science, and technology that we see before us today, are almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan ...

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1925 (published by Houghton Mifflin 1939)

Responding to the source

1. Why might the belief expressed here be not only a powerful political message but also a threatening one?
2. What would be the logical social and political implications of this idea?

Political legitimacy and exploiting a crisis

By 1925, the NSDAP had solidified its guiding philosophy and political platform. It had an enthusiastic minority of supporters within the German political right but needed to expand its appeal further.

By 1928, the party claimed it had over 100 000 members. Despite this, in the May national elections that year, the NSDAP polled ninth overall, with only 2.63% of the national vote. This served to reduce their members in the **Reichstag** to only 12, paling in comparison to the centre-left Social Democrats (SPD) with 153 seats and the conservative-nationalist German National People's Party (DNVP) with 73. Various subgroups of the NSDAP, which would later become notorious, were also established at this time: the Hitler Youth, the ***Sturmabteilung*** (SA, or brownshirts) paramilitary wing and the infamous ***Schutzstaffel* (SS)**.

Reichstag the meeting place of Germany's parliament or 'Imperial Diet' until 1933, when a fire in the building led to the political events that enabled Hitler to become dictator

Sturmabteilung a paramilitary organisation within the NSDAP in Germany. Also known as the brownshirts, their use of violence and intimidation played a vital role in Adolf Hitler's rise to power.

***Schutzstaffel* (SS)** originally founded as personal bodyguards for Hitler, they became the elite corps of the NSDAP and participated in many of the worst excesses of the Nazi era, including the mass murder of political opponents, Jews and prisoners of war

On 24 October 1929, the US Stock Exchange crashed suddenly, resulting in a worldwide economic downturn. For Germany, it signalled a possible depression. The national coalition government collapsed in early 1930, replaced by an unstable minority government. Amid political turmoil, national elections were held on 14 September 1930. The NSDAP vote increased dramatically to 18.25%. Disaffected voters across the nation, it seemed, had turned to the Nazis. Their numbers in the Reichstag increased from 12 to 107. This made the NSDAP the second-largest party after the Social Democrats, indicating that many German people had begun to question the political establishment and turn to political extremism.

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German nationalism: The Nazis claim power

Hitler emerged as the victor in this new political world, having broadened the Nazis' appeal across religious, class and geographic lines, and resulted in Hitler launching a bold (though unsuccessful) challenge for the presidency in 1932.

Hitler made a further bid for power later in the same year in the elections called after Heinrich Bruening resigned as Chancellor. The Nazis won 230 out of the 608 Reichstag seats. Despite dubious tactics employed by the SA and SS, Hitler and the NSDAP were democratically elected as the largest party in the German parliament. Hitler demanded that he be made Chancellor. President Paul von Hindenburg refused to appoint him. Frustrated, Hitler instigated a vote of no confidence in Chancellor Fritz von Papen on 20 August 1932. Ironically, it was von Papen who later convinced von Hindenburg to appoint Hitler as Chancellor. He argued that appointing Hitler in coalition with the German Nationalists would temper the Nazis' extremism. Thus, on 30 January 1933, Hitler was installed as Chancellor with von Papen as his deputy.

Source **10.20** Speech by Hitler, 1933

Scan the QR code to watch the video.

SOURCE 10.20 Hitler speaks after the Reichstag Fire, Berlin, February 1933 (10:36)

Responding to the video

1. Analyse the features of Hitler's presentation in this video. What features do you see that might have contributed to his appeal to the German people?
2. Does the impression you receive of Hitler's presentation in this video match how he is portrayed in popular culture? Explain your response.
3. Research current world leaders and find examples of them making speeches in a similar context. Do any of them employ a similar style of presentation? Why might they do so?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How did the Nazis come to power?

1. Create an infographic showing how the NSDAP gained power

To demonstrate your understanding of how the NSDAP gained power, create an infographic using relevant events and developments described in this section. You may like to use an online infographic generator like Canva or Piktochart. Your infographic should include:

- an informative, interesting and clear sequence of information
- graphic representation of information (use of images, diagrams, graphs and icons)
- a precise and discerning use of written text (words).

2. Synthesise information

Synthesise by combining information and evidence from both text and sources in this chapter section and forming a historical argument to answer the following question: *To what extent did either circumstances and events or Adolf Hitler's personal attributes and actions propel the Nazis to power by 1933?*

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3. Conduct additional research

Using reputable historical sources (books, online journals and databases), conduct research to answer one or more of the following questions. Ensure you select evidence that offers more than one perspective and that you include relevant terms and concepts.

a. Research Hitler's early life, including his service in World War I. To what extent did these experiences have an impact on the trajectory his life would take in the 1920s and 1930s?

b. Consider the Beer Hall Putsch. Many of the sentiments of its leaders were shared by members of the public, and the NSDAP was well established by this point. Why was it not more successful?

c. Investigate Hitler's imprisonment and his rising popularity during his incarceration. How can we account for the celebrity status of someone found guilty of high treason?

SUB-QUESTION 2: How did the Nazis create a totalitarian state?

Hitler and the NSDAP immediately sought to consolidate their authority and transform Germany into the Third Reich state they envisaged (*Reich* is a German term for empire, and Hitler believed he was creating a third successor to the Holy Roman Empire and Bismarck's German Empire). The NSDAP moved swiftly and decisively to begin that transformation. On 27 February 1933 – the week before further elections were to take place – the Reichstag building burned down. Hitler blamed his political rivals, the communists. He drafted an Emergency Decree, issued by the President the next day, which took advantage of the situation by dramatically limiting political freedoms in order to 'protect' against further communist violence. The Decree was unusual in being issued without the normal interpretation guidelines. This allowed considerable room for the NSDAP to take extreme, unaccountable action. Thousands of communists were jailed and a climate of fear and suspicion developed.

Hitler was Chancellor, but the Nazi Party majority in the Reichstag relied upon a coalition with the German Nationalist Party. Not satisfied with this limit on NSDAP power, Hitler sought not just to enact a political agenda, but also to fundamentally change the German Republic itself.

Having already increased restrictions on civil liberties with the Emergency Decree, the Nazis now sought to change German politics as a whole. They did so with the *Enabling Act*, also known as the 'Law to Remove the Distress of the People and the Reich', passed on 23 March 1933.

Note the terms used in the two political initiatives: 'emergency'; 'enabling'; and 'remove the distress of the people'. Why might these words have been carefully chosen?

Such a law would ordinarily never have made it through the Reichstag. However, Hitler and the NSDAP intimidated members of both the Communist Party (KPD) and Social Democratic Party (SPD) and exploited the Emergency Decree previously passed, allowing all 81 KPD members and the majority of SPD members to be detained in 'protective detention', resulting in only 26 of the 120 SPD members participating in the vote. Additionally, members of his SS and SA surrounded those in Germany's parliament as they voted, intimidating many and resulting in the two-thirds majority required to pass such a drastic piece of legislation. Only SPD leader, Otto Wels, dared speak against it, famously stating: 'You can take our lives and our freedom but you cannot take our honour'.

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Source **10.21** The *Enabling Act*, 1933

SOURCE 10.21 The first four articles of the *Enabling Act*, 23 March 1933

Article 1. National laws can be enacted by the Reich Cabinet as well as in accordance with the procedure established in the Constitution. This also applies to the laws referred to in Article 85, Paragraph 2, and in Article 87 of the Constitution.

Article 2. The national laws enacted by the Reich Cabinet may deviate from the Constitution as long as they do not affect the position of the Reichstag [lower house of parliament] and the Reichsrat [upper house]. The powers of the President remain undisturbed.

Article 3. The national laws enacted by the Reich Cabinet shall be prepared by the Chancellor and published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. They come into effect, unless otherwise specified, the day after their publication. Articles 68–77 of the Constitution do not apply to the laws enacted by the Reich Cabinet.

Article 4. Treaties of the Reich with foreign states which concern matters of national legislation do not require the consent of the bodies participating in legislation. The Reich Cabinet is empowered to issue the necessary provisions for the implementation of these treaties.

Enabling Act, 23 March 1933

Responding to the extract

1. Consider Articles 1 and 2. How might they substantially alter Germany's political system? Think specifically about powers to make and enforce law.
2. Assess the implications of Article 3 for the passing and implementation of national laws. What issues around personal and political freedoms can you imagine being affected?
3. Article 4 is careful to include consideration of treaties with other nations. Determine why the Nazi Party included these.
4. Consider what appears to be shrewd wording of the legislation. What does Article 1 state about the 'Constitution'? How do Articles 2–4 seem to affect that provision?
5. These four are the only articles of substance in the Act. (Article 5 simply specifies the Act's implementation date and its duration.) Do these four articles seem to reflect the stated aim of the *Enabling Act* – 'to remove the distress of the people and the Reich'? Explain.

The *Enabling Act* was the second step in transforming Germany from a democratic republic into a totalitarian state. It effectively stripped the Reichstag of the power to make laws by the vote of elected members and placed this power exclusively (in practice) in the hands of the cabinet (the Chancellor and his ministers), who could simply ignore the Reichstag. A law now became enshrined simply by being announced. It did not need the signature of President von Hindenburg either, who may have objected to some legislation.

Hitler did not hesitate to make use of this authority. In April 1933, a new law was passed that stripped the various German states of their powers, leaving the national government as the sole political authority. Several months later, the third and final step in Germany's political transformation occurred. On 7 July 1933, the *Law Against the Establishment of New Parties* announced that the NSDAP was the only legal political entity in Germany. Establishing a rival party would be punishable by several years in prison. Hitler had created a dictatorship without breaking the law.

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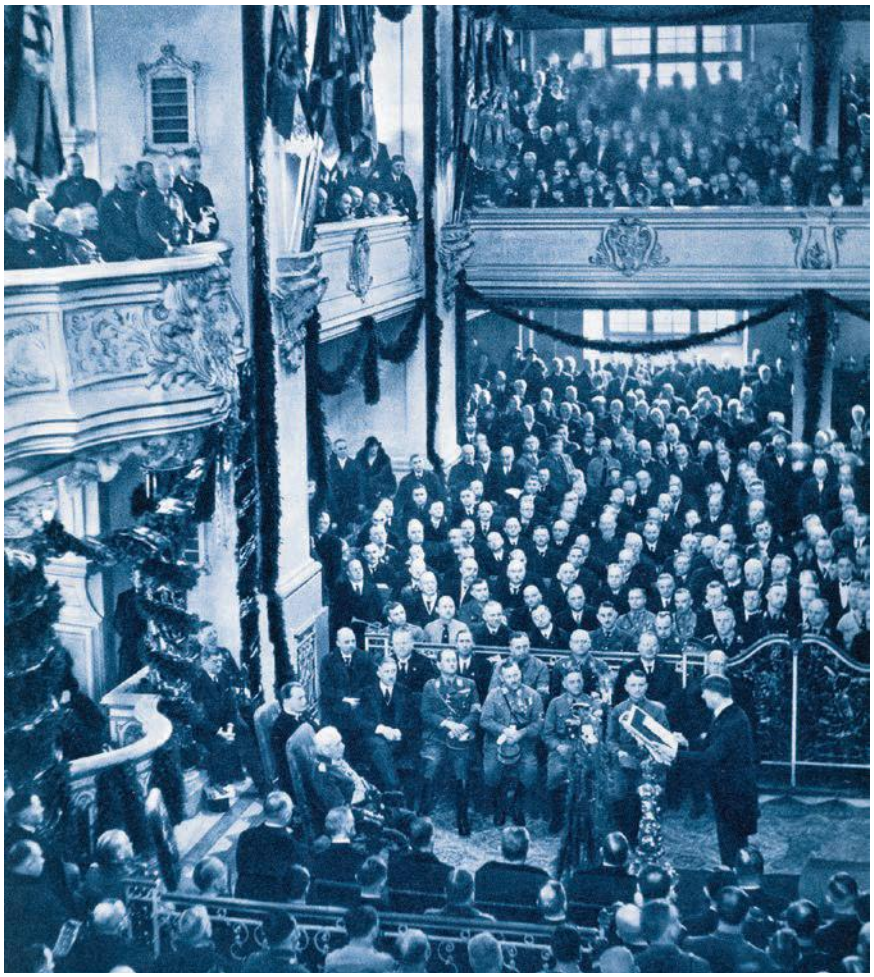
In public discussion still today, comments are made about Hitler's 'coming to power lawfully'. Does the narrative tracing events from the Reichstag fire to the banning of other political powers seem to support that comment?

? Consider the passage of the *Enabling Act*. Note the pressuring and intimidating of Reichstag members. Apart from 94 members of the SPD who voted against the Act, every other member of the Reichstag either voted for the legislation (156) or were absent (by choice or by force) from the assembly. Does that, and other NSDAP tactics, unsettle the 'lawfully' argument? Explain.



SOURCE 10.22 Potsdam, 21 March 1933. Adolf Hitler reads the *Enabling Act* at the Garrison Church.

What was the significance of Hitler choosing this location to read out this Act? What kind of advantage could Hitler gain by associating himself with German traditions, while positioning himself as a completely new and different authority?

With a stranglehold on political power, the army was now the only pre-existing institution with the ability to threaten Hitler's authority. President von Hindenburg was Commander-in-Chief of the army and had moral authority and respect as a World War I leader and embodiment of traditional conservative values, and had the theoretical power to appoint and dismiss the Chancellor. But by the beginning of 1934, he was in failing health and his position was largely ceremonial. Hitler intended to abolish the position upon von Hindenburg's death and rule completely unopposed. However, such an audacious claim to power would require the support of the army. A world War I veteran himself, Hitler had told military leaders in 1933 that he would restore their arms programmes and recruitment and ignore the restrictions in the Treaty of Versailles, so he already had some support from them.

The German Army (or *Wehrmacht*) was well established and numerous in personnel. By 1934, Hitler's own Stormtrooper force, the SA (brownshirts), outnumbered the *Wehrmacht* at almost three million strong. The *Wehrmacht* resented the existence of the SA and their leader, Ernst Röhm. Röhm was openly calling to be made Minister of Defence and for the SA to be made Germany's main military force.

The SA leadership was radical even for the NSDAP. Röhm held anti-capitalist ideas and since ascending to the leadership of the SA in 1931, openly agitated for a 'second Nazi Revolution'.

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He was not shy to challenge Hitler, refusing to defer to him in the fashion of other prominent Nazi leaders. The SA had already been replaced as Party security and enforcement by the more controlled SS.

Hitler, knowing that he would need the army's loyalty after von Hindenburg's death, agreed to deal with the SA. The President had also threatened to declare martial law and hand power to the army if Hitler did not stabilise the situation. Hitler's solution was to arrest and murder the SA leadership in one move during the 'Night of the Long Knives', 30 June 1934.

Source **10.23** Night of the Long Knives, 1934

SOURCE 10.23 A cartoon published in a Swiss newspaper evoking 30 June 1934, the Night of the Long Knives. The caption below it reads: 'And the **Führer** said: only death can drive us apart'.

Führer originally a German word meaning 'leader' or 'guide', it has become synonymous with the political title given to Adolf Hitler when the roles of both Chancellor and President were combined in 1933 to make him sole leader of Germany

Responding to the cartoon

1. Judge the impression we gain of Hitler in this cartoon. Does it differ from what you see in contemporary representations today?
2. Interpret who the crosses are referring to. What role did they play in the events of 30 June 1934?
3. If Hitler did say 'only death can drive us apart', do you think the words might have meant one thing when spoken (presumably to Röhm) but at least one different thing on the night of 30 June 1934? Explain your response.
4. Does the cartoonist's attitude to Hitler and to his actions seem clear to you? Does this impact the reliability of the source?

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Between 150 and 200 men died that night, purging the former leadership and removing threats to Hitler's authority. Goebbels' propaganda machine told the people that Röhm had tried to stage a coup and would have plunged the nation into chaos, so Hitler had to act decisively. English historian Ian Kershaw in his 2015 book *To Hell and Back: Europe 1914–1949*, noted that Hitler's position was substantiated significantly by mass murder, allegedly done in service of the state's defence. The Nazi leader's actions demonstrated both his willingness to appease the military and his brutal decisiveness when eliminating dissent. This proved pivotal in setting the direction for Hitler's leadership over the next decade, in which ruthless reprisals became the norm. The 'Röhm purge' of the SA enabled Hitler to further ingratiate himself with military leaders. This paid dividends when he took the final steps to full totalitarian control later after von Hindenburg's death on 2 August. The SA continued to exist under a more compliant leader in Viktor Lutze; however, it largely lost its political standing and remained secondary to the SS, in both number and influence.

Source **10.24** Heinrich Himmler speaks to officials, 1934

SOURCE 10.24 SS leader Heinrich Himmler speaks to officials, October 1934

> **... 30 June was not – as several believe – a day of victory or a day of triumph, but it was the hardest day that can be visited on a soldier in his lifetime. To have to shoot one's own comrades with whom one has stood side by side for eight or ten years in the struggle for an ideal, and who had then failed, is the bitterest thing which can happen to a man. ... 30 June signified no more and no less than the detonation of the National Socialist state from within, blowing it up with its own people. There would have been chaos, and it would have given a foreign enemy the possibility of marching into Germany with the excuse that order had to be created in Germany.**

Heinrich Himmler, speech to Gestapo (SS secret police wing) officials, 11 October 1934

Responding to the source

1. What does this source suggest was the true tragedy of 30 June 1934?
2. Who might Himmler suggest is to blame for having enacted this tragedy?
3. Why do you think Himmler is still having to speak about this event more than three months later? Does this indicate anything about division still being present in the ranks of the SS about these events?

German President von Hindenburg did indeed die several months after the purge of the SA. He went to his grave opposing Hitler's wish to consolidate the positions of Chancellor and President into one role, but was unable to make such a statement publicly. Only in the aftermath of the Reich was this revealed by von Hindenburg's allies. Combining the roles of Chancellor and President into the new title of Führer meant that Hitler became not only the political leader of Germany but also its head of state.

What does it indicate about the state of the German nation in 1934 that a large-scale assassination plot could be enacted successfully, and that Hitler's political ambition could be advanced as a result, without any significant public criticism, unrest or uproar?

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

How did the Nazis create a totalitarian state?

1. Identify key features of the change from Weimar Republic democracy to the totalitarianism of the Third Reich

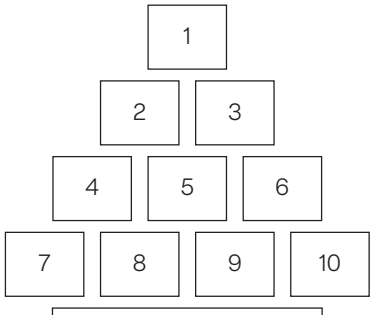
With the help of further research where necessary, identify key features of the change from the liberal democracy of the Weimar Republic to the totalitarianism of the Third Reich. Create and complete a table like the one below, comparing the 10 features that changed in that time, and identify how and when each change occurred.

	Weimar Republic (1919–33)	Nazi Germany (1933–45)	How and when did change occur?
Court system			
Freedom of speech			
Freedom of political association/ assembly			
Participation in government			
Free elections			
The Constitution			
Freedom of religion			
Military service			
Protections for citizens			
Requirements to be a German citizen			

2. Pyramid ranking

Consider all 10 changes. Decide how serious each was as an assault on democratic society, contributing to the creation of a totalitarian state. Rank the changes in order of seriousness in a four-level pyramid like the one here, with the most serious as '1' on the top of the pyramid, finishing with the four least serious (7–10) on the bottom level.

Compare and discuss your pyramid rankings with a classmate.



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SUB-QUESTION 3: How did the Nazis create a new national culture?

What was the *Volksgemeinschaft* or 'people's community'?

With unprecedented control, Hitler could now seek to mould Germany into the image set out in the original NSDAP Program and his own *Mein Kampf*. To achieve this, the Nazi state needed to establish a clear set of cultural ideas and demonstrate that these ideas would clearly benefit the nation and its people, including specific groups like young people and women. Pairing these ideas with economic growth and prosperity would demonstrate the legitimacy of the Nazi ideology and the strength of the new Nazi state.

cult of personality the presentation of a political leader or otherwise notable individual with a focus on substantial personal charisma and the use of mass media to promote adulation of them by the public

Source **10.25** Nazi propaganda poster, 1938

SOURCE 10.25 Nazi propaganda poster, 1938. The text at the bottom says: 'One people, one state, one leader!'

Responding to the poster

1. What impression do you gain of Hitler through this picture? Assess how his presentation here could be read in different ways. Explain your response.
2. Consider the explicit and implicit meaning of this image. How does this poster foster the idea of a united Germany? Do the words (translated in the caption) seem like an invitation, a command, a wish, a threat … or something else? Could they be cleverly, deliberately ambiguous? Explain your response.
3. How might the 'aura' surrounding Hitler have helped create a new sense of unity and purpose among German people?
4. Are there current world leaders who seem to present a '**cult of personality**'?

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Hitler's ascendancy and broadening appeal made many Germans believe they were entering a new age of prosperity. This optimism was remarkable for the German people, considering the events of the previous few decades: they had been repeatedly beset by conflict and economic misery each time national fortunes seemed to be improving. The Nazis saw their rise to power not just as a new government, but as the creation of a new society. Many Germans were enthused by this, and impressed by the mythology around their new leader.

Source **10.26** Speech by Robert Ley, 1937

SOURCE 10.26 Speech by German politician Robert Ley, 1937

My fellow Germans! The second miracle: These people have received leadership! ... you may ask: Did not the people always have leadership? Certainly there have always been states and forms of government ... however, a true people's leadership is wholly new. Our people lacked it in the past two thousand years. Our people did establish governments, and had Kaisers, kings, counts, republics, and other forms of government. But a popular leadership, the feeling of the individual that someone cares for me, is personally concerned about me, that is unique. The feeling of the individual, whether high or low, that other people are responsible for them, that their problems are the problems of the leadership, this is unique. That is why we love Adolf Hitler so much. The German worker has the feeling that this man, our Führer, works on his problems day and night! This type of popular leadership is unique. We demand such leadership. We will not surrender it, we will not share it with anyone.

Robert Ley, 'Fate – I Believe', a speech given on 3 November 1936

Responding to the speech

1. Identify two parts of this speech (explicit or implicit meanings) that seem designed to reassure the people they will be looked after.
2. Identify the words that seem designed to reassure the people that Hitler is committed to them.
3. Research the author Robert Ley and his role within the Nazi state. Decide whether that affects how useful and reliable the source might be for Hitler's leadership style and his attitude to the German population.
4. Have you seen any previous evidence that either contradicts or reinforces Ley's claim that Hitler had such personal concern for the people and their problems? Explain your response.

The Nazis tied their new state to the concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, or 'people's community'. The concept of the German *Volk* (folk) had been present within German culture throughout history. The Nazis used this familiar idea as a bridge from that past to the new society of the Third Reich. The key concept that the Nazis sought to imbue was that of racial purity. Rather than advocating class or social ranking, the *Volksgemeinschaft* philosophy insisted that all 'racially pure' Germans were equal and were entitled to a sense of belonging and shared prosperity in the new Reich. The original 25 points of the NSDAP clearly highlighted this through three related points – that 'all citizens must have equal rights and obligations', that 'only a member of the race can be a citizen' and that a member of the race 'can only be one who is of German blood'.

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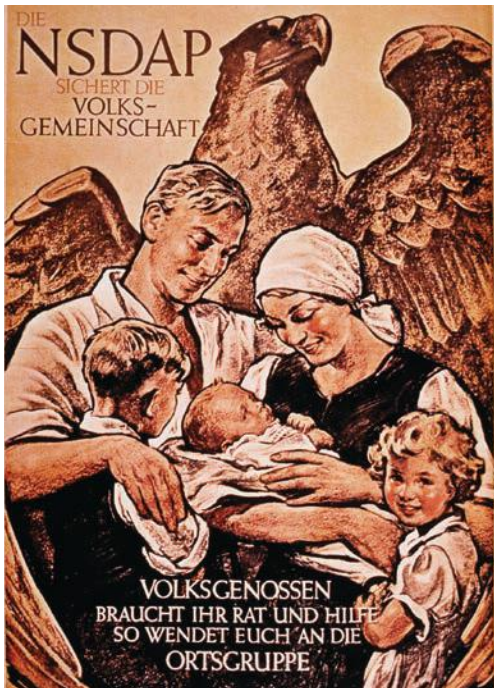
Source **10.27** Nazi Party poster, 1936



SOURCE 10.27 Germany, 1936. A Nazi election poster depicts a German family in front of an eagle. The captions on the poster state that 'The NSDAP secures the people's community' and 'the volk comrades need your advice and help, contact the local group'.

Responding to the image

1. What explicit and implicit messages do you think the artist was trying to send to people viewing this poster?
2. Analyse the appearance of the individuals in this poster. What does this imply about the Nazis' idea of the ideal German state?
3. Which groups in Germany would not have identified with this image of family? How might they have reacted to this and similar images?
4. Do you think this poster is 'propaganda'? Explain your reasoning.
5. What message do you think is created by: the baby's central position in the image; the family members looking at the baby; the facial expressions; the young girl looking out from the image; and the eagle's raised head and its wings encircling the family?
6. In Australia today, what well-known brands use similar images of 'ideal' families to advertise goods and services? What makes these seemingly effective as a sales tool?
7. Today, would any attempted depiction of an 'ideal Australian family' be inescapably exclusionary?

Considering the class hierarchy that had previously dominated Germany, the ideals of the *Volksgemeinschaft* held great appeal, especially among the working and middle classes. Given their history, this prioritisation of national identity held natural sway among the German people. However, while the Nazis expected loyalty from the people, they needed to create goodwill to achieve it. A logical way for this to happen, it seemed, was through fostering economic recovery and, later, military expansion.

How did the Nazis enact their economic plans?

By the time the Nazis took power in 1933, the economic effects of the Great Depression had been felt throughout the world. Some nations were beginning to recover, while others were getting worse. Any existing international means of recovery (such as the World Economic Conference) were being abandoned and it rested largely on individual nations to make policy that would aid their economic development. Germany was able to engineer the most complete recovery of any European nation, despite arguably feeling the Great Depression's effects most deeply.

Hitler's plan for economic recovery was not necessarily detailed. He largely saw economic management in the same way he saw most of Germany's challenges: as an obstacle that could be overcome through sheer will and the persecution of supposed national enemies, namely Bolsheviks (sympathisers with the communist Bolshevik Party in Russia) and Jews. Even at this early stage, he viewed economic recovery not as a goal in itself but as a necessary step towards building Germany's strength to the point where it could re-arm and expand through military might.

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This was signposted in *Mein Kampf*. Discussing Germany's territorial restrictions, Hitler asserted as a priority 'gathering our people and their strength for an advance along the road … to new land and soil' (1925). Any ability to create an economic miracle could also be funnelled towards the building of Hitler's own cult of personality and the idea that Germans should follow him into any future conflict.

Source **10.28** NSDAP flyer, 1936

SOURCE 10.28 'Look what we have accomplished'

Today the German economy is a fruitful field for cooperative labour, honest toil, and honestly earned success. We owe these successes to Adolf Hitler's leadership. We began with nothing but our labour and our confidence in him. We have accomplished more under three years of his leadership than we could have dared to hope. More, too, than hostile foreigners want to admit. There are still large economic challenges before us. We will meet them … if the entire German people remains united in will, strong in deed, firm in discipline, and loyal to the Führer.

NSDAP flyer on German economic improvement, 1936

Responding to the NSDAP flyer

1. According to the flyer, what factors have enabled German economic growth?
2. In what ways could Germany 'owe these successes to Hitler's leadership'? Could this be an inflated claim?
3. Consider why, by 1936, the German leadership might have been conscious of 'hostile foreigners'?

Source **10.29** Hitler on economic policy, 1936

SOURCE 10.29 Memo on economic policy, Adolf Hitler, 1936

We are overpopulated and cannot feed ourselves from our own resources. When our nation has 6 or 7 million unemployed, the food situation improves because these people lack purchasing power … but if [a] rise in employment fails to take place, then a higher percentage of the people must gradually become valueless through malnourishment. It is, therefore, in spite of our difficult food situation, the highest priority of our economic policy to see that all Germans are incorporated into the economic process, to restore normal consumption … The German army must be operational within four years. The German economy must be fit for war within four years.

Adolf Hitler, confidential memo, August 1936

Responding to the memo

1. Analyse the text of the memo. What expressions in this memo suggest that Hitler valued people in an 'instrumental' way – meaning for their usefulness – rather than being concerned for their wellbeing and happiness? What does he see as the ultimate aim of a buoyant economy?
2. Compare this impression of Hitler with that conveyed by Robert Ley in Source 10.26. To what extent do these views corroborate one another?
3. In historical research, what can be the special value of 'confidential' sources such as this memo?
4. Find out why, in Australia and other democracies, the minutes of discussions and decisions by cabinet ministers are usually not made public until 30 years or more after the meetings. Why were Australian political historians excited when federal cabinet minutes and other material from 1975 were about to be released?

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Activity **10.4**

Investigate a movement

Investigate the 'Strength through Joy' movement, focusing on a specific group within the German *Volk*, or population. Choose one group from the following list and compose a short expository report on what activities were provided for them and what this might have achieved for the NSDAP:

- adults of working age (18–45)
- young girls or boys between 6 and 12
- activities for older people over the age of 45
- Germans who were interested in cultural activities (music, art, etc.)
- Germans who were interested in the outdoors.

SOURCE 10.30 Germany, 1938. German workers participate in a swimming competition as part of the 'Strength through Joy' movement. The movement was intended to occupy the non-work time of the German workforce.

Why might the Nazi government have created a movement like this? Do you think a government-provided leisure program like this would be successful in today's diverse Australian society?

NSDAP policies to boost the economy and employment were generally successful. At the outset of the Nazi state in 1933, the unemployment rate in Germany hovered at around 30%, or about six million potential workers. The overall level of unemployment reduced to around one million by 1937. The Nazis, however, manufactured some of this reduction by dismissing many female workers, who generally were not counted in unemployment statistics. Married couples were given a loan of 1000 German marks, with an extremely favourable repayment schedule, if the wife stopped working (see the section on women, later in this chapter).

What impact did Nazi youth programs have?

Hitler was able to build a pseudo-religious ideal around himself among adult Germans. He exploited nationalistic sentiment and prejudice that had long been an undercurrent of German culture. As well, his perceived success in rebuilding Germany's economy resulted in a largely grateful nation happy to live within the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

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Young people also were seen as highly important, representing the future of the Reich, which was intended to last a thousand years. Hitler himself stated that 'a true community of the people is not produced overnight … but through many decades … the individual must be trained for this community'. Young Germans were considered a blank slate for Nazi influence, who would pass on this 'community training'. This influence was evident in two areas – the Hitler Youth and the education system.

SOURCE 10.31 Hitler Youth members set off on a 'route march' in the countryside near Nuremberg, 9 September 1937

Why might many young Germans be attracted to such an activity? In what way(s) does this photo suggest a military-style emphasis in the Hitler Youth?

Numerous groups for young people existed during the Nazi period. The NSDAP had targeted German youth since its inception and this intensified in the following years. The Hitler Youth, the most famous of these organisations, had only 50 000 members when Hitler became Chancellor in 1933, but by year's end it boasted about two million members. By 1936, there were five million. At the outbreak of war in 1939, membership was mandatory and competing organisations were dissolved.

Source **10.32** Hitler on youth programs

SOURCE 10.32 Adolf Hitler speech on youth programs, 1938

> These boys and girls enter our organisations [at] ten years of age, and often for the first time get a little fresh air; after four years of the Young Folk they go on to the Hitler Youth, where we have them for another four years … And even if they are still not complete National Socialists, they go to Labour Service and are smoothed out there for another six, seven months … And whatever class consciousness or social status might still be left … the *Wehrmacht* [German armed forces] will take care of that.

Adolf Hitler, speech on youth programs, 1938

Responding to the speech

1. In your own words, describe the overall intent and progress of the indoctrination of young Germans as detailed in the source's explicit and implicit content.
2. Assess what you think Hitler means by 'often for the first time get a little fresh air'. Could he be speaking literally, figuratively or both?
3. Why would the Nazis think it vital that 'class consciousness or social status' be removed? Has that goal been advocated by various political theorists and politicians over the centuries, and is it still advocated today? Which of the letters in the acronym NSDAP relates to this goal?

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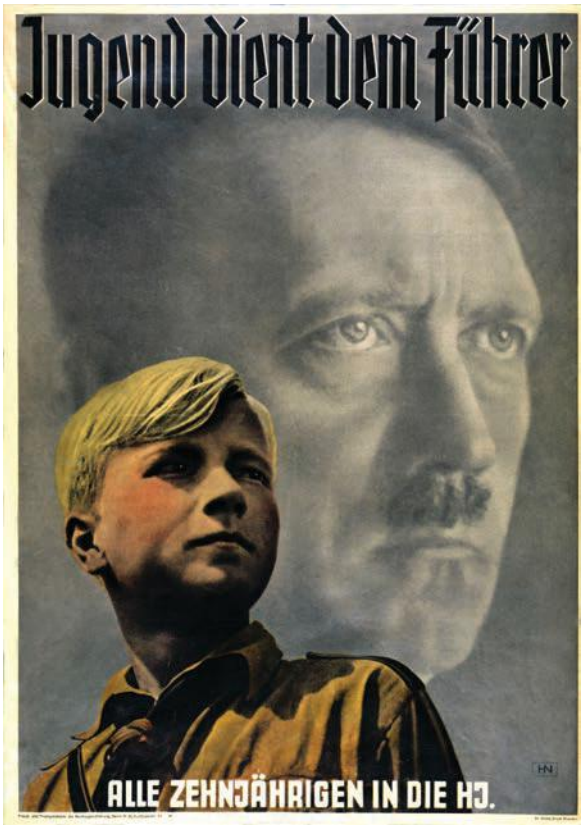

The Hitler Youth (*Hitler Jugend*) itself was designed for boys aged 14 to 18 who had previously been in the German Young People (*Deutsches Jungvolk*). Girls attended the League of German Maidens (*Bund Deutscher Madel*, or BDM) from ages 14 to 18 after previously having been in the League of Young Girls (*Jungendmadelbund*). Regardless of gender, all groups were designed to ensure that the entirety of German youth supported the aims and philosophies of the Nazi state. Hitler himself made this perfectly clear when stating in 1933 that 'your child belongs to us already, you will pass on … they will know nothing else but this new community'.

SOURCE 10.33 Germany, c. 1936. A Hitler Youth recruitment poster states: 'Youth serves the Führer' and 'All 10-year-olds in the Hitler Youth'.

What design features might have made this poster effective at the time? Do you think equivalent propaganda could ever be effective in Australian society?

Source **10.34** Hitler Youth prayer

SOURCE 10.34 A Hitler Youth prayer said before meals

Führer, my Führer given me by God,
Protect and preserve my life for long.
You rescued Germany from its deepest need.
I thank you for my daily bread.
Stay for a long time with me, leave me not.
Führer, my Führer, my faith, my light
Hail my Führer.

A Hitler Youth prayer said before meals, written by the Nazi Youth leader Baldur von Schirach, who was later convicted of being a war criminal

Responding to the prayer

1. What words have been appropriated from Christianity in creating this prayer? Why could this be a powerful device, particularly in mid-twentieth-century Europe?
2. How does this prayer combine national interests and personal interests?
3. How does this prayer indicate Germany's move away from democracy? How does it echo beliefs from centuries before?
4. Why is it probably impossible to ever know the actual influence of this official prayer among young Germans? What implications does this have for the usefulness of this source in understanding its influence?

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Among the young people for whom the prayer was written was young Inge Scholl, whose name would live on for many decades (see Chapter 1, pages 19–29, for a fuller discussion of this episode).

Source **10.35** Inge Scholl on the Hitler Youth

SOURCE 10.35 Inge Scholl recalls her time in the Hitler Youth

> … And Hitler, as we heard everywhere, Hitler wanted to bring greatness, happiness and well-being to this Fatherland; he wanted to see to it that everyone had work and bread; he would not rest or relax until every single German was an independent, free and happy man in his Fatherland. We found this good, and in whatever might come to pass we were determined to help to the best of our ability. But there was yet one more thing that attracted us with a mysterious force and pulled us along – namely, the compact columns of youths with waving flags, eyes looking straight ahead and the beat of drums and singing. Was it not overwhelming, this fellowship? Thus it was no wonder that all of us – Hans and Sophie and the rest of us – joined the Hitler Youth.

Inge Scholl, *The White Rose*, 1947, p. 6

Responding to the source

1. Who might be Inge's intended audience? What purpose might Inge have in writing a memoir about her days in the Hitler Youth? How might this purpose affect the honesty of her memoir?
2. By 1947, Nazism and the Hitler Youth had become infamous terms historically. Given that, how would you expect Inge to write about her membership of the Hitler Youth? Why?
3. Inge seems keen to describe the joy that Hitler Youth membership brought her, despite the Hitler Youth becoming infamous. Does this affect your decision about whether to believe what Inge has written, and your decision about how you treat this source in terms of its usefulness and reliability as evidence?
4. Hans and Sophie were Inge's siblings. At university, they became anti-Nazi activists. After distributing an anti-Nazi leaflet, Hans and Sophie were arrested, interrogated and executed. How does this information affect your decision about whether to believe what Inge has written?
5. Given all this, does the extract seem an extraordinary text? Would it be wise to discover the content and tone of the rest of the book?

The term 'indoctrination' is often used to describe what you're learning about here – the various ways in which young Germans were inculcated so strongly and methodically into the values, beliefs and practices of National Socialism. The indoctrination of young people was not restricted to just these organisations. Education was also seen by the Nazis as vital to directing Germany's future path.

SOURCE 10.36 Nuremberg, 1938. Some 50 000 young people, all members of Hitler Youth organisations, gather and salute Adolf Hitler at the annual Nazi Party Congress. Such occasions were used to consolidate loyalty among those present and display more broadly Germany's growing affinity for the Führer.

What adjectives would you use to describe the appearance, likely thoughts and possible emotions of the three youngsters at the front? How did these kinds of events encourage loyalty and hero worship? Do we still see such gatherings in the world today? What context might they occur in and how similar are their purposes?

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How did education change in Nazi Germany?

Hitler himself had been educated only until the age of 15 and often exhibited some level of contempt for formal schooling. He saw education, much like economic recovery, as a means to an end.

Upon establishing their regime, the Nazis immediately set about reforming the school curriculum so that it supported the aims of the Nazi state. Free thought and intellectual inquiry, highly valued in the Weimar education system, were replaced by indoctrination.

Source **10.37** Story for primary school students, 1935

SOURCE 10.37 A story read by primary school students in Germany, 1935

Far from our homeland, our Fuhrer Adolf Hitler has a beautiful villa. It is located high up in the mountains and is surrounded by an iron fence. Often many people who would like to see and greet the Fuhrer stand in front of it.

One day the Fuhrer came out once again and greeted the people in a very friendly way. They were full of joy and jubilation and reached out with their hands to him.

In the very first rank stood a little girl with flowers in her hands, and she said in her clear child's voice: 'Today is my birthday'. Thereupon the Fuhrer took the little blond girl by the hand and walked slowly with her through the fence and into the villa. Here the little girl was treated to cake and strawberries with thick, sweet cream.

And the little one ate and ate until she could eat no more. Then she said very politely: 'I thank you very much!' and 'Good-by'. Then she made herself as tall as she could, put her little arms around the Fuhrer's neck, and now the little girl gave the great Fuhrer a long, long kiss.

'The Fuhrer of elementary-school children' in William Brinkman and Paul Rossing, *Fibel fur die Grundschule*, 1935

Responding to the source

1. Analyse the story to decide what impression of Hitler it creates.
2. How useful and reliable is this source as evidence of how Hitler's character was projected through official propaganda within the classroom?
3. In a democracy, would it be appropriate for primary school readers to include glowing stories about political leaders? Discuss.

Boys and girls were educated separately, with vastly different curricula. Girls were educated in basic science and history, enough to indoctrinate them in the values of the new state. They undertook domestic courses that reflected what the Nazi state saw as their future role in the Reich, that of *Kinder, Kuche und Kirche* (children, kitchen and church). Boys were given instruction in advanced mathematics and science, though science had become 'science of the races', focusing on supposed racial hierarchy, rather than genuine science.

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Source **10.38** Biology textbook, 1935

SOURCE 10.38 An assignment from a Nazi-era biology textbook

Observe people whose special racial features have drawn your attention, also with respect to their bearing when moving or speaking. Observe their expressions and gestures.

Observe the Jew: his way of walking, his bearing, gestures, and movements when talking.

What strikes you about the way a Jew talks and sings?

What are the occupations engaged in by the Jews of your acquaintance?

What are the occupations in which Jews are not to be found? Explain this phenomenon on the basis of the character of the Jew's soul.

Jakob Graf, *Heredity and Racial Biology for Students*, 1935

Responding to the source

1. Compare this text with the sciences you might currently study. Does this text bear any resemblance to that which you are accustomed to studying?
2. Analyse the content of the source, as well as its perspective. How does this source combine indoctrination and stereotyping?
3. Evaluate why studying 'the Jew's soul' in a science class is extraordinary, and also potentially powerful in promoting Nazi aims?

Both genders were subjected to substantial physical education programs that took up to 15% of school time, reflecting Hitler's aim that they become, in Hitler's words, 'as swift as a greyhound, as tough as leather and as hard as Krupp's steel'.

Source **10.39** History teacher guidelines, 1938

SOURCE 10.39 Guidelines for history teaching from the Nazi Teachers League

A new understanding of the German past has emerged from the faith of the National Socialist movement in the future of the German people. The teaching of history must come from this vital faith ... the certainty of a great national existence is for us based on the clear recognition of the basic racial forces of the German nation, which are always active and indestructibly enduring. Insight into the permanence of hereditary characteristics and the merely contingent significance of environment facilitates a new and deep understanding of historical personalities and contexts ... the course of history must not appear to our young people as a chronicle which strings events together indiscriminately, but, as in a play, only the important events, those which have a major impact on life, should be portrayed in history lessons ... it must always show greatness because in greatness, even when it intimidates, the eternal law is visible. Only a sentient grasp of great deeds is the precondition for an understanding of historical contexts; the powerless and insignificant have no history.

Nazi Teachers League (*Nationalsozialistischer Lehererbund*), 1938

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Responding to the guidelines

1. Think of your own understanding of history and analyse the terms and concepts used in the source. Is what is being described really studying history? Explain your response.
2. What was the Nazi regime trying to achieve by having this type of ideology in its lessons?
3. Consider the perspective of this source. This extract comes from a manual published by the Nazi Teachers League. Is this surprising to you at all? The date is 1938. Can you assume that all teachers agreed with these ideas?
4. Note the expression 'the powerless and insignificant have no history'. Research the terms 'history from below' and 'postcolonial history'. In today's world, how do the two terms challenge the ideas in the Nazi Teachers League's 'Guidelines'? Does that challenge extend to the history of Australia? Discuss.

The segregation did not stop at gender. Schools were among the first places where German Jews were openly ridiculed and persecuted. The introduction of the Nuremberg Laws in the mid-1930s excluded Jewish students from mainstream German schooling. This opened up a larger question of who was included in the NSDAP plans for the German youth and who chose not to be included by way of protesting or otherwise resisting Nazi programs for young people.

The Nazi state apparatus, in all its guises, always operated under the ideals of the party platform and Hitler's own writings in *Mein Kampf*. Chief among these ideals was the nationalistic desire for only Germans of 'German blood' to be included among the *Volk* of the new Reich. The original 25 Point Program of the NSDAP stipulated in Article 4: 'Only members of the nation may be citizens of the State. Only those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation'. This segregation applied to the young as much as the rest of the population. While German youths aged between 10 and 18 were required to join the Hitler Youth from 1939 onwards, Jewish youths were not allowed to join any of the various Hitler Youth programs. Given the stated aim of these organisations to promote a 'pure' German *Volksgemeinschaft* and its use of a paramilitary-like structure, this is not surprising. Jewish youths consequently formed their own organisations, such as the *Bund Deutsch-Judische Jugend* and the *Werkleute* groups, often with the aim of countering the indoctrination that was occurring more broadly and educating Jewish youths about their history and providing social support amid persecution.

However, some of those deemed German according to the NSDAP definition also resisted Nazi ideals and removed themselves from the influence of such groups. The Edelweiss Pirates movement not only outwardly rejected the compulsory membership expected of the Hitler Youth, but also actively countered its influence. Its association of movements in Western Germany objected to the control extended towards the youth and provided freedom from the strict cultural expectations these movements placed on young people. Free discussion of various ideals was encouraged, as was an end to the segregation between the sexes seen in the Hitler Youth. Their subversion became more prominent when they later allegedly collaborated with Allied leaflet-dropping operations. A subsequent crackdown on youth counter-movements resulted in the infamous public hanging of 13 'pirates' in Cologne in 1944.

The Pirates were not the only youth group to openly reject Nazi authority. Siblings Hans and Sophie Scholl and their 'White Rose' movement (see Source 10.35 and Chapter 1, pages 19–29), outraged by their discovery of mass murder of Jews on the Polish border, began spreading awareness of the true extent of Nazi brutality. Fuelling a student movement that sought to undermine and even stop the regime, they aimed to achieve 'a renewal from within the severely wounded German spirit' and urged students in Munich to rebel. On 18 February 1943, Hans and Sophie, distributing leaflets at Munich University, were seen by a janitor, who reported them to the Gestapo. Arrested and found guilty by a People's Court, they were executed by guillotine four days later.

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Activity **10.5**

Conduct a debate on education

This section indicates how education can be used as a means of indoctrinating students. Schools today often seek to use education to teach values, morals and other ideas, as well as academic knowledge.

As a class, debate the following: Should schools 'teach about ideologies' but not 'teach ideologies'?

Does the same apply to teaching 'values'? How complicated are these questions?

What effect did the Nazi state have on women in Germany?

Women in Nazi Germany had a prescribed role in society; namely, to remain in the home and raise children. This countered the many freedoms enjoyed during the Weimar era. Under the Nazis, women were discriminated against in the workplace and banned from certain occupations, such as law, and admission to university study was restricted. Service on juries was also banned due to what was seen as overly emotional female thinking. One insight into the probable position of women in Nazi Germany comes from this statement by Emilie Müller-Zadow, head of the National Socialist Women's Organisation.

Source **10.40** The role of women

SOURCE 10.40 Emilie Müller-Zadow describes the role of women in the new Germany, 1936

> **The place that Adolf Hitler assigns to woman in the Third Reich corresponds to her natural and divine destiny. Limits are being set for her, which earlier she had frequently violated in a barren desire to adopt masculine traits. The value and sanctity of goals now being set for her have been unrecognised and forgotten for a long time; and due respect is now being offered to her vocation as mother of the people, in which she can and should develop her rich emotions and spiritual strengths according to eternal laws.**

Emilie Müller-Zadow, 'Mothers Who Give Us the Future', 1936

Responding to the source

1. What is the central message of the text when it comes to women in the new German society?
2. How does Müller-Zadow's perspective draw on political, biological and spiritual arguments to justify her ideas?
3. The author refers to 'a barren desire to adopt masculine traits'. How might a modern feminist describe – in very different words – what the author is criticising?
4. Having experienced Weimar liberalism, why might German women be divided in their responses to Müller-Zadow's message?

Recent historiography has considered the extent to which women accepted their given role in the new *Volksgemeinschaft*. While Minister for Propaganda Joseph Goebbels stated in 1933 that 'the first, best and most suitable place for the woman is in the family', not all German women necessarily accepted this. The birth rate in Germany never peaked as high as Hitler wished, despite the creation of awards and incentives to this end, such as 'marriage loans' and honorary medals. Contemporary historians such as Claudia Koonz (1986) have documented at length the resentment that women felt to such restrictions, and suggest that many German women were not willing to abandon the liberal advances they had made under the Weimar Republic. In any case, most programs were discontinued as the war carried on and women were even recruited to serve in the German armed forces.

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Some German women went beyond resentment and sought to undermine the NSDAP outright. The resistance included well-known leaders such as Sophie Scholl (mentioned earlier) and Marianne Baum, who actively printed literature critiquing the NSDAP. An additional event was the *Rosenstrasse* protests in 1943, in which approximately 1000 German women openly defied the NSDAP and protested the imprisonment of their Jewish husbands. American historian Nathan Stoltzfus called this 'an extraordinary manifestation of courage at a time when such courage was sadly absent' (1996).

Conclusion

It is clear that the Nazi state was unlike any nation that had come before it. It initially gained popularity by recreating the way society was organised around a nationalistic, rather than class-based, social order. This appealed to Germans, who had long yearned for a strong national identity. An idealised version of 'German-ness' gave great advantage to those who were seen as being of 'German blood'.

It is debatable how much Hitler's policies and actions reflected a genuine concern for the wellbeing of the German people; an overriding aim to create a totalitarian state with expansionary militaristic ambitions; or a desire for personal power and aggrandisement. Regardless of Hitler's motives, the ultimate effects reflected the ideology of the 25 Point Program of the NSDAP and Hitler's own *Mein Kampf*, changing Germany dramatically and moving the nation inexorably towards war.

Activity **10.6**

Evaluate Kershaw's propositions in the light of your study of a leader: Adolf Hitler

Ian Kershaw, in *Personality and Power* (2022), put forward some propositions that he believed held true for a number of political leaders of the twentieth century.

Here are three of the propositions:

SOURCE 10.41 Three of Kershaw's propositions

1. **The impact of individual leaders is most substantial in times of significant political upheaval when nation state structures break down or are destroyed**
2. **Specific individuals are able to stand out and gain mass followings when easily defined goals and ideologies are combined with well-considered strategic actions**
3. **The more power an individual attains and is consideration entirely in their hands the greater their impact, often with negative consequences.**

Adapted from Ian Kershaw, *Personality and Power*, 2022, pp. 14–15

1. Form a group of three students. Each select one of the three propositions.
2. Individually, reflect on what you have learned during your study of Adolf Hitler.
3. Decide whether your selected proposition seems valid in relation to Hitler.
4. Plan a brief presentation, stating your decision and providing supporting evidence based on your study.
5. Regrouping, each present your evaluation and invite discussion.
6. Discuss whether one of the propositions seems most strongly valid when applied to Hitler, and whether any seems to have little or no validity.
7. Be prepared for a whole-class discussion.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

How did the Nazis create a new national culture?

Consider how successful you believe the efforts of the NSDAP were in the establishment of a new national culture (*Volksgemeinschaft*). Compose a short essay, using primary and secondary sources and focusing on one of the groups mentioned here (e.g. young people or women) to answer the following question: *To what extent was this group successfully incorporated into the new German Volk between 1933 and 1945?*

SUB-QUESTION 4: How did the Nazi regime provoke war and what effect did it have on Germany?

The influence of the Nazi state was to be felt far beyond Germany's borders. National Socialism was expansionist by nature, with Hitler identifying in *Mein Kampf* his desire to broaden 'Greater Germany' and claim all of the land traditionally lived in by German-speaking peoples. Hitler's fixation on eliminating communism and claiming *Lebensraum* ('living space') led Germany towards an ambitious campaign to acquire vast European territory.

Slavic members of the Slavs, an Indo-European ethnic group traditionally distributed throughout Eastern and Central Europe, including Russia and the Balkans

Growing power, militarism and *Lebensraum*

The idea of *Lebensraum* had long been present within German culture, especially since unification in 1871. Previously, it had resulted in Germany seeking to expand its presence overseas in the form of a colonial empire. Hitler determined that Germany should look east for land and viewed the vast, **Slavic**-dominated areas of Eastern Europe as natural additions to the Reich.

Nazi ideology positioned the Slavs as inferior, fuelling the belief that their resource-rich lands should belong to Germans. This had long been an obsession for Hitler, who wrote in *Mein Kampf* a decade earlier that 'this colossal empire in the east is ripe for dissolution' (1925).

SOURCE 10.42 Schönwalde, Germany, 1937. German Air Force recruits swear their oath to the Führer at an air base in 1937. Scenes such as this demonstrate the mass recruitment that became prevalent from the mid-1930s.

How does the swearing of an oath to Hitler personally symbolise a dramatic change in German politics since 1933?

To initiate its expansionary campaign, Nazi Germany needed to re-arm itself, in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler announced rearmament as an official policy in 1935. No rival power in Europe took any action, despite this being a clear violation of the Treaty.

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The road to war

Hitler's first advance was into the Rhineland, an area that had been **demilitarised** after World War I. In March 1936, Hitler sent in a number of infantry battalions, gambling that the French would not react to the further violation of the Treaty of Versailles. When the French, as predicted, did not act on this, Hitler concluded that the Treaty of Versailles was effectively void.

demilitarised the reduction of state armed forces, usually as a result of a peace treaty negotiated at the end of a conflict. It can be general in nature or applied to a specific area, known as a demilitarised zone.

Munich Pact an agreement concluded on 30 September 1938 involving Germany, Britain, France and Italy that permitted German annexation of the Sudetenland in exchange for Germany making no further territorial demands in Europe

appeasement a British and French policy in the late 1930s that aimed to limit further German expansionism by agreeing to certain German demands, most notably the German occupation of the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia

This emboldened Hitler, who turned his strategic attention towards two of Germany's closest neighbours: Austria and Czechoslovakia. Germany and Austria had a complex shared history; many within Austria previously had desired to be a part of a united German state. Bismarck's wish to avoid sharing Prussia's status as the pre-eminent German state prevented this, though the sentiment still remained among the population. Hitler, an Austrian himself, wanted to bring all ethnic Germans within a Nazi German empire and coordinated with Austrian Nazis to grow the party's influence throughout the 1930s, orchestrating a targeted subversion of the Austrian Government and its leaders, including a coup in 1934. Austria found itself isolated, with other European powers unwilling to assist or actively prevent unification with Germany, and on 12 March 1938, the *Anschluss*, or 'joining', took place, in which Austria was annexed by Germany. A subsequent referendum on 10 April – with the process corrupted by the Nazis – produced a claimed 99% of Austrians agreeing to be unified with the German Reich.

SOURCE 10.43 River San, Poland, 1939. German troops cross through Polish territory during the German invasion.

Why, only 20 years after the Treaty of Versailles, was this such a remarkable event? How did the German takeover of Poland differ from the takeovers of Austria and Czechoslovakia?

The Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia, with its majority ethnically German populace, was bordered by German territory. As with Austria, its absorption into German territory came via coerced negotiation. Hitler demanded the Sudetenland's annexation, aware that France and Britain, desperate to avoid conflict, were likely to give in to his demands. Meeting in Munich in September 1938, the allied leaders indeed gave in to Hitler and conceded the Sudetenland in exchange for a pledge of further peace (the **Munich Pact**). Leaders, such as the United Kingdom's Neville Chamberlain, believed a policy of **appeasement** would prevent further aggression and another major war. However, by March 1939, Germany occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia.

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Hitler's expansionist plans were able to proceed more confidently after he secured an agreement with Josef Stalin's Soviet Union. On 23 and 24 August 1939, the Soviet and German foreign ministers signed the Treaty of Non-Aggression between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact). Assured there would be no Soviet intervention or opposition, Hitler threw the full might of his forces against Poland on 1 September 1939. In March 1939, Great Britain and France had guaranteed Poland's existence as an independent nation. They now demanded the German forces withdraw. Failing to secure that, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939.

Early successes and eventual failures

By 1941, most of continental Europe was in German hands and Hitler seemed well advanced in his plans for *Lebensraum* in the east. However, as the map in Source 10.44 indicates, by 1942 World War II had taken a dramatic turn. The focus had shifted to the Soviet Union and the Pacific.

SOURCE 10.44 German military expansion into the Soviet Union in 1941–42

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1941: World War II escalates

On 22 June 1941, German forces launched Operation Barbarossa – a massive invasion of the Soviet Union. The Soviets were shocked; the attack represented a ripping up of the 1939 non-aggression pact. German advances were significant in the months following the invasion, but eventually slowed and stalled due to the combined effects of heavy losses, overly extended supply lines, Soviet regrouping of forces and a severe winter. The most serious German setback was during the Siege of Stalingrad, when German attackers and Soviet defenders struggled for control of the city for almost six months up to February 1943. German losses totalled about 500 000, while Soviet losses were even greater, and about 40 000 civilians perished.

There are still debates about Operation Barbarossa, which is sometimes compared with Napoleon's disastrous invasion of imperial Russia in 1812. It's unclear why Hitler undertook such a risky action. Was it for resources, especially oil, grain and minerals, and for 'living room' and ideology? Did this opening of an 'Eastern front' divert Hitler's attention from the Western front, where he did not take the next 'logical' step of invading Britain? Was it because Germany did not have air and naval superiority for an invasion, or did he decide he could force a diplomatic solution on Britain after defeating the Soviet Union? With Hitler focused on the Soviet Union, was Britain able to regather the strength essential for the eventual D-Day invasion of France in June 1944; and how might World War II have evolved if Germany and the Soviet Union been allies rather than antagonists?

The year 1941 also saw the United States enter World War II following the surprise attack by Japanese aircraft on US bases at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on 7 December. The US had been supplying Britain and Soviet Union with huge resources, and now its vast economy produced armaments faster than its enemies could destroy them. While focused heavily on the war against Japan in the Pacific, the US was also involved in North Africa, Italy and the bombing of Germany, and US troops would eventually form almost half the Allied invasion force on D-Day in Europe – 6 June 1944.

From 1941 to 1944, the war against Germany was fought in locations in Eastern Europe, North Africa, and the Atlantic, while the war against Japan raged in Asia and the Pacific.

In those same years, the Nazi government unleashed its greatest barbarity: Hitler's Final Solution to extinguish Europe's Jews. It accelerated over the latter years of the conflict and only ceased when the Reich was defeated, but not before millions died in the **Holocaust**.

Holocaust deliberate persecution and **genocide** of European Jews between 1933 and 1945 by the German Nazi state in which between six and eight million individuals died

genocide acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group

On 6 June 1944, D-Day signalled the beginning of the end for Hitler's Germany. After 10 months of fierce battles, Germany was invaded from the east and the west by Soviet and Allied forces, respectively. They met at the Elbe River west of Berlin as Germany's remaining forces surrendered, then moved to pre-agreed zones of occupation, including in Berlin. These zones and the eastern European countries occupied by the Soviet Union had serious and long-lasting implications for virtually all the peoples of Europe. Postwar, the continent was divided by the metaphorical 'Iron Curtain' described by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

Despite optimistic beginnings, Germany was devastated by the war. Up to seven-and-a-half million Germans had died.

Finally, facing defeat after a war that killed 40 million in Europe alone, the Third Reich effectively ended with a single bullet. Hitler shot himself on 30 April 1945. One week later, Germany surrendered unconditionally.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

How did the Nazi regime provoke war and what effect did it have on Germany?

1. Creating an annotated timeline

Using material in this sub-question and further research where necessary, construct an annotated timeline that traces the key events and developments by which Germany remilitarised, embarked on territorial expansion, provoked and fought World War II, and was finally defeated. Insert brief notes next to significant events and developments on your timeline.

2. Discussing the Allied bombing raids

Many German cities suffered extreme damage from Allied bombing raids in the final months of the war, such as Cologne in April 1945. Britain's RAF Bomber Command created massive firestorms, devastating the cityscape and causing the horrific deaths of thousands of civilians. Over 400000 Germans died in these raids. Today, debates still rage about the morality of this tactic, with some claiming that it constituted a war crime.

SOURCE 10.45 Cologne, Germany, April 1945

Discuss the various arguments that could be put forward on each side of this debate. In particular, discuss the proposition that Germans brought this upon themselves by supporting Hitler and his regime, and the proposition that the raids were justified because they brought the war to an earlier end, saving countless lives. Find out whether similar debates surround the US atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in August 1945. Research also whether these raids would today be judged as war crimes.

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SUB-QUESTION 5: How did Nazism produce the Holocaust?

War inevitably brings destruction and human misery. Non-combatants and civilians suffer, in addition to enlisted personnel. During World War II, this suffering went far beyond what could have reasonably been expected as the result of armed conflict.

The Holocaust was the result of the program orchestrated by the Nazi state to annihilate European Jews within Germany and occupied Europe. It resulted in unprecedented mass slaughter and suffering so wretched that no words in the English language were considered adequate to describe it. Raphael Lemkin, a Polish jurist serving in the US State Department, created a new word in 1944: genocide. Combining Greek and Lain root terms for 'race' and 'killing', he defined it as 'a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups with the aim of annihilating the groups completely'.

Source **10.46** Tattoo on the arm of a holocaust survivor

Responding to the image

1. Consider why Elsa and other inmates were tattooed in this way.
2. Determine what this classification system says about how the Nazi state regarded Jews, Slavs, Romani (derogatively known as 'Gypsies') and other groups confined in Auschwitz?

SOURCE 10.46 London, 2014. Elsa Behar, a survivor of both Auschwitz and Belsen extermination camps, shows the numbered tattoo she was given during her time of internment. Auschwitz alone claimed the lives of over one million innocent people.

The Holocaust is the most enduringly bleak legacy of World War II, forever marring Germany's history. The following inquiry will consider how such extraordinary barbarity emerged as the outworking of the Nazis' racist ideology.

The beginning: propaganda, terror and repression

The NSDAP had a long record of using fear to uphold its authority. Even before Hitler became Führer, the party had used its SS and SA to assert power over Germany, most famously to pressure the Reichstag into passing the *Enabling Act* in March 1933.

Once in power, the National Socialists' intimidation tactics began to morph into something even more sinister. Despite the majority of Germans accepting and supporting the Nazi state, there were those who opposed the new order. Communists, social democrats and others resisted the Reich due to political, religious and other ideological convictions.

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Any actions perceived to represent resistance were dealt with by two organisations: the SS and its secret state police, known as the *Geheime Staatspolizei*, or Gestapo. Both groups were overseen by Heinrich Himmler, the man who would later have ultimate responsibility for the concentration and extermination camps in which so many would perish.

The Gestapo was particularly implicated in the state terror that became everyday life in Nazi Germany. Created by decree in November 1933, it was responsible for security within the borders of the Reich and investigating all anti-state activities. Ruthless and efficient, the Gestapo used the *Enabling Act* as justification for imprisoning people without judicial process. Anyone they suspected could be summoned or forcibly taken, held indefinitely or sent to a concentration camp and never heard from again.

By 1939, some 40 000 Gestapo agents operated within Germany. Their numbers increased nearly fourfold as the war continued. Citizen spying became pervasive, with ordinary Germans encouraged to report neighbours who they suspected of activities that might undermine the state. This could include refusal to work, making defeatist statements about the war effort, sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews, homosexual activity or spreading religious propaganda. This resulted in a nation rife with terror and repression, and enslaved to Nazi ideology. Almost no one dared to act against the government for fear of retribution.

Source **10.47** Gestapo interrogation methods

SOURCE 10.47 British report on Gestapo interrogation methods, 1941

They work by listening to rumours; when a rumour is connected with an individual, they look up his history and shadow him. They do not wait to produce a case against him before taking action, but satisfied that suspicions may be founded, they will make a domiciliary visit [visit to his home], examining all his rooms and effects and remove him at once.

They do not disclose where they are taking him or why he is being taken, and they allow no one to speak to him after he has been apprehended. If he has money it is confiscated and all papers, letters and books are impounded for examination. It is common practice when a case is incomplete to leave a prisoner in prison for many weeks, perhaps months, this is done deliberately to create fear in his mind and to weaken his resistance. Suddenly and unexpectedly they will examine him for from twelve to twenty hours without food or rest.

Report on Gestapo methods of interrogation used in Norway, 17 March 1941

Responding to the report

1. Consider this treatment of private citizens. Could a state security force ever be justified in using such methods?
2. Compose a list of the rights in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights that are being violated in this process. What does this say more broadly about the Nazi state and how life was lived during this time?
3. Do you think Gestapo methods would make most people wary of acting against the Nazi regime? Is it hard for you to imagine living under such a system?

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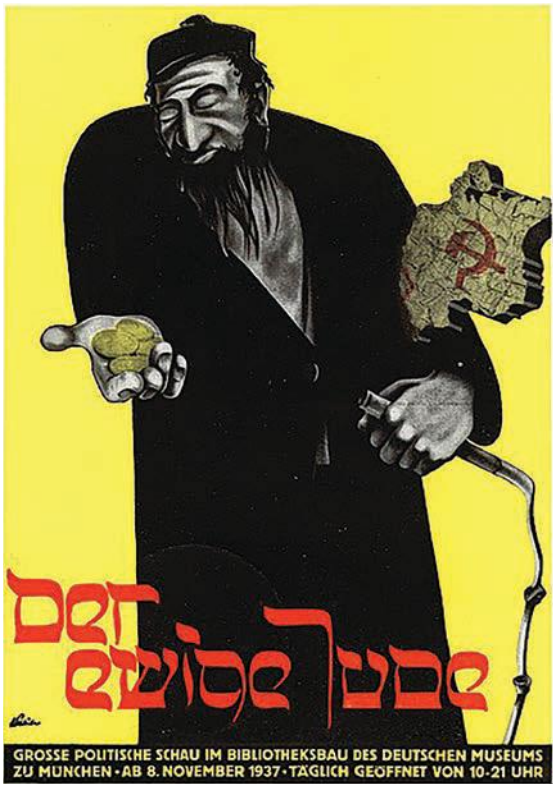
Targeting the Jews

Source **10.48** Anti-Semitic propaganda



Responding to the propaganda

1. Assess why the publishers chose this cover image and design.
2. What reaction was it probably intended to elicit among German citizens?
3. How does this image create a negative impression of 'the Jew'? Does it use any Jewish stereotypes?
4. What makes this propaganda and not information?

SOURCE 10.48 Cover of *The Eternal Jew*, an anti-Semitic propaganda booklet, 1937. This visual volume, consisting of pictures with brief captions, was published by the NSDAP publishing house.

Within the Reich, anyone was subject to persecution if they exhibited resistance to the Nazi regime. However, some groups were specially targeted because of characteristics far beyond their control: their nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation and physical capacity. The Romani, Slavs, Afro-Germans, people living with disability or mental illness, Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals were particularly marked for torment and annihilation.

Social Darwinism the theory (since discredited) that human groups and races can be subject to the same laws of natural selection as put forward and applied to animals in nature by Charles Darwin in the late nineteenth century

As you read previously, the National Socialist regime promoted a racial hierarchy. Today, this idea is dismissed as unfounded. The Nazis justified their actions with reference to ideas prevalent at the time, including **Social Darwinism** and eugenics. These theories connected human heredity to worthiness, value and social acceptability, justifying exclusion and persecution of groups less worthy. One group stood out as priority victims: the Jewish people of Europe.

Hitler's idea of Jewish people was a crude adoption of traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes (see Source 10.48). In his view, documented at length in *Mein Kampf*, Jews were not only vacuous capitalists who controlled the world's economies but were also an 'anti-race bent on worldwide domination' and 'the personification of the devil and the symbol of evil'.

Action against Jews began as soon as the Nazis gained power in 1933. Initially, much of the prejudice was economic in nature. Jewish businesses were subject to boycotts and Jewish government services workers (including at schools and universities) were sacked under the *Law for the Restoration of a Professional Public Service*.

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Jews were banned from owning farmland by the *Hereditary Farm Law*. The *Law against Overcrowding of German Schools* in April 1933 saw many Jewish students removed from schools under the pretence of overcrowding. All Jews were expelled from schools later in the decade. These laws seemed to gain popular support in rural areas, but were received more cautiously in the cities. However, state police were swift in crushing any dissent.

Exclusion soon became cultural, with the Reich Chamber of Culture established to reform German culture in accord with Nazi ideals. Aryan descent became a requirement to serve in the military as well as to participate in German sporting clubs. This discrimination would intensify in September 1935 with the passing of the Nuremberg Laws.

Source **10.49** The Nuremberg Laws, 1935

SOURCE 10.49 The Nuremberg Laws, September 1935

Reich Citizenship Law

Article 2

1. A citizen of the Reich may be only one who is of German or kindred blood, and who, through his behaviour, shows that he is both desirous and personally fit to serve loyally the German people and the Reich.
2. Reich citizenship is acquired through the granting of a Reich citizenship certificate.
3. Only the citizen of the Reich may enjoy full political rights in consonance with the provisions of the laws.

Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour

1. Marriages between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden. Marriages concluded in defiance of this law are void.
2. Relations outside marriage between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden.
3. Jews may not employ in their households female citizens of German or related blood who are under 45 years old.
4. Jews are forbidden to hoist the Reich and national flag and to present the colours of the Reich.

Extracts from the Nuremberg Laws, September 1935

Responding to the Nuremberg Laws

1. What were the Nazis specifically seeking to achieve with the drafting of these laws? Use evidence from the source in your response.
2. Consider why citizenship was so important. Why might everyday life be difficult for people stripped of their status as a citizen?
3. What might the Nazi regime have hoped to achieve by forbidding marriages and relationships between Jews and people of 'German and kindred blood'?

Later in 1935, the Nazi government amended the *Reich Citizenship Law*, specifying that 'a Jew is an individual who is descended from at least three grandparents who were, racially, full Jews'. This established clearly that Jews were being defined by race rather than religion – even though there was no such thing as a Jewish race. This reflects the regime's preoccupation with racial ideology.

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Persecution continued to escalate in the lead-up to the outbreak of World War II, and 1938 proved to be the year that Jews were effectively excluded from German life. From April, all Jewish businesses and individuals having more than 5000 Reichsmarks (the currency of the Third Reich) were subject to mandatory registration. Jewish doctors could now treat only Jewish patients and Jewish lawyers had their right to work taken away entirely. Jews were now required to add 'Sarah' or 'Israel' to their names and have a red 'J' stamped on their passports. Public signage began to appear denouncing Jews as national enemies.

On 9 November 1938, the campaign of oppression culminated in *Kristallnacht*, or Night of Broken Glass. Initiated by Joseph Goebbels, chief propaganda minister and Reinhard Heydrich, Himmler's chief lieutenant in the SS, it authorised dramatic action by the military.

Source **10.50** The order for *Kristallnacht*

SOURCE 10.50 The order for *Kristallnacht*

a. Only such measures may be taken which do not jeopardise German life or property (for instance, burning of synagogues only if there is no danger of fires for the neighbourhoods).

b. Business establishments and homes of Jews may be destroyed but not looted. The police have been instructed to supervise the execution of these directives and to arrest looters.

c. In business streets, special care is to be taken that non-Jewish establishments will be safeguarded at all cost against damage.

As soon as the events of this night permit the use of the designated officers, as many Jews, particularly wealthy ones, as the local jails will hold, are to be arrested in all districts. Initially only healthy male Jews, not too old, are to be arrested.

After the arrests have been carried out the appropriate concentration camp is to be contacted immediately with a view to a quick transfer of the Jews to the camps.

Reinhard Heydrich, 'Measures Against Jews Tonight', 10 November 1938

Responding to the source

1. What do you think Goebbels was seeking to achieve through *Kristallnacht*?
2. What evidence do you see in this source that suggests Jews were no longer viewed as citizens?
3. Why might Jews have felt helpless in the face of these events? Can you suggest any effective responses they could have made?

The 'measures' proposed by Goebbels and Heydrich unleashed a torrent of violence against Jewish people and property. On 9 November 1938, SA and SS troops destroyed Jewish property across Germany, killing 90 people and ruining over a thousand shops. Twenty thousand people were arrested, with some interned in concentration camps.

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The war against the Jews

Source **10.51** Male concentration camp prisoners

SOURCE 10.51 Sachsenhausen, Germany 1938. Male homosexual prisoners are marched outdoors at a concentration camp. Inmates are identified with a pink triangle. This photograph shows that Nazi prejudice was not limited to the Jews and that many groups suffered during the Holocaust.

Responding to the image

1. Do you think the reason for persecuting homosexuals was the same as for persecuting Jews?
2. In what ways could the persecution of homosexuals and Romani people be seen as a 'logical' action in relation to the Nazi theories and policies that you've learned about earlier in this chapter?

Many Jews sought to escape Germany in the 1930s. Until the outbreak of war in 1939, the Nazi regime encouraged them to go. Around a quarter of a million Jews left, mainly for the United States, Palestine, Eastern Europe and even Australia. Australia allowed some 7000 Jews to settle on Victims of Oppression visas. Sadly, many migrated to areas of Eastern Europe subsequently occupied by the Nazis, and did not evade the extermination camps.

Those Jews who didn't leave Germany endured persecution throughout the existence of the Reich. The Nazis had previously been concerned about international attitudes to overt mistreatment of a minority. World War II provided the ideal cover for Hitler's master plan to come to fruition.

Still standing as the worst example of genocide in human history, the Holocaust caused the deaths of over 60% of Europe's Jewish population. The Holocaust, or *Shoah* as Jewish people refer to it today, leaves a clear historical lesson that organised state persecution can be horrifically effective when targeting minority groups in a society.

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concentration camps internment or prison camp for members of a specific minority or political group, often accompanied by exploitation and/or punishment

ghetto a segregated section of a city set apart for habitation and residence by a specific group

In the initial stages of the war, Germany swiftly took over much of Europe. Members of 'inferior' races were transported to Germany and occupied territories for use as slave labour. **Concentration camps** were constructed within the Reich's new empire, while parts of cities were designated **ghettos** where Jews were forced to live. Jews had been pushed to the social fringe with legislation and government mistreatment; now, in the first phase of the Holocaust, they were physically removed. The ghetto in Warsaw, Poland, alone held up to 400 000 residents. Malnutrition and disease were rife in the ghettos, and premature death was common. However, the Jews were not dying fast enough for the Nazis.

What was the Final Solution?

After June 1941, when the Germans attacked the Soviet Union, a vastly larger number of Jews came under German control. This marked a clear turning point in the Holocaust from exclusion and forced detention to what American historian Lucy Dawidowicz called 'a war against the Jews' (1975). Mobile action units directed by the SS called *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile death squads) followed the conquering German army. These units existed purely to exterminate conquered citizens, especially Jews, via mass shootings. Collectively, the *Einsatzgruppen* murdered 90% of the Jews living in conquered areas of the Soviet Union. More than a million people died this way.

Some German leaders such as Himmler, Heydrich and Eichmann sought a new 'solution' that lessened the strain on German soldiers. They met at Wannsee near Berlin on 20 January 1942 and conceived a plan for large-scale murder.

Source **10.52** The Wannsee Conference, 1942

SOURCE 10.52 Minutes from the Wannsee Conference, 1942

Another possible solution of the problem has now taken the place of emigration, i.e. the evacuation of the Jews to the East, provided that the Führer gives the appropriate approval in advance ... approximately 11 million Jews will be involved in the final solution of the European Jewish question ... the Jews are to be allocated for appropriate labour in the East. Able-bodied Jews, separated according to sex, will be taken in large work columns to these areas for work on roads, in the course of which action doubtless a large portion will be eliminated by natural causes ... The possible final remnant will, since it will undoubtedly consist of the most resistant portion, have to be treated accordingly ... In the course of the practical execution of the final solution, Europe will be combed through from west to east.

Minutes from the Wannsee Conference, 1942

Responding to the source

1. In your own words, what is being suggested here?
2. Why, in their own meeting, did Nazi officials feel the need to use coded language to describe the Final Solution?
3. To what extent were the Nazis able to achieve what is outlined here?

The Wannsee Conference suggested that Jews be deported en masse to designated camps, where they would be either killed through overwork or through poison gas group executions. These new extermination camps, such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Chelmno and Treblinka, were different from the concentration camps that had existed for almost as long as Nazi power in Germany.

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Primarily located in occupied Poland, these camps existed only to extinguish life. The Nazis were familiar with mass euthanasia, having killed around 100 000 Germans with disabilities at the beginning of the war. However, death on such an unimaginable scale was new, and would claim millions by the end of the war in 1945.

Activity **10.7**

Construct a personal response on the discovery of bodies at a Nazi extermination camp

Source 10.53 shows American troops discovering the bodies of those who did not survive their journey to a Nazi extermination camp. Imagine that you are one of these soldiers. Construct a personal response, detailing your reaction to this scene. What did you see? How did it affect you? What did it make you think about the war and the enemy? What did it make you think about 'human nature'? Remember that much of what happened in the camps was only revealed at the end of the war.

SOURCE 10.53 Train carriages at Ludwigslust, 1945

What happened in the extermination camps?

The extermination camps used in the Holocaust were largely constructed in 1941 and 1942. The official policy of transportation and systematic extermination started after Wannsee in January 1942. Soon, Jews were being transported in trains from across Nazi-occupied Europe, mostly to Poland, far from Allied eyes. The slaughter continued unabated until 1944, when advancing Soviet troops overran the camps.

The process upon arrival for victims of the camps was ruthless in its efficiency. Most victims believed they were being resettled in Eastern Europe. After a journey crammed into livestock trains without water, food or sanitation, sometimes for days, many had already died. Confused and often starving, the living were herded into lines on the camp railway platforms to be assessed by SS officers. New arrivals were separated into those who would be gassed to death immediately, and those deemed worthy of remaining temporarily alive.

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The elderly, the sick, children and anyone unfit for labour, around three-quarters of all those who arrived, were sent to the gas chambers. Often told to expect a communal shower, they were instead locked in a sealed room where Zyklon-B gas, originally developed as a pesticide, suffocated them to death. Victims would, as historian Gerald Reitlinger recounts, 'feel the gas and crowd together … finally stampede towards the huge metal door … they piled up in one blood-spattered pyramid, clawing and mauling each other' (1953). SS doctors who oversaw the process testified to the shouting and screaming that emanated from the chamber. Those killed were often seen to have blood coming from their ears, discoloured skin and foam around their mouths. Once a whole group had been killed, current camp inmates were forced to remove anything of value from the bodies (including gold tooth fillings) and take them to the crematoria.

Arrivals left alive were arranged according to gender and tattooed with a unique code. Their heads were shaved and their possessions confiscated. Their deaths would be through forced labour, starvation, disease and horrendous living conditions.

As the Soviets approached at the end of 1944, SS troops evacuated some camps on death marches back towards Germany itself in an effort to prevent prisoners falling into Allied hands, and to use prisoners as workers in the production of armaments. At least 200000 further Jewish lives were lost this way, either through starvation and exhaustion, or by being shot by the SS for an inability to keep up.

Conclusion

Nazi policies targeted Jews, Romani, Slavic peoples, those with disabilities, the mentally ill and homosexuals. What began as vilification developed into denial of citizenship, deprivation of rights, internment and – ultimately – the unprecedented horror of the Holocaust. At least six million Jews perished.

While most Germans did not actively participate in the Holocaust, it seems they also did not generally concern themselves with what was happening. Historian Ian Kershaw notes that 'the road to Auschwitz was built by hatred but paved with indifference' (1989).

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

How did Nazism produce the Holocaust?

Scan the QR code to watch the video.

SOURCE 10.54 Edith P., a Czechoslovakian Jew, describes Auschwitz (01:12)

1. Construct a personal response to the testimony of a holocaust survivor

Edith P. was taken to Auschwitz in June 1944, and remained there for over six months. How does she recount her experience? What effect does it have on you?

Edith's testimony is one of hundreds held by the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, operated by Yale University in the United States. Several other testimonies are available on its website.

2. Creating a Holocaust timeline

Create an annotated timeline of the period 1918 to 1945. On the timeline, at the appropriate year(s), insert a title for each policy, law, action, event or development that contributed to the vilification of Jewish people in Germany – their experiences of discrimination, persecution, incarceration and punishment – culminating in the extermination of so many in the Holocaust.

Alongside the title, write a brief note about the nature and significance of the selected phenomenon.

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SUB-QUESTION 6: What have historians said about how the Nazi regime transformed Germany between 1933 and 1945?

Historians

Nazism continues to fascinate historians and many books have been written on the subject. It remains a dynamic field of research and debate. As with many historical topics, it has produced several schools of thought that attempt to explain it.

Many have focused on how Nazi Germany took shape and how Hitler attained and used his power. 'Intentionalist' historians (including Daniel Goldhagen and Lucy Dawidowicz) argue that the Nazi state was based primarily on Hitler's own ideology and personal goals, as found in *Mein Kampf* and the 25 Point Program. They argue that there was always a master plan to enact both a war in Europe and a 'Final Solution' to the Jewish problem in the Holocaust. 'Functionalist' and 'structuralist' historians (such as Ian Kershaw and Christopher Browning) believe that Hitler's influence has been overemphasised and that the decisions to go to war and orchestrate the Holocaust were made opportunistically and with little forethought.

American historian Catherine Epstein argues that most historians in the twenty-first century engage with both positions, stating that 'no historian doubts the importance of Hitler and his ideological beliefs in determining Nazi policy … though, Hitler was not omnipotent … governmental disarray limited what he could achieve' (2015). In addition, other historians have grappled with the uniquely German identity of the Third Reich and whether such a phenomenon could only have occurred in the particular context of interwar Germany. William Shirer, an American journalist working in Europe during the rise of Nazi Germany, subsequently wrote *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1960), based on his experiences witnessing the NSDAP take power in Germany. This volume put forward the idea that National Socialism was not an accident of history and was 'determined' by the events that took place in German history up until that point and the notions of nationalism, authoritarianism and militarism that guided them.

After World War II ended, psychologists and sociologists began trying to explain the extraordinary and barbaric events of the Third Reich. Some focused on Hitler himself. They noted his belief that 'those who do not want to fight in this world of eternal struggle do not deserve to live' (Hitler, 1925), echoing Friedrich Nietzsche's theory of the 'The Will to Power', whereby all living things 'strive to grow, spread, seize, become predominant' (1901). In 1977, Robert Waite went further, publishing his famous *The Psychopathic God* and explaining Hitler's behaviour in terms of Freudian psychoanalysis.

Others asked how so many ordinary Germans could have accepted and even participated in the Nazi atrocities. In 1974, Theodor Adorno described how some people find satisfaction through power and dominance over others. Even while the war was in progress, in 1942, Erich Fromm had written of the 'dominant-submissive personality'. He described how 'everyone has someone above him to submit to and somebody beneath him to feel power over' (1942:194). In the 1970s, Stanley Milgram conducted his famous (and debated) Obedience Experiments in the United States, in which some people were prepared to obey an order even though it could cause extreme pain or even death for others. His results echoed a startling claim by Hannah Arendt, who attended the trial of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann in 1962. Arendt described the 'banality of evil' (Arendt, 1963), suggesting that Nazi leaders were ordinary people, and that anyone might be capable of extreme evil in certain circumstances.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 6

What have historians said about how the Nazi regime transformed Germany between 1933 and 1945?

Create and complete a table like the one below, researching and summarising the historiographical ideas presented in this section. Obtain some secondary source evidence from the authors who hold these views and summarise them. Your class might choose to allocate a group to each and then conduct a class discussion/debate comparing these various views that attempt to account for Nazi Germany.

Historiographical stance	Noted adherents	Evidence and summary
Intentionalism	Daniel Goldhagen (United States) Karl Bracher (Germany) Lucy Dawidowicz (United States) Alan Bullock (United Kingdom)	
Functionalism/ structuralism	Ian Kershaw (United Kingdom) Christopher Browning (United States) Götz Aly (Germany) Karl Schleunes (United States)	
Determinism or '*Sonderweg*'	William Shirer (United States) Detlev Peukert (Germany) Heinrich Winkler (Germany) Jürgen Kocka (Germany)	

Depth study: Summing up

In this depth study, you developed an understanding of how the Nazi Party gained power in Germany and investigated the impact the Nazi regime had on Germany and the wider world. You also analysed and evaluated a wide range of primary and secondary sources to examine how Germany was reshaped under the Nazi regime, and how Nazism produced the Holocaust.

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: How did the Nazi regime transform Germany between 1933 and 1945?

Develop your answer using an annotated timeline. Name the key events from 1933 to 1945 that contributed to the transformation of Germany under Nazi rule. For each event, write a brief note about its significance, and allocate a score of 1–5 (1 being the lowest and 5 the highest) to indicate the relative importance of that event in the creation, continuation or ultimate defeat of the Nazi regime.

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CONCLUDING STUDY
The legacy of Nazi Germany

Significance at the time

Reflecting on Nazism

No other period in Germany's history has been as traumatic or, arguably, as consequential as the Third Reich. In February 1945, with victory almost certain, the Allies agreed at the Yalta Conference to divide territorial influence in Germany in the aftermath of the war. The Race to Berlin ensued, with the Soviet Red Army entering from the east and taking Berlin, while US, British and French forces entered Germany from the west.

The Western Allies honoured the agreement made at Yalta and allowed East Germany and Berlin to be conquered by the Soviets. This singular act would lead to the partition of Germany. Berlin, the great world city and capital of Germany, lay within East Germany. But the city itself was divided into two, with East Berlin part of the communist German Democratic Republic (GDR) and West Berlin controlled by US, British and French administrations. In 1961, to stem the flow of refugees from East to West, the GDR built the infamous Berlin Wall. It sealed off West Berlin from East Berlin and the surrounding GDR. Further fortifications prevented crossings over other East German borders to the West.

The two Germanys would follow drastically different paths in the postwar world. In the west, the democratic Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) benefited from the US-sponsored Marshall Plan that aided Western European economies and promoted democracy in the aftermath of World War II. West Germany gained influence in the international community as a member of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). East Germany, the GDR, remained behind the Iron Curtain through its alignment with the Soviets via the Warsaw Pact. It was ruled by a brutal, authoritarian regime with migration to the West a constant issue. Other tensions between the Germanys also arose, notably the Berlin Blockade and airlift, in which the Soviets attempted to block Western access to Berlin in 1948. The road link from the FRG to West Berlin was closed. However, mass airlifts of cargo and supplies from a number of Western air forces forced the Soviets to call off the blockade in 1949.

The collapse of communism in Europe during the late 1980s resulted in a swift movement towards reunification and, with the tearing down of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Germany was again unified as one state by 1990.

The complicity of German industry

The world often considers Germany to be synonymous with manufacturing and engineering, with companies such as Volkswagen, Mercedes-Benz, Bosch and Siemens famous the world over. This is the Germany we think of today: liberal, efficient and prosperous. However, Germany's manufacturing prowess also served the Nazi cause, including the invention of the Volkswagen, designed by Dr Ferdinand Porsche to meet Hitler's vision of a 'people's car'.

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SOURCE 10.55 A World War II motorcycle made by BMW, with the swastika and the African Corps palm tree

Much of German society seemed to give tacit acceptance of Nazi activities. Some institutions, companies and many individuals helped sustain the excesses of the Nazi regime, including churches, banks, railways and manufacturers. Evidence presented in lawsuits in the twenty-first century has prompted ongoing discussion about wartime complicity in Germany.

Activity **10.8**

Investigate possible complicity

Create and complete a table like the one below, researching the institutions and finding out what actions they engaged in between 1933 and 1945 in Germany, the effects of the actions and any repercussions the institutions experienced after 1945.

Institution	Actions	Effects	Repercussions
IBM			
Bayer			
Volkswagen			
Hugo Boss			
Siemens			
German Rail (*Deustche Bahn*)			
Opel/General Motors			

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Legacy – significance for today

The Nuremberg Trials and their ongoing implications

The extraordinary experience of the Holocaust produced a dramatic international response after the war. A decision was made to prosecute those responsible for the atrocities of the war. A tribunal was established – with judges from the victorious nations – to put on trial those considered war criminals. The trials were held in 1945 and 1946 in the German city of Nuremberg. Similar trials were held in Tokyo to prosecute Japanese wartime leaders. Some leading Nazis eluded justice: Hitler and Goebbels committed suicide, while Martin Bormann (Hitler's private secretary) committed suicide while trying to flee Berlin (finally confirmed by DNA evidence in 1999). Adolf Eichmann (a key architect of the Holocaust) was famously kidnapped by Israeli agents in 1961, returned to trial in Jerusalem, and executed. Twelve senior Nazis were sentenced to death for their role in what became known as war crimes.

In the Nuremberg Trials, two important terms became key – *war crime* and *genocide*. Previously, the horrors of war were understood as being inherent within human conflict. The Holocaust demanded that this be re-examined. It demonstrated the need to be able to hold individuals accountable for actions – both individual and state – taken during wartime. The Nuremberg Principles defined war crimes, which could include waging a deliberate war of aggression (crimes against peace), violating laws or customs of war, deliberate atrocities carried out against civilians (crimes against humanity) and the deliberate extermination of a group of people (genocide). Internationally accepted rules about the treatment of prisoners and the protection of civilians had existed for decades, but the idea of prosecuting people for wartime criminality was unprecedented.

The judges rejected the Nuremberg Defence that many Nazis argued – that acting in accordance with a superior's orders is a defence. The judges decided this was not an adequate defence when an order is so egregious that the individual would morally be expected to disobey. The influence of the Nuremberg court can be seen in today's international laws of conflict and concepts of human rights.

Why was the Nuremberg Tribunal historic? How has the nature of today's warfare made the concepts of war crime and genocide increasingly relevant? This work is today continued by the International Criminal Commission (ICC), charged with 'trying individuals for genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and aggression'. Visit the ICC website to research its achievements.

Contemporary themes: Refugees, migrants and the return of dictatorship

The Germany of today is a prosperous, liberal democracy and a dominant force in the European Union (EU). Yet, it faces rising internal unrest. As with other historically ethnically homogeneous European countries experiencing increasing multiculturalism, Germany's active far-right political forces seek to end its generous refugee intake, homogenise the population and resurrect German nationalism. Clearly, the legacy of the Nazi period and the questions it raises still linger. From around 2015, Germany experienced huge influxes of refugees from the Middle East and Africa. Their presence prompted memories of the Jewish refugees in Europe after the defeat of Germany in 1945.

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Activity **10.9**

Compare images from Berlin in 1945 and 2015

Look at the two images below. Construct a PNI (Positive, Negative, Interesting) chart that describes what these images show and the questions that they could prompt.

SOURCE 10.56 Berlin, 1945. This group of Polish refugee survivors of the Holocaust has walked from Lodz (Poland) to Berlin to find food and shelter. They are waiting by a railway track hoping that a passing British army train will provide assistance.

What are the various ways in which people became refugees after the war? Why might the process of resettling refugees be difficult and slow? What might Germans have felt towards Polish refugees in their country in 1945?

SOURCE 10.57 Berlin, 2015. Volunteer tutors teach German to recent arrivals from Syria and Chechnya at a refugee shelter. These refugees were among the one million that came to Germany in 2015. Some commentators suggested that ongoing guilt about the Holocaust prompted the German Government's very generous acceptance of so many refugees.

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Since the conclusion of World War II, Germany's governments and people have held varying attitudes towards migration. For decades, Germans themselves sought to migrate or flee from the GDR to the FRG. Since reunification, Germany has been presented with a different kind of migration challenge from Africa and the Middle East.

Formed in 2013, the far-right Alternative for Germany (AFD) party has loudly proclaimed that migration endangers 'the German way of life'. AFD leader Alexander Gauland has stated that 'a lot of political discussions that have nothing to do with history often end in the remembrance of Auschwitz … that is a problem in Germany' (in Friedman, 2017). Meanwhile, the leftist Green Party has labelled the AFD 'Nazis in parliament'. This polarisation surrounding sensitive issues to do with national identity is not limited to Germany. Numerous liberal democracies around the world, including those in North America, Europe and elsewhere, are facing splintering public opinions around migration and representations of nationalism. This has fuelled the rise of populist political parties that, in recent times, have won government in nations including Italy, Poland, Switzerland and Hungary and formed coalition governments elsewhere.

In other nations, nationalism has also fuelled the rise of 'strongman' dictatorships, wherein a single individual maintains absolute power over the state and its people, often dictating public opinion and quieting debate with the threat of censorship. While dictatorships don't always align ideologically with National Socialism, their policies and actions echo what you've learned about in this chapter. They often replicate what was engaged with in the depth study, in particular; namely, stringent control of citizens and the creation or resurrection of a national 'enemy' or 'other'. In 2023, around 50 individual nations (depending on classification) were under the control of a dictatorship, considerably more than during the era when the Reich ruled Germany.

In recent years, some governments have used legislation to protect their own hold on power, to enable a president to rule indefinitely, to suppress dissent and to impose controls on their own populations. Those domestic moves are matched by laws that restrict immigration and impose restrictions on minorities and non-citizens in their society, and they are all echoes of the Nazi experience in Germany. In 2022, noted Hitler historian Ian Kershaw described how Hitler consolidated his power through the repression of opponents and completed this process by eliminating any potential challengers. Kershaw could easily have been describing some leaders of today.

SOURCE 10.58 Moscow, 2022. A protestor is detained by Russian police during an unsanctioned protest against Russia's invasion of Ukraine at Pushkinskaya Square, Moscow. Such decisive actions against dissent have become common under the Putin regime, who justified the Ukraine invasion by stating it aimed to 'De-Nazify' Ukraine.

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Both the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation have undertaken similar changes in recent years, with Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin enjoying power without the control of term limits. This control enabled further actions by these leaders that drew some parallels with Germany in the 1930s, including the persecution of LGBTIQ+ individuals and the invasions of Crimea, Ossetia and Ukraine by Putin's Russia, and the persecution of the Uyghur ethnic minority and political dissidents (particularly in Hong Kong) by Xi Jinping's China. China has also undertaken significant military expansion in the South China Sea and issues persistent threats regarding the ongoing freedom of Taiwan.

Activity **10.10**

Consider and compare 'strongman' leaders

Create and complete a table like the one below, identifying how some modern leaders use methods of control and governance similar to those used by Hitler's NSDAP in Germany. In the final column, consider the country's recent history and comment on circumstances that have made the rise of strongman leaders more likely. Remember that Hitler's emergence in the interwar period in Germany was made possible by certain historical and social circumstances, as seen in the contextual study.

Leader	Nation	Similarities	What factors led to the leader's emergence?
Vladimir Putin	Russian Federation		
Teodoro Obiang	Equatorial Guinea		
Xi Jinping	People's Republic of China		
Kim Jong-un	Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)		
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	Turkiye		
Bashar al-Assad	Syria		

Conclusion

After its defeat in 1945, a shell-shocked Germany became a divided nation in the context of the developing Cold War. With massive aid from the United States, in particular, West Germany prospered, becoming an industrial powerhouse of the global economy. East Germany (GDR) languished economically under a harsh Soviet-aligned dictatorship, with a police state crushing any dissent. Since reunification – following the collapse of the GDR's authoritarian government, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the ending of the Warsaw Pact – Germany has undertaken the challenging process of reviving the economy of the East and building a sense of social unity. With Britain's exit from the EU, Germany has emerged as the undisputed leader of Western Europe, with one of the strongest economies in the world. The memories of Nazism, weakening over the years since 1945, have been stirred on occasion, most notably in strong debates about the presence of East European workers, which were given an added dimension by the welcoming of over a million refugees since around 2015 from conflict zones in the Middle East and North Africa. The new century presented fresh challenges for Germans, while the Nazi past remains a preoccupation of scholars and an intriguing topic for people everywhere, particularly with the rise of political polarisation and strongman dictators around the globe.

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Chapter 11

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1917–1945

Aspect: The Great Depression and the New Deal

PETER LAWRENCE

It's Saturday, 4 March 2023, in Washington, DC, capital of the United States of America. Raph, aged 10, is with his grandfather, Ashleigh. In the still wintry chill of midmorning, they're strolling around a most unusual place. Amid immaculate lawns and luxuriant gardens, they're coming across strong stone structures – here a wall, there a doorway, sometimes a window.

SOURCE 11.1 The importance of remembering FDR, the New Deal and its legacy for today

Among the structures are the solid bronze figures of men, women and children … and even a pet dog. See … here's a couple. He's standing. She's sitting on a chair, shoulders slumped. Raph asks, 'Who are they, and why do they look so sad?' Softly, Ashleigh replies, 'They could be my grandparents'. Raph, confused, says nothing.

They stroll a further few metres, to a line of five men – all in coats and hats, heads slightly bowed, their faces in shadow. Raph asks, 'What are they waiting for?' 'Hopefully, a cup of coffee and a sandwich,' replies Ashleigh, adding, 'But they might get nothing!'

Ashleigh guides Raph to a nearby bench. They sit, and he explains: 'This place is a monument to a great US president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Everyone calls him "FDR". All the bronze people we've seen today – united in their quiet sadness and helplessness – were innocent victims of a great depression. So many people lost their jobs, their homes, their happiness and their dreams. My grandparents were among them.

'Exactly 90 years ago today, FDR was sworn in as President of our country. FDR famously told the people "We have nothing to fear but fear itself". And he promised them a "New Deal". In the years following, he managed to alleviate much of the suffering and to restore a sense of hope. Among those who found new hope, and a new life, were my grandparents. And their young son … my father.

'Without FDR, my life today would be very different. And yours too … '

* Raph and Ashleigh are fictional characters devised for this opening story

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The United States, 1917–1932

The financial crash of 1929 dramatically derailed the lives of countless millions of people around the world. On 29 October, Black Tuesday sparked the **Great Depression** of the 1930s. Presented with this unprecedented challenge, US politicians furiously debated possible solutions. Eventually, the government responded with an ambitious and experimental strategy: the **New Deal**.

Great Depression a severe worldwide economic depression that took place mostly during the 1930s, beginning in the United States and spreading throughout most of the world. Its impacts were only fully stopped by military expenditure for World War II.

New Deal a group of government programs and policies established under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s; the New Deal was designed to improve conditions for persons suffering in the Great Depression

The New Deal challenged the American people to think differently about their society, their economy and their government. At the FDR memorial in Washington, a plaque on the wall – near the five waiting men – hints at that new way of thinking. It states:

> THE TEST OF OUR PROGRESS
> IS NOT WHETHER WE ADD MORE
> TO THE ABUNDANCE OF THOSE
> WHO HAVE MUCH. IT IS WHETHER
> WE PROVIDE ENOUGH FOR
> THOSE WHO HAVE TOO LITTLE.

In this chapter, you'll investigate the New Deal, assessing how well it overcame the enormous disruption of the Depression, and how it challenged the way that America had done business in the past. But first, you'll go back to the historical roots of this story, beginning with World War I.

What role did the United States play in ending World War I?

The Great War dramatically changed the United States into a world leader. The United States was already equal to Germany in terms of industrial output by 1900, yet at the beginning of World War I it was still a debtor nation. Change started from 1914, when the United States closed its stock exchange to avoid capital flight and US banks became financiers of the war. The United States was officially neutral at this time; many Americans argued that it should join the efforts of the British and French to 'safeguard democracy'. The United States lent $3.6 billion to the French and $4 billion to the British. Eventually, the fear arose that if Germany won the war, Britain and France might be forced to pay **reparations** to Germany for the costs of the war. If this happened, the US Government and banks would have lost the billions. Thus, the US Government realised that a German victory would be financially disastrous for the United States.

reparations the action of making amends by providing payment or rendering assistance to those who have been wronged

The United States enters the war

Finances aside, the official reason for the United States' entry into World War I in 1917 (three years after the war had started) was the unrestricted warfare that the German Government had launched against shipping in the Atlantic. US anger was kindled when, on 7 May 1915, over 120 US citizens died in the ocean liner *Lusitania*, which was sunk by a German submarine, and reignited in August when another transatlantic liner, *Arabic*, was also torpedoed. Finally, in 1917, Germany's attacks on American ships and its attempts to interfere in US-Mexican relations drew the United States into the war against Germany.

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On 6 April 1917, **Congress** agreed with US President Woodrow Wilson's argument to support 'a war to end all wars' that would 'make the world safe for democracy' and voted to declare war on Germany. By 1918, 10 000 US troops were arriving daily in Europe to replace those killed by the German pushes on the Western Front. German attacks on the Western Front had started after the Russians withdrew from the war in early 1918. However, with the United States now on their side, the Allies had physical superiority over the Germans and their Central Powers partners. Faced with defeat, Germany agreed to an **armistice** on 11 November 1918.

Congress the two houses of US Government, consisting of the House of Representatives and the Senate

armistice an agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting. It is not permanent, but it suggests that both sides are seeking peace.

Kaiser the title of the emperor of imperial Germany from 1871 to 1918

Polish Corridor a territory located in the region of Pomerania that provided the Second Republic of Poland (1920–39) with access to the Baltic Sea, dividing much of Germany from the province of East Prussia

The postwar settlement

A new German government, known as the Weimar Republic, had formed when the **Kaiser**'s government collapsed in late 1918. It assumed peace negotiations would reflect the spirit of the Fourteen Points announced by the Democrat President Wilson in early 1918. The Fourteen Points called for 'as much as possible' the removal of economic barriers to trade – for example, taxes on imported goods and removing the secretive nature of treaties or alliances that had been a key cause of World War I. Several points referred to the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. National self-determination became part of postwar politics. In a visionary move, Wilson proposed an international organisation to keep the peace once the terrible war had ended. This organisation would be called the League of Nations.

However, the peace treaty finally negotiated at the Versailles Conference in 1919 emphasised Germany's 'guilt' in starting the war and harshly punished the nation. Germany had to pay reparations of 291 billion marks (the German currency at the time) for the damage caused by war. It was to have no air force and only a coastal navy. Germany lost its overseas territories, and the German state of East Prussia was divided by a **Polish Corridor** to provide the reconstituted state of Poland sea access. Other nations could establish themselves based on language and culture, but the treaty forbade the unification of Germany and (German-speaking) Austria. Germany could have a standing army of only 100 000 troops (compared with its previous 700 000). Most Germans felt terribly aggrieved by these conditions of peace. The Treaty of Versailles also had immediate and medium-term impacts on the economic and political climate of the United States and Europe during the 1920s.

SOURCE 11.2 Germans at a Berlin soup kitchen in 1918

What does this image suggest about problems in Germany following defeat in World War I? What mixed feelings might the onlooking soldiers have?

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The impact of World War I on the United States

In the aftermath of World War I, the United States, with its status as a victor, had many choices to make. Under President Wilson, the United States had promoted an international intervention in world affairs, not isolation. Wilson saw the United States as the banker for the war effort against Germany and as a leader in international diplomacy. Internationally, he promoted the ideals of parliamentary democracy, a just peace, freer trade and government regulation of banks. But, in 1919, Wilson had a stroke, and due to his ill-health and decline in popularity he was not the Democratic Party nominee for the 1920 presidential election. The vision that he had of a world of peace after 'the war to end all wars' was threatened. Leading Republican Party politicians such as Henry Cabot Lodge called for isolation. The Republican candidate Warren G. Harding won the presidential election in 1920. In contrast to Wilson, the Republicans focused on 'business at home' and isolation from world affairs. President Harding died in office in 1923 and was succeeded by Calvin Coolidge.

In the 1920s and 1930s, there was widely held acceptance of the 'free market' (also called laissez-faire) economic theories derived from Scottish economist Adam Smith, who had argued in 1776 that evidentially a nation's wealth increased most rapidly when citizens were allowed to pursue their own self-interest with minimal government regulation and interference. Coolidge accepted the view that governments should not interfere in the capitalist economy, and so was opposed to regulation. He reduced taxation and government expenditure. However, the spectre of German debt to the allies continued to destabilise Europe and, potentially, the United States (e.g. through the **Ruhr Crisis**).

Ruhr Crisis a period of military occupation of the German Ruhr valley by France and Belgium between 1923 and 1925 in response to the failure of Germany to meet its second reparation payment of the £6.6 billion that was dictated in the Treaty of Versailles

What precipitated the financial crisis of 1929 and the ensuing depression?

In 1928, Republican candidate Herbert Hoover was elected US President. His term would be clouded by human catastrophe. The stock market crash of Black Tuesday – 29 October 1929 – saw stock prices plummet and people lose their entire savings. There are many theories about the 1929 financial crisis and the subsequent economic depression. The crash was not predicted or expected by most observers. One of the stated reasons of studying history is to not repeat events that have a terrible impact on society. To understand Black Tuesday, historians have tried to track key changes occurring before 1929 to identify the origins of the crash. Primarily, speculation was causal as US$8.5 billion had been used to buy shares on credit. Many people became speculators. They bought shares using only a small deposit and hoped to sell them at a profit when share prices rose. This type of speculating was wildly popular, but very risky.

Additionally, prominent investors ran pools where they drove up stocks with purchases and false advertising, and then sold their stocks for a profit. Thousands of investors borrowed funds as prices rocketed upwards. The funds lent totalled more than the entire currency in circulation in the United States at the time. Many people made so much money they thought that the wealth would never end. However, the demand for shares far outweighed their actual earnings or value. When all of this was finally realised, and people began to hurriedly sell their shares, the catastrophe that occurred in response – the Great Depression – led to a crisis of confidence in capitalism and the banking system. Not all Americans felt the impacts of the crash and the subsequent Great Depression equally.

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Activity **11.1**

Analyse, interpret, evaluate and compare sources about the causes of the Great Depression

The following activity allows you to examine several major causes as described in the selection of secondary sources (Sources 11.3–11.6). Your task is to write a paragraph to answer the following question: *What range of causal factors has been proposed for the 1929 crash and the Great Depression?*

Second, reflect on the following question: *Given what you have learned so far, which cause(s) seems most likely?* Why? How tentative is your answer?

Create and complete a table like the one below to collect your notes on each source. Use these notes as a basis for your response to the question.

Source	Identify the underlying cause	Explain key reasons provided for the Great Depression by each source	Strengths/ limitations/ significance/ usefulness of the source	Does the source corroborate, contradict or propose a different cause from the other sources?
Source 11.3				
Source 11.4				
Source 11.5				
Source 11.6				

SOURCE 11.3 Cartoon from *St Paul Daily News*, April 1930

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SOURCE 11.4 A 2012 website considers the impact of government policy

American Policies

Another reason the new depression started was due to the government's own policies regarding taxes on income and imports ... the tax rate on America's wealthiest individuals was reduced to 25 percent in 1927. Additionally, the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 raised import taxes on some 20 000 foreign goods. The taxes were some of the highest ever levied by the US government, and foreign nations began to take retaliatory measures. The amount of US imports and exports was cut in half. In 1929, the government began to increase interest rates. Interest rates rose from 3.5 percent to 5 percent, leading some historians to claim this as a reason for the recession of August 1929. The government also did not stabilize or increase the money supply during the Great Depression. The money supply fell by 30 percent between 1929 and 1933.

'Cause of The Depression', *Great Depression Facts*, 28 October 2012

SOURCE 11.5 Academics Collins and Goldberg (2015) discuss investor attitudes before the Great Depression

With $100 down and a $900 loan from one's broker, a buyer could purchase 100 shares of a company such as Commercial Solvents at $10 apiece. Assuming that the company's share price rose to $20 in half a year – something that happened frequently in the booming market of 1928–1929 – the investor could reap a profit of $1000 on his [sic] $100 investment, minus interest payments on the loan and commission fees. ... Buying on margin became so popular that commercial banks began to loan money to brokers, and corporations ... By October 1929, brokers owed $6.6 billion to lenders such as Bethlehem Steel, Standard Oil, and the Chrysler Corporation, as well as $1.8 billion to regular banks.

... GNP and per capita income were growing steadily, productivity was increasing, and corporations were reporting profits. But after 1927, the stock market surge was driven by fantasy and speculation rather than by economic facts ... Wall Street required very little disclosure from listed companies, and investment bankers produced brochures good for advertising rather than careful assessments of the value of securities. Amidst the general exuberance, voices of caution dissipated.

Sheila D. Collins and Gertrude Goldberg, *When Government Helped: Learning from the Successes and Failures of the New Deal*, 2015, pp. 35–6

SOURCE 11.6 Business and economic journalist Robert J. Samuelson (2002) writes about blame for the Great Depression

Why could no one stop this spiral? In the United States there were waves of bank failures in 1931 and 1932. Friedman and Schwartz maintain that the Federal Reserve could have prevented them by lending directly to weak banks and by aggressive 'open market' operations (that is, by buying U.S. Treasury securities and thereby injecting new funds into banks and the economy). ... They blame the Federal Reserve's timidity on the 1928 death of Benjamin Strong, the president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Strong had dominated the Federal Reserve System, which consists of twelve regional banks and a board of governors in Washington. He firmly believed that the Federal Reserve had to prevent banking panics and sustain economic growth. When he died, power in the Federal Reserve passed to officials in Washington, whose ideas were murkier. Had Strong lived, Friedman and Schwartz contend, he would have averted the banking collapse.

Robert J. Samuelson, 'Great Depression', in David R. Henderson (ed.), *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*, 2002

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How did the US Government respond to the Great Depression?

Two successive but very different administrations tried to solve the problems caused after the stock market crash in 1929. Initially, the Republican administration of Herbert Hoover struggled with the Depression from 1929 until early 1933. By 1933, GNP (gross national product) had dropped to $56 billion in comparison to the height of $104.4 billion before the crash. Nearly a quarter of the labour force was unemployed in 1932 and 1933. Yet these figures or contrasting policies don't convey the spectrum of deprivation and loss occurring in the US populace, or their resilience. Another element of the Great Depression for thousands of Americans was homelessness. Shanty towns, known as 'Hoovervilles' (named for President Hoover who many blamed for the Great Depression), sprang up all over the United States and some, for example in Chicago, were burned down, as they were seen as an affront to civic pride.

Source **11.7** A Hooverville in New York

SOURCE 11.7 A Hooverville near Central Park, New York

Responding to the photograph

1. Describe the main features depicted in this photograph.
2. Which symbol of the United States is shown? What might its presence suggest?
3. How do the images in the foreground contrast with those in the background?
4. What sentiments might the people of this Hooverville, gazing at the city skyline, feel? For example, hope, desperation, comfort, resentment, anger? Explain your response.
5. Might other Hoovervilles have looked quite different from this one? If so, in what possible ways?
6. What do you think would have been the US Government's attitude to publication of images such as this one in newspapers and magazines? Explain your response.

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During this time, Hoover did act. Early in 1930, he urged state governors to speed up public works projects in their states. He recommended to Congress a doubling of spending on public works, including dams, highways and harbours. He also called for tax cuts and tried to encourage home building. He formed an Emergency Committee for Employment which urged Americans to join a 'Spruce up Your Home' campaign.

Hoover's attitude to the US banks was different. They had been weakened by the Depression, and many had failed. Hoover, however, thought the Depression was the fault of the bankers' policies and practices. He believed that the fundamentals of American industry were still strong. His administration's key belief was symbolised by his Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew Mellon, who believed in the morality of letting banks fail as he thought this would make people work harder, resulting in the banks rebounding. For many, the abject poverty created by loss of savings, factory closures and loss of residence meant that work did not exist.

SOURCE 11.8 The American President Herbert Hoover (left) with his successor Franklin D. Roosevelt at his inauguration

How does this image depict the relationship between these two men on this important day? How might further information confirm or challenge this depiction?

Amid this turmoil, the Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt (often referred to as FDR) was elected US President in 1932. Hoover's and Roosevelt's policies for responding to the economic crisis reveal philosophical and ideological differences. Initially, Roosevelt seemed to echo some of Hoover's basic beliefs. Between the election in November 1932 and his inauguration in March 1933, Roosevelt refused to make any changes to Hoover's programs. While seeming somewhat callous, it is likely that Roosevelt desired a fresh start. Roosevelt firmly believed that the Great Depression had been caused by industrial overproduction coupled with a lack of purchasing power among the less well-off in US society. He recognised that economic inequality underscored the problem. He also acknowledged the failure of his own (privileged) class to manage stock market speculation as an immediate cause of the financial crash that sparked the Depression.

Republicans pursued low taxation and low intervention policies based on the idea of a free market. Roosevelt supported a more moderate view: that in normal times the free market would provide the best outcomes but that in times of economic crisis the government should intervene – as was, according to the theory, appropriate in cases like flood, plague and famine. Roosevelt listened to the explanations and advice offered by economists challenging the accepted view. To explain the Depression, the economic theorist Maynard Keynes, in 1936, argued that a disastrous cycle had begun to operate. The stock market collapse led to the failure of many businesses, unemployment increased and less money was available for consumer spending. Thus, a shrinkage in size of the goods and services industries meant fewer jobs. This cycle could be broken by the government creating and funding more jobs to encourage an increase in consumer spending. This would, in turn, create more jobs in goods and services, leading to a decline in unemployment. Roosevelt, however, either did not understand the theory or did not agree with deficits, and his initial moderate policies aimed to avoid them.

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Activity **11.2**

Review the evidence for the causes of the Great Depression

Create and complete a table like the one below and examine the listed statements. Decide which source you have previously encountered in this chapter has the best evidence to support or contradict each statement. Decide also whether you think there is sufficient evidence given in this contextual study to evaluate each statement fully.

Statement	Source or quote	What evidence, if any, supports this statement?	What evidence, if any, contradicts this statement?	Is there sufficient evidence to make a decision?
Economic downturns are part of the market system				
World War I made the United States a global economic power				
Speculation was a key cause of the Great Depression				
A lack of regulation was a cause of the 1929 stock market crash				

Contextual study: Summing up

In this contextual study, you have learned about US involvement in World War I and how it changed the United States' standing in the world. You have also looked at the United States' response to the Great Depression. The United States began to emerge as the dominant financial player that the world knows today. The causes of the Great Depression are present within the socio-economic values embodied in parts of market ideology. Finally, at least two central sets of ideas dealing with the crisis emerged from 1929 to 1932, and these competing viewpoints still affect how this time period is viewed by historians.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: Did the New Deal's response to the impacts of the Great Depression improve the United States' society and economy by 1939?

This depth study focuses on the New Deal, which was Roosevelt's response to the Great Depression. The New Deal involved a vast array of policies, statements and actions – some in stark contrast to those of the previous decade. You'll both learn about and evaluate Roosevelt's New Deal.

By early 1933, the Great Depression was heading into its fourth year. Americans were growing increasingly dismayed by the damage of the continuing Depression. They wondered whether the inauguration of a new president and a change in policy direction could resolve the situation.

This depth study unfolds through a series of five sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question.

The five sub-questions are:

1. What were the factors that led FDR to formulate and enact a New Deal in the United States?
2. Did the initial acts of FDR's first New Deal address the causes of the Great Depression and reduce its impact?
3. How did the *Social Security Act* improve the lives of US citizens?
4. How and why were the New Deal policies and programs challenged and what alternatives were proposed?
5. What have historians said about the response to the impacts of the New Deal on US society and its economy by 1939?

SOURCE 11.9 Mother and two children, California, 1936. The mother, Florence Owens, aged 32, and her husband, Jim, had seven hungry children. This photo became an iconic 'human face of the Depression' image.

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SUB-QUESTION 1: What were the factors that led FDR to formulate and enact a New Deal in the United States?

The 'human face' of the disastrous Depression was a key factor that prompted the US President to seek a solution to the nation's crisis.

The iconic photo in Source 11.9 was taken in California in March 1936 by photographer Dorothea Lange. While Lange was looking for poor, **itinerant** workers to photograph, she stumbled across this poignant scene.

itinerant travelling from place to place

Florence Owens was camped precariously on the side of the road. Her older son and husband had gone to fix their car so they might move on, looking for work on a farm. Poverty was not their only problem. Itinerant workers were very unpopular locally. Californians did not want these people camped in their towns, on their roads or mixing with their children at school. Police cleared people like Florence and her family out of the area.

Florence, Jim and their seven children had been following a 'trail of desperation' after abandoning their Oklahoma home. In that state, overcropping and drought had transformed farms into useless 'dustbowls'. Florence's family represented the 'tip of the iceberg' of human misery in Depression-era America.

Since running for president in 1932, Roosevelt had been promising to alleviate such human misery and to repair the battered US economy.

The 1932 presidential election campaign was a stark contrast in style and substance. Roosevelt was able to distil ideas for the American public into phrases such as his famous campaign slogan 'a new deal for the American people', whereas the incumbent, President Hoover, was a man of vast knowledge who could not seem to communicate his ideas. Roosevelt was a man who had overcome a great personal hardship – polio diagnosed at age 39 – to become the presidential candidate for the Democratic Party during a period of immense economic and social upheaval.

In the November 1932 election, Roosevelt overwhelmed Hoover, winning 42 of the 48 states. People clearly desired change. Dramatically, the promise of change was nearly obliterated when, in February 1933, gunman Giuseppe Zangara almost assassinated Roosevelt, missing and instead killing the mayor of Chicago, Anton Cermak.

The key elements of Roosevelt's policies and program can be articulated as being either relief or reform, but based on regulation. Following his inauguration on 4 March 1933, Roosevelt promised that the American people would have more equitable access to the national wealth. Many, including newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, called for Roosevelt to assume the powers of a dictator and force change. Democracy and capitalism were being questioned due to the stock market crash and the subsequent impacts of the Great Depression. Many Americans asked if their system of government and economics could respond. Within a global context, Americans could see the radical totalitarian alternatives offered internationally by fascist Nazi Germany and communist Soviet Union. How would the Roosevelt administration face the greatest challenge to an American president in peacetime?

SOURCE 11.10 Roosevelt on the campaign trail in Indianapolis, 30 October 1932

How does the placard reflect the situation in 1932? Why might that situation give the challenger Roosevelt an advantage over the incumbent President Hoover? Why might Roosevelt's 'new deal' campaign slogan reinforce that advantage?

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Roosevelt, in his inauguration speech, told the American people that 'the only thing we have to fear is fear itself'. Yet, while the rich feared a further loss of wealth, for many starvation was the real fear. Roosevelt was aware that actions would speak louder than words. His main priorities were putting people to work, increasing farm prices, boosting purchasing power, stopping foreclosures (through which people lost their homes), promoting national planning and reducing speculation (particularly on the share market).

? **Why, in the face of a depression, would each of these priorities be important?**

Yet, before any of this could be achieved, he had to solve the banking crisis that was enveloping the nation. Ominously, he faced an obstacle in the structure of the US Government.

The US Constitution is based on the separation of powers between the three arms of government: executive, legislature and judiciary. Roosevelt, as the elected president, administered the executive branch of government. In the United States, the legislative branch, called Congress, is made up of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and the judiciary is the Federal Court system. There are checks and balances to prevent any one arm gaining too much power – for example, Congress can block laws proposed by the President, and the President can veto legislation passed by Congress, while the highest courts can overrule legislation or policies that violate the Constitution. See the link in the Interactive Textbook for a further account of this system.

In early 1932, Roosevelt had a small majority in the House of Representatives but did not control the Senate. The US banking system was a product of the past, with many local and regional banks under-financed. Initially, Roosevelt declared a Federal Bank Holiday on Monday, 6 March. The words used were important, chosen to not create public fear. Most banks had already been closed by states to stop withdrawals. This gave Roosevelt time to consider various proposals. Some favoured nationalisation of all banking, but Roosevelt believed banks should be in private hands. Roosevelt wanted reform, not radical change, with a return to normalcy for the American people. He eventually adopted the plan of President Hoover's Secretary of Treasury Ogden Mills and his officials. Congress approved the *Emergency Banking Act* on 9 March; the legislation passed the House of Representatives after only 38 minutes of debate, and the Senate, which Roosevelt did not control, passed it unamended 73 to 7.

With the *Emergency Banking Act*, Congress gave Roosevelt almost total control over credit, foreign exchange and gold purchases. The plan classified all banks as category A, B or C. Category A banks were healthy and would reopen quickly. Category B banks were unstable, but with federal funding would reopen in the weeks ahead. Category C banks were insolvent and would remain closed unless they were reorganised. Depositors in Category C banks were to receive on average 85% of their savings. The 'receivers' of banks – who dealt with insolvency – were to be called 'conservers', in the hope that a less threatening name would help ward off future rushes. From 1933, the number of bank failures fell dramatically.

Roosevelt initiated a series of steps to protect the financial system and to restore public confidence. Currency was stabilised by issuing new Federal Reserve banknotes. Threatened with public shaming via the media, people who had withdrawn large quantities of gold bullion and coins at the height of the financial crash were persuaded to redeposit them. Within two days of this request, by 10 February, gold worth hundreds of millions of dollars had been returned to the banks. Determined to avoid a federal deficit and to produce a balanced budget, Roosevelt used an *Economy Act* to reduce the wages of public employees – including all politicians – by 15%.

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Initially, Roosevelt did not adopt '**Keynesian**' strategies; he did not want the US Government to go into large financial deficit to stimulate the economy (as the Australian Government did in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic).

The *Glass-Steagall Act* (1932) established a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) that protected people's bank deposits. Meanwhile, the 1933 *Securities Act* regulated the share market. This regulation focused on a statement of registration, including a prospectus, so that investors had confidence in the stock market. Those offering inaccurate information in relation to their stocks or securities were legally liable for any misinformation. This was clearly designed to stop what is now commonly called insider trading or market manipulation. A Securities and Exchange Commission followed, headed by renowned stock trader Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the future US president John F. Kennedy. In 1939, looking back to this flurry of activity, Kennedy's adviser, Ray Moley, remarked: 'Capitalism had been saved in eight days'.

On 12 March, Roosevelt gave a radio address to the American people, his first '**Fireside Chat**', explaining in straightforward terms what had been done, and why. You can listen to this address in the Interactive Textbook.

Roosevelt's programs and actions to save the US financial system and banking sector were controversial to some. In the wake of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the spectre of communism loomed in Europe and even in the United States. Many people were suspicious of a system that seemed to allow centralised government to control the economic, social and political aspects of their lives. In completing Activity 11.3, you might sense whether Roosevelt wanted to change the United States dramatically, or to solve the crisis while retaining the key values and institutions of the nation.

On 22 October 1933, Roosevelt gave another Fireside Chat, reviewing progress on the banking crisis and other matters. In the next section, you will investigate the initial strategies that Roosevelt implemented in response to the economic collapse of the Great Depression, some of which he referred to in this Fireside Chat.

Keynesian economics economist John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946) argued that governments should intervene where necessary to ensure consumer demand is maintained as the basis of a healthy economy. In times of financial or economic crisis, this can involve significant 'deficit budgeting' – government going into debt to fund, for example, 'stimulus packages' for citizens or job-retention payments to businesses.

Fireside Chats a series of evening radio broadcasts between 1933 and 1934, in which Roosevelt spoke informally about a number of matters, explaining his policies to the American people, and quelling rumours

SOURCE 11.11 Roosevelt's first Fireside Chat (13:09)

SOURCE 11.12 Newsreel presentation of Roosevelt's third Fireside Chat, 22 October 1933 (03:44). Scan the QR code to watch the video.

What are the key aspects of recovery that Roosevelt concentrates on during this speech? Would Roosevelt's words reassure or worry those fearful of centralised government control of their lives?

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Activity **11.3**

Review the financial crisis

Make a detailed list of the actions taken by the new administration in trying to reduce the impact of the financial crisis.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

What were the factors that led FDR to formulate and enact a New Deal in the United States?

1. Create a table like the one below.

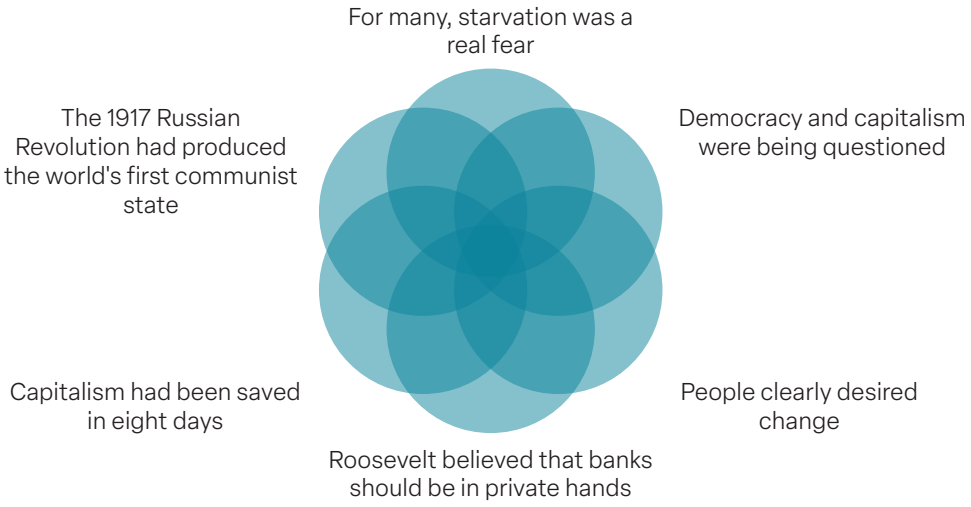
Actions taken by the Roosevelt administration in response to the financial crisis of 1929			
Name/date of action	**What the action was**	**Who possibly benefited**	**Who possibly was adversely affected**
Declaring a Federal Bank Holiday			

a. Look back over the actions taken by the Roosevelt administration as a response to the financial crisis of 1929. Complete the table.

b. Discuss whether these actions seemed to be a significant departure from the usual role of the federal government in the United States.

c. Adopt the persona of someone in the United States in the 1930s (e.g. banker, worker, public servant, small business owner or stay-at-home parent). Choose the action you most agree with, and the one you least agree with. In pairs, in character, explain your thinking to a classmate.

2. Demonstrate your understanding of the issues involved in the financial crisis by explaining some connections among the six situations in this graphic:



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SUB-QUESTION 2: Did the initial acts of FDR's first New Deal address the causes of the Great Depression and reduce its impact?

The economic collapse had a massive impact on business and led to extensive unemployment. Many New Dealers believed this was caused by market instability and that government intervention could restore stability to the system. While many commentators since have stated that Roosevelt had a very clear vision of what he wanted to achieve, most historians would suggest that, more than anything, Roosevelt believed in taking action; if the New Deal was successful, he could claim credit or, if not, he was more than willing to try another idea. His pragmatic desire for change to adjust the economy to benefit people economically and socially was seen in his first initiatives, discussed below.

The *National Industrial Recovery Act* (NIRA), National Recovery Agency (NRA) and Public Works Administration (PWA)

The *National Industrial Recovery Act* (NIRA) was passed by Congress in June 1933. It proposed minimum hours and wages, and codes for business to follow to reduce unconstrained competition. The second element of the Act would be public works. In Source 11.13, President Roosevelt explains the purpose of the NIRA on 16 June 1933. He outlines two of its key components: the National Recovery Agency (NRA) and the Public Works Administration (PWA).

Source **11.13** National Industrial Recovery Act

SOURCE 11.13 President Roosevelt comments on the *National Industrial Recovery Act* of 1933

The law I have just signed was passed to put people back to work – to let them buy more of the products of farms and factories and start our business at a living rate again. This task is in two stages – first, to get many hundreds of thousands of the unemployed back on the pay roll by snowfall and second, to plan for a better future for the longer pull ....

The second part of the act gives employment by a vast program of public works ... Our first purpose is to create employment as fast as we can, but we should not pour money into unproved projects ...

It seems to me to be equally plain that no business which depends for existence on paying less than living wages to its workers has any right to continue in this country. By 'business' I mean the whole of commerce as well as the whole of industry; by workers I mean all workers – the white-collar as well as the men in overalls; and by living wages I mean more than a bare subsistence level – I mean the wages of decent living ...

It is greatly in their interest to do this because decent living, widely spread among our 125 000 000 people, eventually means the opening up to industry of the richest market which the world has known. It is the only way to utilize the so-called excess capacity of our industrial plants ... The idea is simply for employers to hire more men to do the existing work by reducing the work-hours of each man's week and at the same time paying a living wage for the shorter week.

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No employer and no group of less than all employers in a single trade could do this alone and continue to live in business competition. But if all employers in each trade now band themselves faithfully in these modern guilds – without exception – and agree to act together and at once, none will be hurt and millions of workers, so long deprived of the right to earn their bread in the sweat of their labor, can raise their heads again. The challenge of this law is whether we can sink selfish interest and present a solid front against a common peril.

This law is also a challenge to labor ... This is not a law to foment discord and it will not be executed as such. This is a time of mutual confidence and help and we can safely rely on the sense of fair play among all Americans to assure every industry which now moves forward promptly in this united drive against depression that its workers will be with it to a man.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 'Statement on NIRA', 16 June 1933

Responding to the source

1. Why is the first sentence of this statement a clever tactical statement?
2. Roosevelt is asking both business and labour to 'sink selfish interest' by each giving up a basic right that they usually claim to have. What are those two rights? What does Roosevelt claim would be the benefit for both groups?
3. How could these interrelated interests of industry, business and workers be represented in a simple diagram?
4. Why would some critics see Roosevelt's plan as threatening one of the ideological foundations of the US economy?
5. In 1982, the Labor government of Australia introduced a Prices and Incomes Accord. What did it have in common with Roosevelt's plan, and how did it differ?
6. Research the 'Harvester Judgement' (1907), when Australia pioneered a basic wage. Find out what it included and for whom. Why was it such a historic development?

Source 11.14 shows the symbol of the NRA, produced by the US Government and displayed by participating businesses.

Source **11.14** National Recovery Agency poster

SOURCE 11.14 National Recovery Agency poster, 1933

Responding to the source

1. What message is conveyed by the symbols in this poster?
2. What might have motivated businesses, large and small, to display this symbol?
3. Why might many everyday Americans have been likely to support NRA-member businesses?

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The extract in Source 11.15 is historian Jonathan Alter's evaluation of the NRA's effectiveness.

Source **11.15** Jonathan Alter describes the NRA, 2007

SOURCE 11.15 Historian Jonathan Alter describes the NRA, 2007

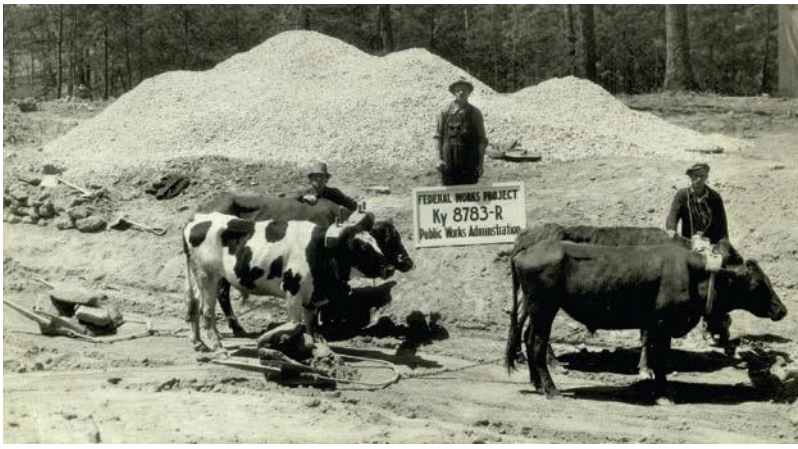
> At first, big business embraced the idea because the elaborate code-making process (meetings of industry representatives and bureaucrats) encouraged them to collude with their competitors to fix prices and drive out competition. Small business liked the protection afforded by official government affiliation. And the public loved the program because it symbolized forward motion against the Depression. Pro-NRA marches were the largest in American history, with 250 000 marching down New York's Fifth Avenue ...
>
> Over time, the NRA led indirectly to the widespread adoption of humane working conditions and new safety standards. These advances grew partly out of the codes but were mostly the unanticipated result of a last-minute and little-noticed concession to unions; in the form of vague language inserted by Senator Robert Wagner of New York into the omnibus bill that officially recognised for the first time the right of workers 'to organise and bargain collectively'. After more than a half century of struggle, the American labor movement finally had the backing of Washington ...

Jonathan Alter, *The Defining Moment: FDR's Hundred Days and the Triumph of Hope*, 2007, pp. 302–3

Responding to Alter's account

1. According to Alter, what were the advantages and disadvantages of the NRA?
2. In what ways does Alter's account suggest that Roosevelt's plan succeeded and/or failed?
3. Does the viewpoint suggest that some positive outcomes of the NRA were unintended by Roosevelt?
4. Is 'the right to organise and bargain collectively' still a feature of trade union activity in Australia?

The NRA had some successes, such as ending child labour in the textile industry, but many people argued that the way it interpreted labour laws favoured employers. This may not have been the case with another component of the NIRA – the Public Works Administration (PWA). It focused on employing older workers using federal funds. The PWA reflected Roosevelt's key ideas of taking action and getting people working again. Private companies were enlisted to build infrastructure, and the PWA awarded contracts totalling over $3.3 billion. Schools, hospitals, roads and other infrastructure were built, but the construction of the Hoover Dam in Arizona and the Triborough Bridge in New York are the most well-known. Many other projects were more humble.



SOURCE 11.16 A PWA project. This image shows that some PWA projects were far from grand dam-building. These men, using very basic technologies, are laying foundations for a small public school.

Why might a proliferation of such local projects increase public enthusiasm for the New Deal, as well as having important local benefits?

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The Agricultural Adjustment Agency (AAA)

Roosevelt was particularly interested in providing relief for the rural community. In May 1933, US Congress passed the *Agricultural Adjustment Act*. The Act created the Agricultural Adjustment Agency (AAA) to increase prices for agricultural products by reducing supply. The AAA used a system of targets, setting total output of corn, cotton, dairy products, hogs, rice, tobacco and wheat. The farmers through their representatives, together with government, set these targets and therefore set farm income. The AAA paid farmers subsidies for leaving some of their land unused, with monies provided by a new tax on food processing. In the early stages of its administration, some crops were ploughed in and animals were killed rather than sold.

Roosevelt established the idea that government was responsible for farm prices and that it should assist farmers in creating scarcity. These were new and controversial ideas in 1933 and aroused opposition. Here is one cartoonist's depiction of the AAA.

Source **11.17** A cartoon comments on the Agricultural Adjustment Agency, 1935

SOURCE 11.17 Cargill, 'The New Trend In Easter Fashions!', *Cortland Standard*, 1935, commenting on the AAA

Responding to the cartoon

1. What is the basic message of this cartoon?
2. How is it conveyed by the various elements of the cartoon?
3. Who do you think the intended audience was?

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Roosevelt sought to use the AAA and other New Deal agencies to boost purchasing power and prices where the market had failed to do so in the preceding years. In 1935, Roosevelt commented on three years of the AAA and its impacts.

Source **11.18** Roosevelt reflects on the AAA, 1935

SOURCE 11.18 President Roosevelt reflects on the AAA, 14 May 1935

We are now at the beginning of the third year of carrying out this policy. You know the results thus far attained. You know the present price of cotton, of wheat, of tobacco, of corn, of hogs ... [and] other farm products today. Further comment on the successful attainment of our objective up to this time is unnecessary on my part. You know.

... I was speaking to you about that word adjustment. I think it is your duty and mine to continue to educate the people of this country to the fact that adjustment means not only adjustment downward but adjustment upward. If you and I agree on a correct figure for a normal carryover in a basic crop, it means that if we have a bumper crop one year we will, by mutual consent, reduce the next year's crop in order to even up that carryover. At the same time, if we get a short crop in a given year, you and I agree to increase the next year's crop to make up the shortage. That is exactly what we are doing in the case of wheat this year.

It is high time for you and for me to make clear that we are not plowing under cotton this year – that we did not plow it under in 1934 and that we only plowed some of it under in 1933 because the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed by that Congress at that famous Special Session after a huge crop of cotton was already in the ground.

It is high time for us to repeat on every occasion that we have not wastefully destroyed food in any form. It is true that the Relief Administrator has purchased hundreds of thousands of tons of foodstuffs in order to feed the needy and hungry who have been on the relief rolls in every part of the United States.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Remarks to Farm Groups*, 14 May 1935

Responding to Roosevelt's words

1. Why is the passage beginning 'Further comment on ...' and ending 'You know' a clever tactical statement?
2. Does the 'adjustment plan' related to 'bumper' and 'short' crops seem practical and valuable? Explain.
3. What appear to be some farmers' complaints that Roosevelt is responding to in this statement?
4. Note Roosevelt's use of 'I', 'you' and 'we'. What is the effect of his using those terms so consistently throughout the statement?

In 1933, another important initiative of the New Deal, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), was established alongside the AAA. Roosevelt believed that private companies using the Tennessee River to generate electricity had put their profits ahead of community interests. He stressed that the river resources belonged to the American people. He proposed government ownership and development of an area greatly impacted by the Depression and by previous unsustainable economic usage. The TVA therefore combined two of Roosevelt's key objectives in trying to improve the economic and social life of the Americans: conservation and employment.

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The *Tennessee Valley Authority Act* was signed in May 1933 and by 1934 it was employing 9000 workers. In Source 11.20, Roosevelt writes to Congress to propose the TVA.

SOURCE 11.19 Dr New Deal – a 1934 cartoon

In your own words, describe the content and meaning of this allegorical cartoon. Do you think the cartoonist intended to praise the New Deal, criticise it or simply describe it? Explain your response. How do FDR's spoken words reflect his 'approach' that was described earlier in this chapter? Explain your response.

Source **11.20** Roosevelt proposes the TVA to Congress

SOURCE 11.20 Roosevelt's message to Congress suggesting the TVA

April 10, 1933

To the Congress:

The continued idleness of a great national investment in the Tennessee Valley leads me to ask the Congress for legislation necessary to enlist this project in the service of the people.

It is clear that the Muscle Shoals development is but a small part of the potential public usefulness of the entire Tennessee River. Such use, if envisioned in its entirety, transcends mere power development; it enters the wide fields of flood control, soil erosion, afforestation, elimination from agricultural use of marginal lands, and distribution and diversification of industry. In short, this power development of war days leads logically to national planning for a complete river watershed involving many States and the future lives and welfare of millions. It touches and gives life to all forms of human concerns.

I, therefore, suggest to the Congress legislation to create a Tennessee Valley Authority, a corporation clothed with the power of Government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. It should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation and development of the natural resources of

···>

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the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general social and economic welfare of the Nation. This Authority should also be clothed with the necessary power to carry these plans into effect. Its duty should be the rehabilitation of the Muscle Shoals development and the coordination of it with the wider plan.

Many hard lessons have taught us the human waste that results from lack of planning. Here and there a few wise cities and counties have looked ahead and planned. But our Nation has 'just grown.' It is time to extend planning to a wider field, in this instance comprehending in one great project many States directly concerned with the basin of one of our greatest rivers.

This in a true sense is a return to the spirit and vision of the pioneer. If we are successful here we can march on, step by step; in a like development of other great natural territorial units within our borders.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt With a Special Introduction and Explanatory Notes by President Roosevelt, Volume 2, The Year of Crisis, 1933*, 1938, pp. 122–9

Responding to the source

1. What other benefits does Roosevelt explicitly state other than the dam proposed at Muscle Shoals?
2. Identify two phrases that FDR uses to appeal to his audience emotionally.
3. How does FDR argue for government ownership in the third paragraph?
4. In the final two paragraphs Roosevelt proposes a new style of government but also refers to traditional American values. Explain how FDR has tried to combine these ideas.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

The aims of the NRA and the AAA were questioned, as was the ownership of the TVA. These were critiqued by Republicans who still favoured allowing market forces, rather than bureaucratic invention, to fix the US economy. However, one program during this intense period of action against the Depression was received positively. It was also one of Roosevelt's favourite policies and was entirely his own idea. It brought together two of Roosevelt's resolutely held ideas: environmental conservation and the value of work to people. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was focused on the young unemployed. While the PWA concentrated on middle-aged workers with private contracts, the CCC was entirely different. Roosevelt, ever practical, realised that large projects would take many months to organise, but the hiring of 250 000 young men to work planting trees could begin very quickly.

Roosevelt extended the age requirement of the CCC to enlist thousands of Bonus Army Marchers (often impoverished World War I veterans) into its ranks. The head of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, said that it 'smacked of Fascism, Hitlerism and Sovietism'.

To counter this, Roosevelt hired union vice president Robert Fechner to head the CCC, but, in reality, Louis Howe (the president's adviser), the Army and the Forestry Service organised the venture. By 1 July 1933, 275 000 men were in camps across the United States. They supported their families, replanted forests and worked on many other projects. The projects, which continued into 1942, have been criticised as being militaristic or of short-term importance. This may be the result of looking back on the 1930s with a modern gaze. Many of the skills were significant for the time. Even though some young men left the CCC because of its strict discipline, most re-enlisted due to the steady work.

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Perhaps these critics of the CCC failed to appreciate the sense of personal achievement of the CCC workers and the value of the projects they completed. Read Source 11.21 to make your own assessment of the extent of the human and other impacts of the CCC.

Source **11.21** A CCC worker

SOURCE 11.21 A brother remembers a CCC worker

My older brother, John Clyde Arnold was also in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Clyde enrolled probably when the CCC Camps first opened in 1933, or I think that was the date. He left from Madison County, Fl. with a group of other young men, who like himself didn't have a job. My father died of Haemorrhagic Fever in 1929, just ahead of the Crash of the Stock Market that same year. He had a small insurance policy, and fortunately it paid off. With that little bit, Mama bought the old boxy frame house where we lived, for a thousand dollars, so we had a place to stay. But she had no income. Papa had just bought a new Model A Ford Truck to haul fruit and vegetables to and from Central and South Florida, and since Mama couldn't meet the payments, it was repossessed. But his old Model T Truck was paid for, and parked in the old tin barn out back. Since Mama needed stove wood to cook with, she traded it for a few loads of pine wood, which was soon burned up. And I've grieved over the loss of it for years. I wish I had it back.

... They sent him to West Florida to a camp near Youngstown, if I remember right, and he stayed the whole 2 years, which was as long as they'd let him ... I never knew just what kind of work Clyde did, but he worked with Mr. Capus M. Young, the Forestry Foreman, and was a big buddy to him. So my brother may have had the rank of Asst. Leader, or Leader. But if he did, he never said anything to us about it.

As I remember, the pay was 30 dollars a month, with a few bucks given to him, and the rest sent home to Mama. You'll never know how much that money meant to Mama, and the rest of us. It fed us during some pretty tough times. There were 8 kids in all, and I was one of the younger ones. 'I may have to put you in an Orphans Home,' Mama told me one time. But thanks to FDR, the CCCs, and my older brother Clyde, she never had to. So we owe a debt of gratitude that we can never repay, and I imagine the same could be said of lots of boys and girls my age all over the country, who had a member of the family in the CCCs.

Thomas F. Arnold, 'Biography of John Clyde Arnold', James F. Justin Civilian Conservation Corps Museum website, 1 August 2001

Responding to the source

1. List the troubles that John Clyde Arnold and his family faced in 1933.
2. How did the CCC help the family survive?
3. Given what you know of the times, do you think the author is correct in assuming that 'the same could be said of lots of boys and girls my age all over the country'?
4. Does the text suggest that the author is a valuable source of evidence about the benefits of the CCC, but not about the actual programs of the CCC? Explain.

The CCC provided men with a sense of purpose and camaraderie that they had lost along with their jobs during the Great Depression. In nine years, its three million men reforested the nation with about three billion trees, along with 3300 square kilometres of pasture. The CCC reduced the impacts of overgrazing and soil erosion, restocked 972 million fish, built 200 000 kilometres of roads and developed 800 state parks.

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The men often spent their days together in back-breaking labour and the CCC became known as the 'Colossal College of Calluses'. During the years of its operation, 7793 men died while working for the CCC. Source 11.22 is an image of young men from the CCC working on an eroded gully in North Carolina.

Source **11.22** CCC workers clearing rocks

SOURCE 11.22 African American CCC enrolees fill in a gully on eroded farmland in Yanceyville, North Carolina, 5 May 1940

Responding to the image

1. What immediate benefits could such work bring to the workers and their families?
2. The men represented in Source 11.22 are African American. Research whether the CCC was segregated on the basis of race.
3. Why might the government have believed it was vital to provide employment to this demographic group?
4. Might some Americans have criticised this works program on principle? Explain your response.

While the CCC brought undoubted benefits to men and their families, the concept of a huge government-recruited and organised workforce toiling on public projects challenged the traditional American ideal of the self-reliant, rugged individual that could be traced back to the early history of the American frontier.

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Source **11.23** Jonathan Alter comments on the ideas of Roosevelt

SOURCE 11.23 Jonathan Alter comments on the ideas of Roosevelt, 2007

> ... Roosevelt's point was plain: Government counts, and in the right hands, it can be made to work. Strong federal action, not just private voluntary efforts and the invisible hand of the marketplace, was required to help those stricken in an emergency. The American people expected and deserved leadership in addressing their hardships, not just from state and local authorities but from the White House. This fundamental insight would guide politicians and help millions of people in the years ahead, but it was lost on others, who ignored the lessons of Franklin Roosevelt at their peril.

Jonathan Alter, *The Defining Moment: FDR's Hundred Days and the Triumph of Hope*, 2007, p. 299

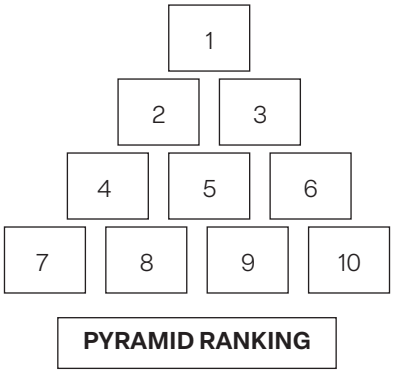
Responding to the source

1. Alter's comment about 'the invisible hand of the marketplace' is a reference to the economic theories of Adam Smith. How does this comment signal the way the New Deal challenged the underpinning economic ideology of the United States?
2. According to Alter, how did Roosevelt change the role of the presidency and the federal government in American life?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

Did the initial acts of FDR's first New Deal address the causes of the Great Depression and reduce its impact?

1. This sub-question described many initiatives in the early phases of the New Deal. Create an annotated timeline of those initiatives, signalling their start date and adding a brief explanatory note to each.
2. Using a pyramid ranking, rank the initiatives in order of their importance in alleviating distress, providing work and/or boosting productivity. Compare your highest and lowest rankings with a classmate, and discuss.



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SUB-QUESTION 3: How did the *Social Security Act* improve the lives of US citizens?

Over time, the New Deal reached into other aspects of American life. For the first time in US history, the national social security system offered old-age benefits and a nationwide process for people to access support during unemployment. While free-market economists only believed in relief or charity during unexpected widespread events (such as earthquake, famine or the Depression), so as not to impact market forces, Roosevelt differed. He saw a key problem that occurred as an impact of the Great Depression: older workers with no jobs and no savings. Roosevelt wanted to create long-term reform to address this issue. He and others believed that a system similar to Germany, where contributions were made by employees and employers, might work in the United States. In the German system, the contributions were kept distinct from other government revenue and would continue after the disastrous Depression. Eventual payments to workers were not specifically related to the amount contributed. Roosevelt's *Social Security Act* of 1935 introduced a scheme of this sort.

Examine the image in Source 11.25 and watch the video using the QR code below.

Sources **11.24** and **11.25** Roosevelt signs the *Social Security Act*, 14 August 1935

Responding to the photograph and video

1. Given the information provided in the video, why might the photograph in Source 11.25 be still considered historically significant today?
2. Only one woman appears in this photograph. What might that indicate about politics at the time? In framing New Deal policies and programs, could it have been valuable for women in particular situations to be consulted? Explain.
3. How would you describe the tone of the language used by Roosevelt when he talks about the signing of this momentous Act? Does it seem appropriate?

Scan the QR code to watch the video.

SOURCE 11.24 Roosevelt's statement on signing the *Social Security Act*, 14 August

SOURCE 11.25 Photograph of Roosevelt signing the *Social Security Act*, 14 August 1935

During the Depression, over 50% of over 65-year-olds were unemployed: they were willing to work because there was often no option. Only half the states offered state pensions and these were woefully inadequate. Pensions paid by companies were devastated by the crash.

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SOURCE 11.26 Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, talks about unemployment. Scan the QR code to watch the video (00:30).

What is a partial solution to unemployment, according to Perkins?

Roosevelt appointed Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor to promote social security, and she remained working with Roosevelt until the president's death in 1945. In an early speech, she talked about the question of what to do about unemployment.

Roosevelt was interested in insurance, not charity. He wanted a payment for Americans so that they could retire. In May 1935, elements of the NRA were declared unconstitutional by the High Court. This pushed Roosevelt to challenge the conservatives and also use the taxing power of the federal government to impose an initial 1% tax on employees to fund unemployment benefits and an old-age pension. (By comparison, elderly Australians had received an aged pension from 1908.) However, Roosevelt thought a more extensive plan concerning social security might not succeed if the five conservative judges on the Supreme Court intervened and prevented social security and other planned initiatives from being introduced.

In Source 11.27, Perkins outlines policy considerations taken into account by herself and Roosevelt.

Source **11.27** Perkins on the 'one percent tax' plan

SOURCE 11.27 Frances Perkins in 1946 recalls discussing the 'one percent tax' plan with Roosevelt

> **I indicated to him that there were sound arguments, advanced by many thinkers, that since we were in the midst of deflation the collection of any money for reserves, no matter by what method, would be further deflationary.**
>
> **'We can't help that,' he replied. 'We have to get it started or it never will start'. He was aware that 1936 was not too far away, that there might be a change of administration, and that this program, which, in his own mind, was his program, would never be accomplished, or at least not for many years, if it were not put through immediately.**

Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, 1946, p. 281

Responding to the source

1. Does this evidence indicate whether or not Roosevelt was a Keynesian thinker? Explain.
2. How did Roosevelt combine political and practical concerns?
3. Why was timing important?
4. Why would Perkins be considered a valuable source of evidence about Roosevelt's presidency? Why would her views also need to be evaluated carefully?

The system was not without flaws. It did not initially apply to domestic servants, farm hands and businesses with fewer than 10 workers. It therefore discriminated heavily against African Americans, whose employment was predominantly in these areas, and also against the 27% of the white population not employed in major commerce and industry.

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There is debate about whether, in excluding particular workers, Roosevelt was aiming to gain the support of Southern states, where the white population tended to oppose policies that improved the situation of African Americans.

The excerpt from Perkins' *The Roosevelt I Knew* (1946), in Source 11.29, highlights the debate concerning the ideas of an aged pension and unemployment benefits.

SOURCE 11.28 Frances Perkins wades through mud to meet workers, 30 March 1941. Perkins also appears in the photo of Roosevelt signing the *Social Security Act*. She was the first female US Cabinet member in history. Along with strong-minded Eleanor Roosevelt – the president's wife – she advanced the cause of women's rights and opportunities during Roosevelt's presidency.

Could this appointment have had symbolic and practical value at a time of hardship for many women in impoverished families?

Source **11.29** Perkins on social security

SOURCE 11.29 Frances Perkins explains the development of social security

It was not that I did not admire his bold conception of universal coverage, but I felt that it was impractical to try to develop and administer so broad a system before we had some experience and machinery for the preliminary and most pressing steps. Moreover, I felt sure that the political climate was not right for such a universal approach. I may have been wrong. Having the administrative responsibility, I was more alarmed than he about how we were going to swing it. The question of financing was in the forefront of my mind, and Roosevelt, because he was looking at the broad picture, could skip over that difficult problem ... It was Harry Hopkins who recommended seriously that relief and social insurance be lumped together, that relief payments should be called unemployment and old-age insurance, and that payments should be made as a matter of right and not as a matter of need. This, of course, was a pretty extreme point of view for a country which had not had a social insurance system or a relief program before. When we took it to the President, only Hopkins and I went. Although Hopkins was eloquent, the President at once saw that this would be the very thing he had been saying he was against for years – the dole. This prejudice served as a guidepost to warn him against unsystematic and unrelated distribution of funds from the Treasury. He insisted that the two systems (relief and unemployment), however much they might apply to the same people, should be kept separate because relief appropriations should be curtailed and cancelled as soon as there was a revival of business and employment opportunities. The systems of unemployment and old-age insurance ought to continue as a permanent part of our economy.

Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, 1946, p. 283

Responding to the source

1. On what issue did Roosevelt's position differ from that of Hopkins and Perkins?
2. How does Perkins' comment about 'administrative responsibility' indicate that her concerns were not only philosophical?
3. What is significant about labelling relief payments 'a matter of right and not a matter of need'?
4. How does this extract signal a debate about a long-held philosophical belief in the United States?
5. Do you see similar debates about welfare and relief in Australian politics and society today?

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The social security legislation passed Congress and was made law in August 1935. The next year, as a presidential election loomed, Republican presidential candidate Alf Landon attacked the social security laws, shown in Source 11.30.

Source **11.30** Alf Landon on social security legislation

SOURCE 11.30 Republican Presidential candidate Alf Landon attacks the social security legislation, 1936

Beginning next January employers must, in addition, begin paying taxes on the payrolls out of which your wages are to come. This is the largest tax bill in history. And to call it 'social security' is a fraud on the workingman.

These taxes start at the rate of $2 in taxes for every $100 of wages. They increase until it is $6 in taxes for every $100 in wages.

We are told that this $6 will be equally divided between the employer and the employe [sic]. But this is not so, and for a very simple reason. ... in almost every case, that the whole tax will be borne either by the employe [sic] or by the consumer through higher prices. That is the history of all such taxes. This is because the tax is imposed in such a way that, if the employer is to stay in business, he must shift the tax to someone else.

Do not forget this: such an excessive tax on payrolls is beyond question a tax on employment. In prosperous times it slows down the advance of wages and holds back re-employment. In bad times it increases unemployment, and unemployment breaks wage scales. The Republican party rejects ... any plan that hinders re-employment. One more sample of the injustice of this law is this: Some workers who come under this new Federal insurance plan are taxed more and get less than workers who come under the State laws already in force.

For instance, under the new law many workers now 50 years old must pay burdensome taxes for the next fifteen years in order to receive a pension when they are 65; ... those of the same age who come under some State laws pay no taxes and yet actually get a larger pension when they reach the age of 65.

These are a few reasons why I called this law unjust and stupidly drafted ... According to this plan, our workers are forced to save for a lifetime. What happens to their savings? The administration's theory is that they go into a reserve fund, that they will be invested at interest, and that in due time this interest will help pay the pensions. The people who drew this law understand nothing of government finance.

... I am not exaggerating the folly of this legislation. The saving it forces on our workers is a cruel hoax.

There is every probability that the cash they pay in will be used for current deficits and new extravagances. We are going to have trouble enough to carry out an economy program without having the Treasury flush with money drawn from the workers.

Alfred M. Landon, 'I Will Not Promise the Moon', in *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 15 October 1936, pp. 26–7

Responding to Alf Landon

1. What, according to Landon, is wrong with the social security plan?
2. Does Landon criticise the principles of the plan, or its practical implementation or both?
3. Is Landon's own philosophical position clear from this source? Explain.
4. Consider Landon's position as a potential candidate. Identify how he might use emotive language to appeal to potential voters.
5. Does Landon offer a constructive alternative, as well as his criticism? Explain your response.

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In the 1936 election, Roosevelt won every state except Maine and Vermont. Social security payments were not scheduled to begin until 1940. However, this was revised in 1939 to make payments earlier – a decision likely to produce socio-economic benefits and increased political popularity. In practice, social security 'taxes' were collected from the employees' pay and then the employer made an equal contribution, which was sent to the federal Department of Treasury.

Social security was perhaps the last grand policy legislation that Roosevelt was able to propose and pass successfully. From early days, Roosevelt had been challenged by both Republicans and former supporters. In the next section, you will examine the criticisms and the administration's response.

SOURCE 11.31 Social security advertisement, 1934

Which elements of this advertisement are aimed at appealing to the US public? (Note how often the words 'you' and 'your' are used.) What would be the purpose of the background image? Given what you learned earlier about who could apply for social security, why might the major message of this poster be misleading?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

How did the *Social Security Act* improve the lives of US citizens?

Construct an infographic about social security

Using this section on social security and possibly other sources, construct an infographic with the message 'Social security in the New Deal: Why and how?' You may like to use an online infographic generator like Canva or Piktochart.

Before you start, consider the following success criteria:

- informative, interesting and clear sequence of information
- graphic representation of information (use of images, graphs, icons and limited use of words to get your point across)
- inclusion and discerning use of statistics.

SUB-QUESTION 4: How and why were the New Deal policies and programs challenged and what alternatives were proposed?

For some, initial enthusiasm for the New Deal and for President Roosevelt subsided and turned to criticism. Roosevelt faced criticism from the wealthy elite, former advisers, political enemies and newspapers.

The first real challenge to the New Deal came from the courts. In 1935, the Supreme Court found the NRA to be unconstitutional because it interfered with interstate trade by fixing prices and wages. The AAA was also declared to be unconstitutional in January 1936 when the Republican-dominated Supreme Court ruled that the federal government could not force this program on the states. That would be remedied in 1938. Roosevelt reacted by passing large tax increases on the wealthy, labour legislation to protect workers (*Wagner Act 1935*) and a new inheritance tax.

Some suggest that this campaign, or Second New Deal, was in part to counter the influence of left-leaning political movements, such as that led by populist Huey Long, who called for the liquidation of wealth totalling over $3 million to reduce inequality.

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While many economic commentators critiqued the impacts of these policies on the US economy, many supported these ideas as the Great Depression's impacts caused many to question traditional economic policies and those that had led the United States to its current circumstances. Read Huey Long's populist appeal to the masses in Source 11.32.

Source **11.32** US Senator Huey Long advocates taxing the rich

SOURCE 11.32 US Senator Huey Long advocates taxing the rich to share wealth

... The fortunes of the multi-millionaires and billionaires shall be reduced so that no one person shall own more than a few million dollars to the person. We would do this by a capital levy tax. On the first million that a man was worth we would not impose any tax. We would say, 'All right for your first million dollars, but after you get that rich you will have to start helping the balance of us.' So we would not levy any capital levy tax on the first million one owned. But on the second million a man owns we would tax that 1%, so that every year the man owned the second million dollars he would be taxed $10,000 ...

Well, ladies and gentlemen, America, all the people of America, have been invited to a barbecue. God invited us all to come and eat and drink all we wanted. He smiled on our land and we grew crops of plenty to eat and wear ... God called: 'Come to my feast'.

Then what happened? Rockefeller, Morgan and their crowd stepped up and took enough for 120,000,000 people and left only enough for 5,000,000 for all other 125,000,000 to eat. And so many million must go hungry and without these good things God gave us unless we call on them to put some of it back'.

Huey Long, National Broadcasting Co., 9 January 1935

Responding to Huey Long

1. Examine the language used in this speech. Who is the intended audience?
2. What ideology does Huey Long explicitly appeal to initially in this source?
3. Who is Long implicitly attacking by mentioning Rockefeller and Morgan and their wealth?

Roosevelt, regardless of the motive, had the *Wealth Tax Act* of 1935 passed. It taxed individuals at a rate of tax to 79% for incomes over $5 million. This taxed very few individuals (it included Rockefeller), but it diluted the ideas of populists such as Long and others. Additionally, whatever his motives concerning taxation and social security, Roosevelt was validated by the passage of the *Social Security Act* – which remains largely intact today – and the previously mentioned electoral crushing of the Republicans in 1936, which suggested that most Americans supported the President.

However, there were further legal challenges, including a case for minimum wages in New York. Roosevelt did not want his reforms blocked by Supreme Court judgments, and he attempted to pass the Judicial Procedures Reform Bill of 1937. This would have enabled Roosevelt to appoint an additional Justice to the Supreme Court for every member over the age of 70 years and six months – up to a limit of six. However, many saw this action as court-packing, and it was defeated. Even Vice President John Nance Garner broke with Roosevelt over this issue. Joe Kennedy would also eventually break with Roosevelt as the decade ended. Roosevelt actively campaigned against conservative Democrats in the 1938 mid-term elections and lost. In the following section, you will find sources that will allow you to identify other reasons why the New Deal was challenged and by whom.

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Ray Moley had been one of Roosevelt's closet advisers. He had been a major architect of Roosevelt's first inauguration speech, but later became a critic. In his 1939 publication *After Seven Years*, he describes his attempts to stop Roosevelt reorganising the Supreme Court from February 1937 onwards.

Source **11.33** Ray Moley on proposed changes to the Supreme Court

SOURCE 11.33 Ray Moley comments on the proposed changes to the Supreme Court

The President's bare attempt to pack the Court was not at all concealed by his arguments that the Court needed enlargement because it was inefficient, because age was related to inefficiency, and because age and conservatism went hand in hand. It was recognized at once for what it was – a plan to provide in advance for Supreme Court approval of whatever legislative reforms Roosevelt happened to espouse, a plan to enable Roosevelt to control the Court.

As such, a number of citizens, like myself, were compelled to fight it with all the resources at command, although we felt no less strongly than the President that the majority of the Court had arbitrarily held too narrow a view of the powers the Constitution confers upon Congress. In editorials, speeches, and in testimony given to the Senate Judiciary Committee, I opposed it as a palpable makeshift that would remove only temporarily the evil it was designed to remedy, as an impairment of those democratic institutions and traditions that make progressive evolution possible, as a fundamental change which the citizens alone had the right to authorize. My opposition was open, wholehearted, complete, despite a suggestion from Tom Corcoran that I'd better not stick my neck out, because my 'side' was going to lose anyhow.

There's no need to review the complicated and fascinating history of the six months' battle over Court packing. As everyone knows, it ended well, and will doubtless insure the people of the United States against any similar presidential attempt so long as our democratic republic lasts.

Ray Moley, *After Seven Years*, 1939, pp. 356–7

Responding to Ray Moley

1. Ray Moley admits that he believed 'no less strongly than the President' that the Supreme Court held too narrow a view of constitutional matters. But he refused to support Roosevelt's remedy. How does he explain this?
2. Moley's position indicates that he believes in the 'separation of powers'. Find out what that principle is and how it applies to the Roosevelt 'remedy'.
3. Why is it important in a democracy that courts be free of political interference and influence?

Another prominent person to challenge Roosevelt was Al Smith. He was the Governor of New York before Roosevelt, but had been defeated by him for the Democratic nomination in 1932. Smith was a conservative Democratic member of the American Liberty League, an organisation that also included a number of wealthy individuals. These individuals saw Roosevelt as a traitor to his class. Although the League had 125 000 members, it was largely ineffective, as the results of the 1936 elections suggest. The League saw the New Deal as a socialist experiment that placed too much control of the nation in the hands of the federal government and the current president. The League was concerned that the New Deal interfered with individual rights and sought too much control over private property.

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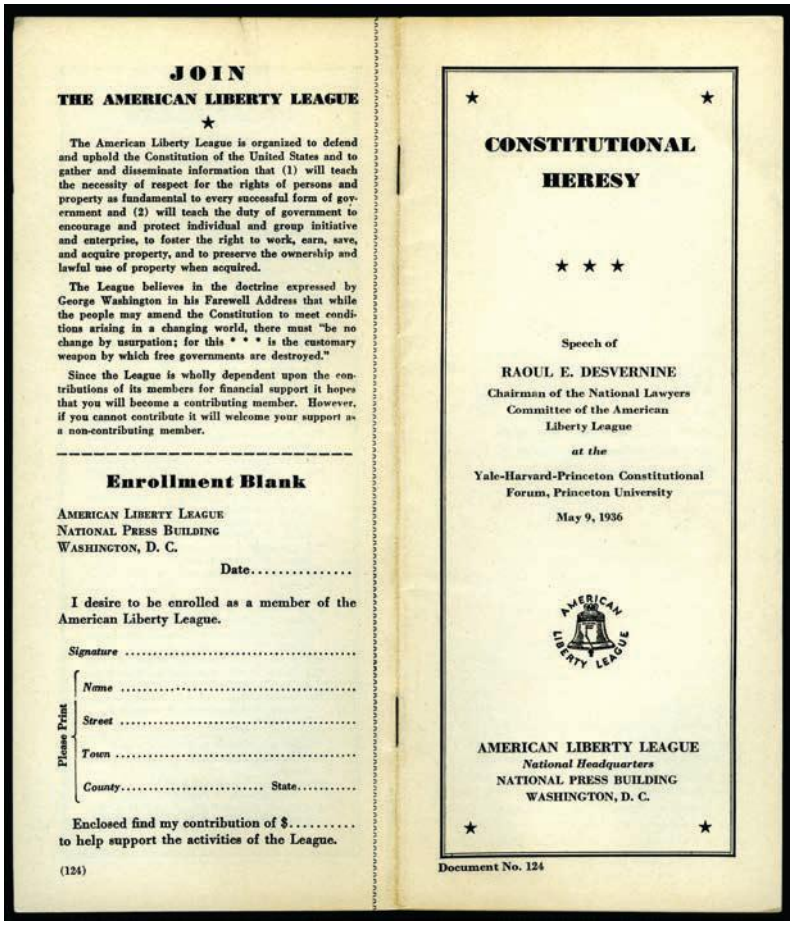
Source 11.34 is a pamphlet for the League from 1936. (By 1940, when the domestic agenda had been replaced with international concerns, the influence of the League was effectively over.)

Source **11.34** American Liberty League



JOIN
THE AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE
★

The American Liberty League is organized to defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States and to gather and disseminate information that (1) will teach the necessity of respect for the rights of persons and property as fundamental to every successful form of government and (2) will teach the duty of government to encourage and protect individual and group initiative and enterprise, to foster the right to work, earn, save, and acquire property, and to preserve the ownership and lawful use of property when acquired.

The League believes in the doctrine expressed by George Washington in his Farewell Address that while the people may amend the Constitution to meet conditions arising in a changing world, there must "be no change by usurpation; for this * * * is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

Since the League is wholly dependent upon the contributions of its members for financial support it hopes that you will become a contributing member. However, if you cannot contribute it will welcome your support as a non-contributing member.

Enrollment Blank

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Date.....

I desire to be enrolled as a member of the American Liberty League.

Signature .....

Please Print
Name .....
Street .....
Town .....
County..... State.....

Enclosed find my contribution of $.....
to help support the activities of the League.

(124)

★ ★

CONSTITUTIONAL HERESY

★ ★ ★

Speech of

RAOUL E. DESVERNINE
Chairman of the National Lawyers Committee of the American Liberty League
at the
Yale-Harvard-Princeton Constitutional Forum, Princeton University
May 9, 1936

AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE
National Headquarters
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

★ ★

Document No. 124

SOURCE 11.34 American Liberty League pamphlet and enrolment form

Responding to the pamphlet

1. What values does the pamphlet espouse?
2. Which historical figures and symbols does it link its campaign with and why?
3. Is it possible that, at the time, the speech on 'Constitutional Heresy' could have referred to Roosevelt? Explain your response.

Roosevelt's attempts to maintain his program of change, and the perception that he was seeking to override democracy, attracted media coverage. In January 1937, the cartoon in Source 11.35 was published in the *Chicago Tribune*.

Ultimately, FDR may have lost the battle to change the Supreme Court but he won overall, as he would eventually replace eight of the nine members of the Supreme Court during his 12 years in office.

In 1937, there was a disastrous recession in America. Unemployment returned to 19% (up from 14.3%) and industrial output declined by 30%. Roosevelt suspected a withdrawal of capital by financiers and industrialists in a conspiratorial strategy, and even had the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) launch an investigation.

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This investigation found nothing. Keynesians would suggest that Roosevelt's balanced budget of 1937, with its reduction in public employment programs, created the decline in the lives of Americans. Republicans argued that it was the regulation and control of business that had shackled the US economy and not enabled it to grow enough for employment to be reduced effectively.

Source **11.35** A cartoonist's response, 1937

Responding to the cartoon

1. How does the cartoonist convey a political message through this allegorical cartoon?
2. Does the cartoon match the opinions expressed by others in this section? Explain your response.
3. What evidence, if any, have you seen that could justify this view of Roosevelt?
4. Do you think that cartoons like this can be more powerful and influential than lengthy texts in swaying public opinion? If so, is that true today? Are there new media forms today that can have similar impacts?
5. Find out how Donald Trump, in his term as US president (2017–21), was able to change the political/ideological composition of the US Supreme Court, and why that matters.

SOURCE 11.35 'Do We Want A Ventriloquist Act In The Supreme Court?', 1937

Regardless of these setbacks, Roosevelt and his administration pushed ahead with two more laws designed to improve the lives of Americans. The first of these was the *Housing Act* of 1937. This enabled subsidies to be paid to local housing agencies to reduce slums by replacing buildings that had been torn down. It constructed 160 000 units, which were to cost no more than $5000 per unit, and it restricted these to low-income households. The program was also heavily segregated in terms of race and by 1948 only an additional 10 000 units had been constructed due to the disruption of the domestic economy caused by World War II. So, while well intended, this policy did not substantially improve housing for the poor. The second Act was the *Fair Labor Standards Act* of 1938, which set maximum hours at 44 hours per week and a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour. It also banned child labour under the age of 16 and hazardous work for those aged under 18. This did increase the wages of 300 000 individuals and reduced annual working time by 1.3 million hours.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

How and why were the New Deal policies and programs challenged and what alternatives were proposed?

Create a PMI table about the New Deal

Did Roosevelt's New Deal deserve the criticism and opposition it encountered? Create and complete a table like the one below to record the positives, negatives and interesting points from the sources and text in this section to summarise the later period of the New Deal.

Source/text	Plus	Minus	Interesting

SUB-QUESTION 5: What have historians said about the response to the impacts of the New Deal on US society and economy by 1939?

In this section, you'll read the voices of historians, politicians and others who have evaluated the New Deal and you'll decide which viewpoints match the understanding of the New Deal that you have developed through this chapter.

Sources 11.36–11.41 offer a variety of viewpoints on Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Sources **11.36–11.41** Viewpoints on Roosevelt and the New Deal

SOURCE 11.36 Jonathan Alter (2007) evaluates the benefits of the New Deal

FDR's second term was his least successful, though **liberalism** was embedding itself in American life at the very moment that actual reform diminished …

liberalism a political view based on liberty and equality. Liberals generally support civil rights, democracy, secularism, gender equality, internationalism, and the freedoms of speech, the press, religion and markets.

But to argue that the shortcomings of the New Deal undermine FDR's achievements reflects a narrow view … The results of FDR's efforts were a new social contract that has informally bound his successors to confront major domestic and international problems, rather than leave them entirely to the marketplace or to other nations …

The greatest of these obligations remains to the less fortunate, an idea that cleaves American politics to this day. 'The test of our progress is not whether we add to the abundance of those who have much', FDR said in his second Inaugural Address, perhaps his clearest statement of principle in domestic affairs. 'It is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.'

If that living 'New Deal' was to be FDR's enduring legacy, his greatest accomplishment was more immediate. During the 1930s, he succeeded in keeping a fractious country from giving up on its ideals and offered a world darkened by fascism and communism an alternative vision of the future … Especially at the beginning, when hope was a dying ember, he succeeded brilliantly in restoring the faith in democratic institutions and establishing a legacy of innovation. Eventually, the same flexibility that allowed Roosevelt to confront that crisis led him to scrap most of his domestic program in order to face another historic challenge.

Jonathan Alter, *The Defining Moment: FDR's Hundred Days and the Triumph of Hope*, 2007, pp. 331–3

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SOURCE 11.37 Frances Perkins (1946) comments on Roosevelt's political viewpoint

I knew Roosevelt long enough and under enough circumstances to be quite sure that he was no political or economic radical. I take it that the essence of economic radicalism is to believe that the best system is the one in which private ownership of the means of production is abolished in favour of public ownership. But Roosevelt took the status quo in our economic system as much for granted as his family. They were part of his life, and so was our system, he was content with it. He felt that it ought to be humane, fair, and honest, and that adjustments ought to be made so that the people would not suffer from poverty and neglect, and so that all would share.

... He thought the test ought to be whether or not business is conducted partly for the welfare of the community. He could not accept the idea that the sole purpose of business was to make more and more money. He thought business should make and distribute goods with enough profit to give the owners a comfortable living and enable them to save something to invest in other productive enterprises. Yes, he felt that stockholders had a place and right and that a business ought to be conducted so that they would earn modest interest, while the workers got good wages and the community profited by the low prices and steady work.

Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew,* 1946, p. 328

SOURCE 11.38 Jason Scott Smith (2006) referencing Barton Bernstein

Other revisionist accounts of the New Deal come to similar conclusions regarding public works. Relying on the assumptions that underwrite most 'corporate liberal' interpretations of U.S. history, historian Barton Bernstein argues that 'the liberal reforms of the New Deal did not transform the American system; they conserved and protected American capitalism, occasionally by absorbing part of threatening programs.' Bernstein treats the public works organizations solely as welfare programs, faulting the government for spending too slowly and cautiously, tersely noting that after six years of the New Deal, 'In most of America starvation was no longer possible. Perhaps that was the most humane achievement of the New Deal.' Because the New Deal's achievements were ultimately so limited, people who joined the New Deal political coalition were evidence of 'one of the crueler ironies of liberal politics, that the marginal men trapped in hopelessness were seduced by the rhetoric, by the style and movement, by the symbolism of efforts seldom reaching beyond words'. To the extent that public works programs achieved anything, in Bernstein's view, they were part of a larger enterprise that created a sort of false consciousness, capable only of duping the masses into voting for FDR.

Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933–1956*, 2006, p. 13

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SOURCE 11.39 Chris Harman (2008) evaluates the New Deal

... Roosevelt's measures were neither as innovative nor as effective as many people thought. Roosevelt remained highly orthodox in one respect – he did not use government spending to break out of the crisis. In fact he cut veterans' pensions and public employment. As Kindelberger writes, 'Fiscal means to expand employment remained limited, since the Democratic administration under Roosevelt remained committed to a balanced budget'. He also suggests investment was bound to start rising at some point from the incredibly low level to which it had fallen (from $16 billion in 1929 to $1 billion in 1932), and it began to do so once the level of bank failures had peaked. In any case, Roosevelt got the credit for a rise in production from 59 percent of the level of the mid-1920s in March 1933 to 100 percent in July, and a fall in unemployment from 13.7 million in 1933 to 12.4 million in 1934 and 12 million in 1935. Many people believed his 'New Deal' had worked miracles – a myth that remains prevalent today. Yet one person in seven was still jobless in 1937 when output finally reached the level of eight years earlier. Then in August 1937 there was 'the steepest economic decline in the history of the US', steel output fell by more than two thirds in four months, cotton textile output by about 40 percent, and farm prices by a quarter. The economic recovery had been short lived.

Chris Harman, *A People's History of the World*, 2008, pp. 513–14

SOURCE 11.40 'The New Deal: Accomplishments and Failures', Allan M. Winkler, Distinguished Professor of History, Miami University

Furthermore, the New Deal often worked in counterproductive ways, at least economically. Whereas Keynes demanded what we would today call a major stimulus package, and while the New Deal did spend more than ever before, it also embarked on contradictory initiatives. For example, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration spent large amounts of money to take land out of circulation, to cut down on production and thereby raise prices. But it diminished the effect of that spending by paying for it with a sizeable processing tax. Likewise, Social Security, which aimed to plow a huge amount of money into pensions, was not slated to make payments until 1942, but began taking money out of circulation through a withholding tax long before then.

...The NRA alienated business, and never did encourage private expansion or investment. It may have halted the deflationary spiral, but it failed to create new jobs. ... As Roosevelt got frustrated, his rhetoric marginalized business interests. Speaking of business interests in the re-election campaign of 1936, he proclaimed, "They are unanimous in their *hate* for *me – and I welcome their hatred.*" That may have helped politically, but it hurt economically.

Fiscal policy, in short, along the lines Keynes counseled, did not work because it was never really tried. The unemployment rate never dropped below 14 percent, and for the entire decade of the 1930s, it averaged 17 percent.

Slowly, however, the New Deal learned fiscal lessons. In 1937, assuming that the economy was improving and could manage without assistance, Roosevelt slashed half of all WPA jobs and cut the allocation to less than a third of what it had been. At the same time, workers were just beginning to contribute to Social Security, though payout were still in the future.

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Industrial production fell precipitously. The stock market plunged. Unemployment soared back to 19 percent. A quick restoration of spending brought matters under control.

But spending for World War II really vindicated Keynes and his theories. With the onset of the war, even before American entrance, defense spending quadrupled, and unemployment vanished virtually overnight. The lesson was clear...

Some parts of the New Deal worked; some did not. The New Deal restored a sense of security as it put people back to work. It created the framework for a regulatory state that could protect the interests of all Americans, rich and poor, and thereby help the business system work in more productive ways. It rebuilt the infrastructure of the United States, providing a network of schools, hospitals, and roads that served us well for the next 70 years...

Today, the lessons are clear. Government can make a difference. A major stimulus is essential and can promote recovery. We need to ensure that measures do not work in contradictory ways against the stimulus. We can do something about unemployment. It is as important today as it was in the 1930s to bolster security, as we turn our attention to health care reform just as the New Deal crafted a program, pathbreaking for us, for retirement assistance. The New Deal made a profound difference in people's lives and in the lives of our nation. Now it behooves us to learn from the lessons of the 1930s and take the actions necessary to promote a return to prosperity.

Allan M. Winkler, 'The New Deal, Accomplishments and Failures', Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs March 31, 2009, pp. 4–6

SOURCE 11.41 Historian Burton W. Folsom Jr comments on the effectiveness of the New Deal

The Making of the Myth

High unemployment was just one of many tragic areas that made the 1930's a decade of disaster. The Historical Statistics of the United States, compiled by the Census Bureau, fills out the rest of the grim picture. The stock market, which picked up in the mid-1930's, had a collapse later in the decade. The value of all stocks dropped almost in half from 1937 to 1939. Car sales plummeted one-third in those same years, and were lower in 1939 than in any of the last seven years of the 1920s. Business failures jumped 50 percent from 1937 to 1939; patent applications for inventions were lower in 1939 than for any year of the 1920's. Real estate foreclosures, which did decrease steadily during the 1930s, were still higher in 1939 than in any year during the next two decades.

... Much of our government spending during the decade went to prop up prices of wheat, shirts, steel, and other exports, which in turn, because of the higher prices, make them less desirable as exports to other countries. From 1870 to 1970, only during the depression years plus the year 1888 did the United States have an unfavorable balance of trade.

Burton W. Folsom Jnr, *New Deal or Raw Deal: How FDR's Economic Legacy Has Damaged America*, 2008, pp. 4–5

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Responding to the sources

Create and complete a table like the one below to start an evaluation of each author's viewpoint.

Author / Point	Alter	Perkins	Smith	Harman	Winkler	Folsom
What main point(s) does this writer make about the actual nature and effects of the New Deal?						
Does the writer seem to embrace a particular ideological position? Explain.						
What evidence in this chapter, if any, seems to support the position of this writer?						
What evidence in this chapter, if any, seems to contradict the position of this writer?						
Do any of the writers of the other extracts support or contradict this writer?						
What is one statement or claim made by this writer that you would like to assess for accuracy?						

By 1939, due to domestic political constraints and international factors such as the invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, the impetus of the New Deal declined. The next section outlines the significance of the New Deal at the time and its possible legacy for today.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

What have historians said about the response to the impacts of the New Deal on the US society and economy by 1939?

Drawing on your study of the above authors, complete these three sentences:

- The historians/writers who depicted FDR in positive terms referred to the following achievements: …
- The historians/writers who depicted FDR in negative terms referred to the following actions and effects: …
- The historians/writers who were ambivalent about FDR referred to the following positive achievements … but also referred to the following actions and effects …

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: Did the New Deal's response to the impacts of the Great Depression improve the United States' society and economy by 1939?

Write an essay of 800 to 1000 words using both primary and secondary sources from this chapter.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Is there a legacy of the New Deal today?

Significance at the time

Impacts of World War II on the trajectory of US history

In evaluating the New Deal's 'significance at the time', it's essential to refer to World War II. The war disrupted the direction and flow of the New Deal's policies and actions. It's impossible to know what the long-term impact of the New Deal would have been if the United States had never been embroiled in this war.

After World War I, the United States had adopted an 'isolationist' foreign policy, refusing to join the new League of Nations and trying to avoid getting involved in international disputes and conflicts, particularly those in Europe. Even when the expansionist policies of Adolf Hitler led to the outbreak of World War II, the United States remained aloof. FDR's government did assist Britain and France through some arms sales and, in March 1941, through a Lend-Lease program.

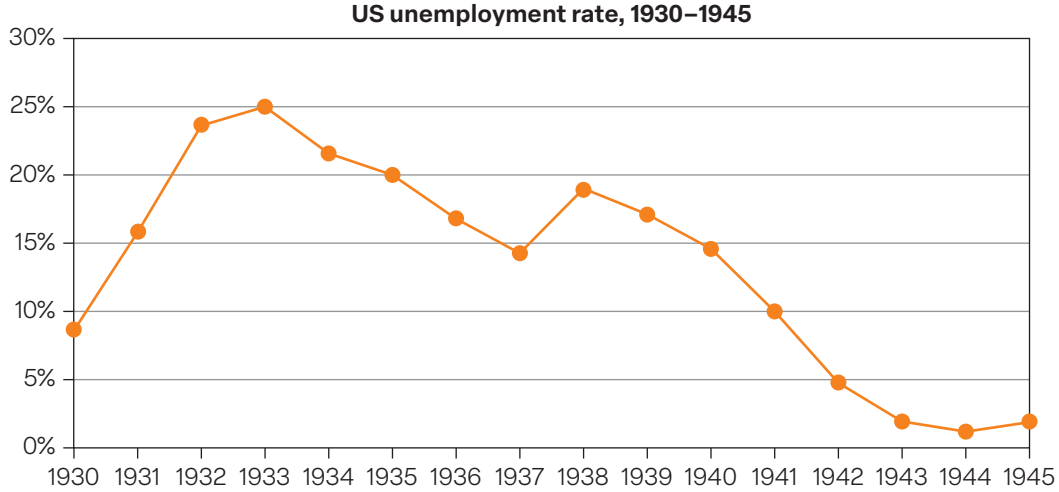
But, on 7 December 1941, a devastating surprise attack by Japanese aircraft on the United States' base at Pearl Harbor led the next day to its declaration of war on Japan. Four days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States.

What was the effect of World War II on the New Deal?

At the beginning of this chapter, you read about the terrible human impacts of World War I. Another consequence was that the United States became an international creditor in an unstable international environment. It eventually led to reform of the financial system. The United States had essentially resumed its position of isolation as the Congress had refused to join the League of Nations. As the 1930s concluded and another world war threatened, the core ideas of the American Dream – such as democracy and freedom – and the role the United States played within the international community were challenged.

Impacts on the US economy

The graph in Source 11.42 shows the unemployment rate before and during Roosevelt's presidency, which lasted from 1933 to 1945.



SOURCE 11.42 US unemployment rate, 1930–45, Department of Labor Statistics

What was the economic trend leading up to the election of Roosevelt in late 1932? What might account for the anomaly during the 1937 to 1938 period? When was unemployment at its lowest?

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The fall in unemployment numbers from 1939 onwards can be attributed largely to World War II. The United States became an industrial powerhouse for the Allied war effort – first providing Lend-Lease aid to Britain and other allies, and then resourcing its own massive war effort after Pearl Harbor in 1941. In 1944, Roosevelt asked Congress to impose a tax on all 'unreasonable' profits, both corporate and individual. He declared a need for over $10 billion in revenue for the war and other government measures. Congress overrode this, but eventually passed an Act that provided $2 billion.

The course of World War II effectively did what the New Deal program, stifled mainly by Congress, could not fully achieve. Unemployment dropped from nearly 15% in 1940 to less than 2% by 1945. This was not only among those who had lost jobs during the Depression: African American unemployment decreased and rates of women working in the public sphere increased dramatically. American companies also benefited greatly from the capital investment in their factory systems, which would set them up successfully for postwar production. The statistics in Source 11.43 show the details of expenditure during World War II specifically.

Source **11.43** Spending during World War II

SOURCE 11.43 Federal spending and military spending during World War II

	Nominal GDP		Federal spending			Defence spending			% of federal spending
Year	Total $	% increase	Total $	% increase	% of GDP	Total $	% increase	% of GDP	
1940	101.4		9.47		9.34	1.66		1.64	17.53
1941	120.67	19.00	13.00	37.28	10.77	6.13	269.28	5.08	47.15
1942	139.06	15.24	30.18	132.15	21.70	22.05	259.71	15.86	73.06
1943	136.44	–1.88	63.57	110.64	46.59	43.98	99.46	32.23	69.18
1944	174.84	28.14	72.62	14.24	41.54	62.95	43.13	36.00	86.68
1945	173.52	–0.75	72.11	–0.70	41.56	64.53	2.51	37.19	89.49

($ values in billions of 1940 dollars) Data from the Economic History Association

Responding to the data

1. How much did federal spending increase during the 1940 to 1945 time period?
2. What does the percentage of federal spending spent on defence indicate?
3. What does GDP measure and why did it dip in 1945?

The course of the war and its end

By June 1942, the war in the Pacific turned in favour of the Allies, with a series of naval victories and the pushing back of Japanese troops by Australian and US troops in Papua New Guinea. Gradually, the United States and its allies defeated the Japanese in the Pacific. After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, the United States extended the Lend-Lease program to the Soviets. In Europe, major Allied invasions were launched into Italy in 1943 and into France on D-Day in 1944. Roosevelt won the 1944 election. The Germans were gradually defeated by the Allies in the West, while the Russians conquered the East.

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At the Yalta Conference, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union met to discuss the postwar reorganisation of Europe. They demanded an unconditional surrender by Germany and agreed that the country would be divided into four occupied zones: one for each of the three combatant nations, plus a fourth for France. Soviet leader Josef Stalin promised free elections in the Eastern European nations occupied by Soviet forces. Tragically, Roosevelt died on 12 April 1945 from a massive cerebral haemorrhage.

VE Day on 8 May, when the Nazis surrendered in Berlin, was dedicated to Roosevelt. The Pacific War ended with the Japanese Emperor surrendering on 15 August, after two nuclear bombs were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima under the authorisation of US President Harry S. Truman, Roosevelt's successor. An epoch had ended with a war that killed over 60 million people and during which the American people had lost their long-term leader.

Activity **11.4**

Write a paragraph about the effects of World War II

1. Using knowledge gained from this section and any additional research required, write a paragraph explaining how World War II affected the trajectory of the US economy and society created by the New Deal.
2. Write a brief response to each of the following questions:
   - **a.** What was the state of the US economy and society in early 1939?
   - **b.** What were the impacts of the war on the US economy both before and after Pearl Harbor?
   - **c.** At the war's end in 1945, what was the state of the US economy and society?

Beyond World War II

Due to massive spending on the war, the Great Depression ended, but the war also saw the federal government, private companies and organisations ready to coordinate a level of postwar prosperity. The United States was economically dominant over its allies and former enemies. Under the Marshall Plan, during 1947–51, $13 billion worth of American aid to Europe guaranteed access to markets. Aid to Japan ($1.8 billion, 1946–52) was tied to export opportunities. In 1944, the United States held an international monetary conference, the Bretton Woods Conference, where standards for currency convertibility were established, and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the precursor of the World Bank were created. The nation was in a much stronger position than it had been in 1945 as most of its competitors had suffered such heavy losses during the war. The postwar period up until the 1960s saw the highest levels of material progress by older Americans, while working-class Americans and African Americans were proportionally worse off than others.

Activity **11.5**

Research another element

This section has included only an outline of Roosevelt's foreign policy initiatives during the war. Choose an element to research further, such as the Yalta Conference or Roosevelt's interactions with the leaders Churchill and Stalin, and write an extended paragraph as revision for your IA1 Essay for Summative Assessment.

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Legacy – significance for today

Inventive policy solutions

If there is a legacy of the New Deal today, it may have come from the inventiveness that inspired Roosevelt to try different policy solutions for various challenges. In the section that follows, you will encounter several more recent responses to what are broadly seen as challenges to, or reforms of, the dominant system of free-enterprise capitalism.

This chapter described several innovative changes initiated by Roosevelt, including regulation of share trading, a social security system, public works and a national park works program. In Sources 11.44 and 11.45 you will encounter similar inventiveness.

SOURCE 11.44 Adam Cohen, 'Public Works: When "Big Government" Plays Its Role'

Public works: when 'Big Government' plays its role

Adam Cohen

At the dedication of the Triborough Bridge in 1936, Franklin Roosevelt made an impassioned case for public works. There was a time when no one complained, he said, 'that our schoolhouses were badly ventilated and lighted' or that 'there were no playgrounds for children in crowded tenement areas.' But times had changed. 'People are demanding up-to-date government in place of antiquated government,' he declared, 'just as they are requiring and demanding Triborough Bridges in place of ancient ferries.'

The story of the 1930s public works programs is timely again, because much of America is falling apart. The deadly collapse of a Minnesota highway bridge in August shined a light on the poor state of the nation's bridges, many thousands of which are 'structurally deficient' by federal standards ... We should be thinking today about replicating some of the successes of the Depression-era programs.

The PWA and the Civilian Conservation Corps were primarily undertaken to put people to work at a time when the unemployment rate approached 25 percent, and to restart a woeful economy. Forward-looking officials like Harry Hopkins, the relief administrator, and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins argued, however, that public works should be directed to socially useful programs.

Not all of it was. But the vast majority were enormously valuable. Great institutions were built, including the Bay Bridge, the Hoover Dam and Washington's National Airport – now named for Ronald Reagan, Mr. Leighninger notes, even though it is 'a product of the type of "big government" program that he spent most of his political career opposing.' ... The New Deal public works programs have largely faded into history. Most people who use their handiwork, like the millions who travel over the Triborough or visit San Antonio's River Walk, are unaware of how they came to be built. People rarely think about viaducts or sewage lines.

It is a legacy, though, that is worth recalling. There is a reason we are reading about bridges collapsing, water systems being overburdened and other system failures – like the 2003 blackout, which left 50 million people in the Northeast and Canada without power.

... The nation is unlikely to embark on public works programs like those launched during the Great Depression, unless there is another economic crisis of that scale. But Roosevelt's basic idea – that the government should employ idle hands to upgrade the nation – should never have gone out of fashion.

Adam Cohen, 'Public Works: When "Big Government" Plays Its Role', *The New York Times*, 13 November 2007

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Perhaps the idea of the redemptive power of work is one aspect of the New Deal and Roosevelt's legacy that bears much closer scrutiny. With the outsourcing of jobs, de-industrialisation in the Western world and the decline of the US middle class and climate change, more creative and vibrant responses are required.

After reading the final source of this chapter, you will question whether a variant of the New Deal that combines a number of new issues is required for the American people. Does it reflect the ideals of the New Deal and the use of government? Or is it a combination of both government-oriented ideas and market economics?

SOURCE 11.45 Climate groups launch national tour for Green New Deal, 2023

Climate groups launch national tour for Green New Deal, 2023

Exclusive: multistate tour, launching in Michigan on Sunday, aims to pressure Biden on climate action before 2024 election.

One year after the passage of the much-lauded Inflation Reduction Act, a coalition of organizers and representatives are relaunching the push for a Green New Deal with a national tour.

'The Inflation Reduction Act was the largest climate investment in US History', said John Paul Mejia, a national spokesman for the youth-led climate justice organization the Sunrise Movement, one of the groups hosting the tour. 'But for the next 10 years, we should work to make (it) the smallest by winning stuff that's much larger'.

... It will be led by the Green New Deal Network, a coalition of progressive environmental groups that include the Sunrise Movement, Greenpeace and Climate Justice Alliance, social justice organizations such as People's Action and Movement for Black Lives, and the small left-liberal Working Families political party.

Supporters are calling for stronger executive action as well as the passage of a suite of proposals in Congress.

'With our Green New Deals for public schools, housing, cities and more, we can make historic investments that transform our communities by repairing damage done by the fossil fuel-driven climate crisis and giving every person the resources they need to thrive', said Representative Bowman.

... The ambitious, sweeping vision hinged on the idea that tackling the climate crisis could entail the remaking of US society to be more just prioritizing communities most affected by inequality, climate disasters and pollution. It sharply contrasted with previous national decarbonization plans, such as failed 2009 attempt to create a cap-and-trade system for planet-heating pollution known as Waxman-Markey.

... The movement has been widely credited with helping to ensure the Inflation Reduction Act ... included a ground-breaking $369bn in climate and renewable energy spending.

Yet New Deal advocates noted that it included giveaways to the fossil fuel industry, including mandating drilling and pipeline deals, and that it did little to wind down planet-heating coal, oil and gas ... It also placed less focus on improving public transportation and climate-resilient affordable housing, said Sophia Cheng, the climate just campaign director People's Action, a progressive advocacy and political non-profit.

... The Inflation Reduction Act also relied more heavily on incentives for private companies than many progressives would have desired.

Dharna Noor, *The Guardian*, 2 November 2023

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Activity **11.6**

Identify evidence for points related to the New Deal

Create a table like the one below. From the two secondary sources (Sources 11.44 and 11.45), select one or more details that provide the best evidence for each of the following points.

Point made in this section	Best evidence to support this point
1. Modern America is privately wealthy but publicly poor.	
2. Political will is crucial to making changes to society.	
3. The New Deal created public wealth.	
4. Socio-economic change occurs when a crisis occurs.	
5. Climate change needs public investment or incentives.	

Contemporary issues in the United States

Current issues in the United States are a stark reminder that while the stock market crash was over 90 years ago, its subsequent innovative policy decisions could provide an insight into possible solutions for today. The history of the United States is a contested field, with competing perspectives and interpretations, particularly around the controversial phenomenon of the New Deal.

In terms of a historical legacy, Roosevelt's efforts to transform the United States, when market economics had failed, were created in a context of despair that was a threat to both democracy and capitalism, as other models for social organisation, such as fascism and communism, developed in other nations. Some of Roosevelt's policies, such as those focused on social security, still exist today.

Roosevelt's social and economic initiatives need to be seen in the longer historical context of the United States. He embraced one enduring 'legend' of early America, summed up in Frederick Turner's 'Frontier Thesis' (1893). Turner argued that American pioneers on the frontier had to develop special qualities of endurance and rugged individualism. When gathered in settlements, they valued a direct form of democracy, and a suspicion of 'big government'.

When Roosevelt celebrated the third anniversary of social security in 1938, he declared: 'There is still today a frontier that remains unconquered – an America unreclaimed. This is the great, the nation-wide frontier of insecurity, of human want and fear. This is the frontier – the America – we have set ourselves to reclaim.'

There is a paradox in this. While the frontier demanded rugged individualism and suspicion of centralised government, Roosevelt's New Deal was based on concern for the community, especially for those who, far from being rugged individuals, were in need of welfare and other forms of support. And, to add to the paradox, the New Deal was the work of a very centralised 'big government' that inserted itself into the daily lives of citizens.

The belief in a strong government role in economy and society continued into the 1950s, promoted by those who would now be considered moderate Republicans.

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In the 1960s, Democrat presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson were both pushed by popular movements – such as the civil rights movement – to work for greater racial and economic equality. Kennedy's initiatives included the 'New Frontier' (focused on housing, education and welfare), which produced the Peace Corps. Like Roosevelt, Kennedy saw the frontier in terms of expanding equality. Johnson declared the 'Great Society' policy, a multi-focused initiative in urban renewal, the environment, education, poverty alleviation and crime prevention. These initiatives came after major electoral victories, ensuring that they had the support of Congress.

After 1970, with recurring financial crises, liberal politics and ideas of government-controlled economics were challenged throughout the Western world. This was generally called Reaganomics, or economic rationalism. It advocated free-market economics with a reduction in the role of government. These ideas challenged notions of state ownership of enterprise and state provision of welfare. People were urged to be more self-reliant, and governments began a program of privatising previously state-owned enterprises, particularly in the transport and energy sectors. The debates on the pros and cons of this approach continue today.

During the COVID-19 pandemic that started in late 2019, the question of how much a government should intervene in the economy and in the everyday lives of citizens became more urgent. In Australia, the Coalition Treasurer Josh Frydenberg – whose Liberal Party champions the free market and private initiative – announced massive injections of cash into the economy through JobKeeper and other programs. Frydenberg declared that, amid the crisis, 'ideology' had to be abandoned.

Meanwhile, in the homeland of the New Deal, the same debate raged during the pandemic. In 2024, while this chapter was being written, ideological debates about the individual, free markets, government spending and welfare were issues raised in the hard-fought US presidential election campaign.

Perhaps the last words in this historical study should go to Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1930, Roosevelt declared that 'progressive government by its very terms, must be a living and growing thing, that the battle for it is never ending and that if we let up for one single moment or one single year, not merely do we stand still but we fall back in the march of civilization'.

Activity **11.7**

Consider a historical issue

1. **Prepare:** To revise this unit, prepare in groups a key question and three to five sub-questions to present to the class. Discuss as a class the questions proposed as a way of synthesising this unit and revising for an essay question.
2. **Create a timeline:** Prepare a timeline of the major events, policy decisions and actions of the United States from 1917 to 1945. This could be done collaboratively in small groups, with each member focusing on a specific section of the chapter.
3. **Discuss:** How should the actions of Roosevelt and his administration be judged in relation to the Great Depression? Provide evidence with explanation.
4. **Update:** In 2018, the Republican Party tried to repeal some aspects of social security in the United States. Research the reason for wanting to remove a policy that has existed since 1935 and the final outcome.
5. **Apply:** You have studied the United States from 1917 to 1945. You have encountered different ways in which nations deal with national crises. This chapter has touched on one major debate in modern history: the challenging of powerful values of free-market capitalism and individualism. You'll encounter this and other debates in the chapters of this book.

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Chapter 12

CHINA SINCE 1931 (DIGITAL)

Aspect: How Mao's vision shaped China's national experience after 1949

MARK AVERY

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Chapter 13

ISRAEL SINCE 1917 (DIGITAL)

Aspect: The impact of the creation of Israel

STEPHEN POWELL
and
SONIA ACKERMAN

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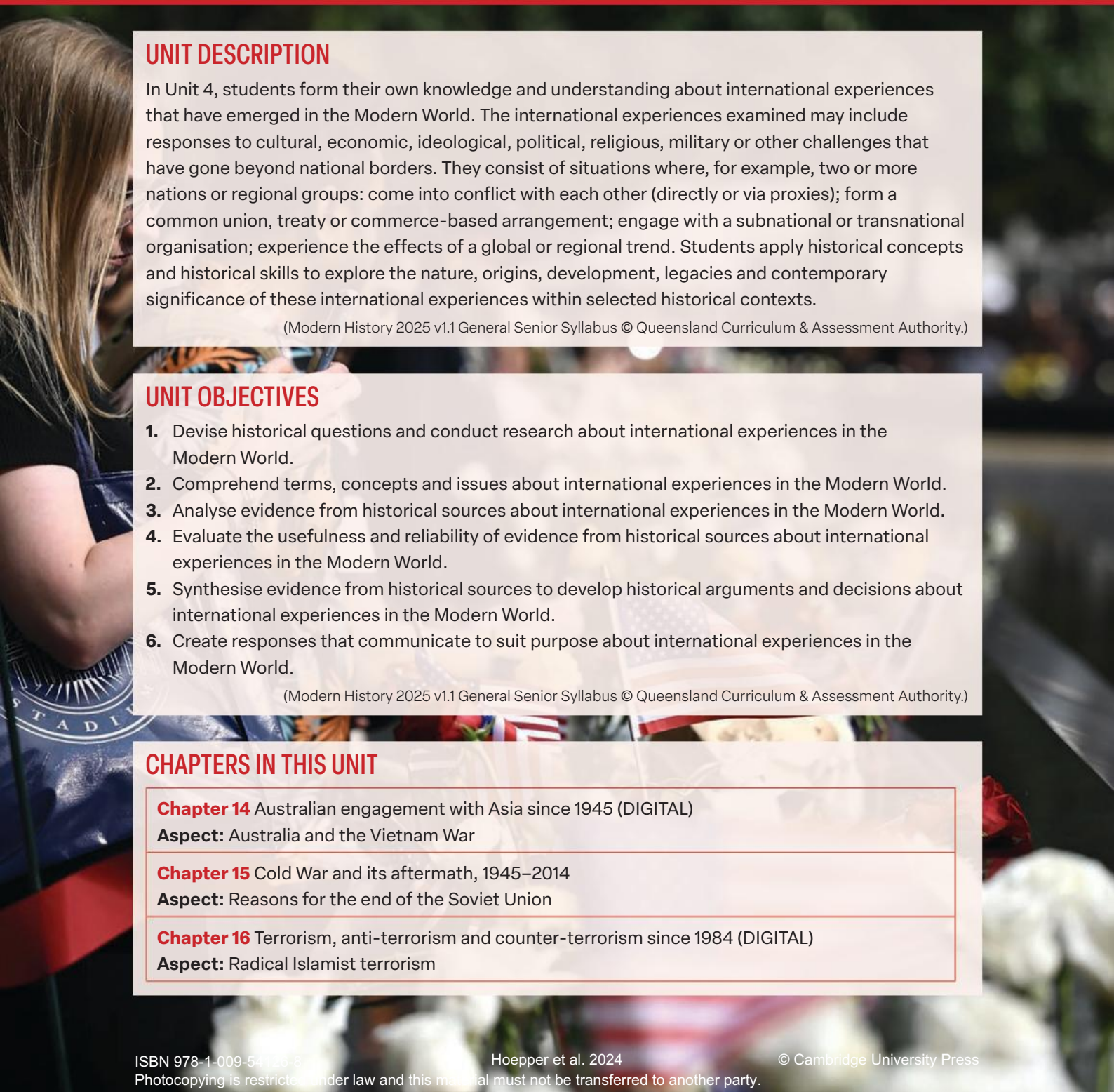
Unit 4

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE MODERN WORLD



UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 4, students form their own knowledge and understanding about international experiences that have emerged in the Modern World. The international experiences examined may include responses to cultural, economic, ideological, political, religious, military or other challenges that have gone beyond national borders. They consist of situations where, for example, two or more nations or regional groups: come into conflict with each other (directly or via proxies); form a common union, treaty or commerce-based arrangement; engage with a subnational or transnational organisation; experience the effects of a global or regional trend. Students apply historical concepts and historical skills to explore the nature, origins, development, legacies and contemporary significance of these international experiences within selected historical contexts.

(Modern History 2025 v1.1 General Senior Syllabus © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority.)

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Devise historical questions and conduct research about international experiences in the Modern World.
2. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues about international experiences in the Modern World.
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources about international experiences in the Modern World.
4. Evaluate the usefulness and reliability of evidence from historical sources about international experiences in the Modern World.
5. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to develop historical arguments and decisions about international experiences in the Modern World.
6. Create responses that communicate to suit purpose about international experiences in the Modern World.

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

Chapter 14 Australian engagement with Asia since 1945 (DIGITAL)
Aspect: Australia and the Vietnam War

Chapter 15 Cold War and its aftermath, 1945–2014
Aspect: Reasons for the end of the Soviet Union

Chapter 16 Terrorism, anti-terrorism and counter-terrorism since 1984 (DIGITAL)
Aspect: Radical Islamist terrorism

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Chapter 14

AUSTRALIAN ENGAGEMENT WITH ASIA SINCE 1945 (DIGITAL)

Aspect: Australia and the Vietnam War

JULIE HENNESSEY AND
BRIAN HOEPPER

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Chapter 15

COLD WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1945–2014

Aspect: Reasons for the end of the Soviet Union

KATHLEEN COLLIN
with some material written by
STEPHEN POWELL

It is Christmas Day 1991. In Moscow, an exhausted Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is leaning on his desk in Red Square. Head slumped onto his fist, his eyes momentarily close. Gorbachev is announcing his resignation as the president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union).

Six years ago, when he was 54, he had inherited a superpower. The Soviet Union was the largest country in the world, covering one-sixth of the Earth's land surface, with a population of 290 million, defended by nuclear weapons and five million troops. Since World War II, only the Soviets could rival the power and influence of the United States. As the weary statesman reflects, the Cold War had brought humanity to the brink of destruction and consumed the resources of his nation. He simply had to take a different path. Why then, four months ago, had the tanks rolled in to try to push him out?

On live television, Gorbachev acknowledges there have been mistakes, defends his legacies, and warns that 'the old system collapsed before the new one had time to begin'. In one last humiliation, when Gorbachev picks up his pen to sign the documents, the pen doesn't work. A CNN reporter finds one in his pocket and offers it. And thus, with a borrowed American pen, Gorbachev dissolves his career, ends the seven-decade existence of the Soviet Union, and passes control of the nuclear arsenal to the recently elected Russian President, Boris Yeltsin.

SOURCE 15.1 Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev prepares to announce his resignation in a televised address, 5 December 1991

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

How was the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) established?

Gorbachev's signature has marked the end of the Soviet Union. That simple action has reverberated around the globe. Watching the broadcast at Camp David outside Washington, DC, is US President George Herbert Walker Bush. Seven years older than Gorbachev, he is celebrating Christmas with his grandchildren. He looks out over the forest and blinks away his disbelief. Is this truly the end of the Cold War? Tomorrow, the American president will speak publicly and praise Gorbachev for his democratic reforms and his sustained commitment to world peace. But, for now, President Bush is lost in his private unease: will the tanks roll back into Red Square? If not, what comes next? His entire career has been shaped by Cold War certainties. Now, how will he deal with 15 new republics, with 30 000 strategic nuclear weapons scattered across them? He won't sleep well tonight.

Seven hundred kilometres north of Moscow, in St Petersburg, a younger man clenches his fist as he watches the broadcast showing the flag of the Soviet Union being lowered for the last time over the Kremlin. Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin has not yet turned 40, and his career is in limbo. Two years ago, his life as a proud agent of the Soviet secret police, or KGB, in East Germany ended, when people started demolishing the Berlin Wall. Everything that Putin once swore to defend seems to be disintegrating. Putin has been reduced to working as an aide to a city mayor and looking to part-time taxi driving to make ends meet. This year, when the tanks seized Red Square, had he dared to hope that the old Soviet order might return? He is fuming. Who will restore the pride of the great Russian people?

Both Bush and Putin are anxious. The US President fears nuclear conflict. But the Russian mayoral aide, perhaps, sees conflict as a route back to Russian greatness.

The origins of this tense moment in modern history lie deep in the Russian past, at an earlier time of imperial greatness, centuries before the Soviet Union emerged from the chaos of a twentieth-century revolution.

The imperial backdrop

The origin of Russia may be dated to Viking times. The people known as the *Rus* became Christian in the late tenth century, beginning in Kyiv, and would come to be governed from the city of Moscow, under a central ruler called a tsar. Ivan the Terrible, in 1547, was the first to be known as a tsar. In 1721, Tsar Peter the Great, from the Romanov family, established a 'Russian Empire', and moved the royal court from Moscow to a new city he built in the west, called St Petersburg. The Russian Empire generated enormous wealth, which was concentrated in the hands of the royal family and the privileged nobility of Russia's medieval feudal system, while the majority of the population were peasants and serfs, without rights, freedoms or property, until they were emancipated in 1861 (refer back to Chapter 5).

The Russian Empire expanded to reach the Arctic Ocean in the north, the Black Sea in the south, the Baltic Sea in the west and the Pacific Ocean in the east. By 1866, it was the third-largest empire in history, only surpassed by the British and Mongol empires. It spanned 11 time zones, three continents (until Alaska was sold to the United States of America in 1867) and over 20 different nationalities.

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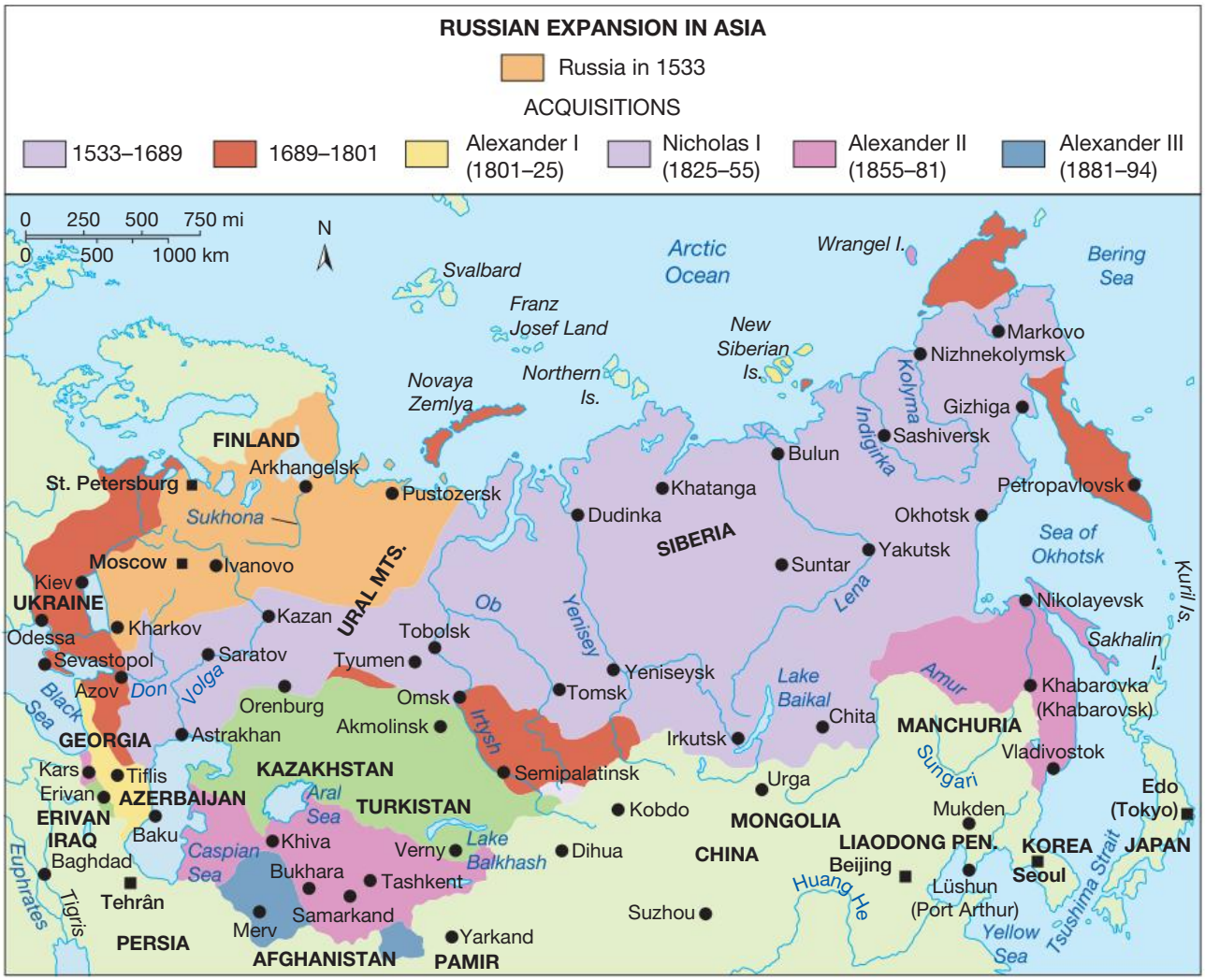

SOURCE 15.2 The Russian Empire 1533–1894

What specific problems might a ruler face governing such a large territory? (Consider administration, communication, security, economy, infrastructure, national identity and social cohesion.)

The Russian revolutions of 1917

By 1917, the Russian emperor Tsar Nicholas II was becoming increasingly unpopular due to Russian losses in World War I and his failure to respond to demands for a more democratic government. Two revolutions of 1917 brought the imperial rule of the Romanovs to an end, and led to Russia withdrawing from the world war and fighting its own civil war to decide the nation's future.

Soviets revolutionary workers' councils formed by the Bolsheviks in cities and towns all over Russia, the largest of which was the Petrograd Soviet

The February Revolution started with riots over food shortages and ended with the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, with the Romanov family being placed under house arrest, and the appointment of a provisional government. The new government began to introduce freedoms for the people, but it was opposed by the Petrograd Workers' **Soviet**, which sought Russian withdrawal from the war. Other soviets, calling for more radical reforms, were formed in major cities and towns across Russia.

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The October Revolution resulted in **communist** rule. By September, the Bolsheviks, a communist party led by Vladimir Lenin, had achieved a majority in the Petrograd Soviet and were winning increased support among the urban workers and soldiers with their slogan of 'peace, bread and land'. In October, they occupied buildings and strategic points. The Provisional Government was overthrown, and a new government was declared, comprising mostly Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks banned private property, eliminated noble titles and privileges, and began to withdraw Russia from the world war. They believed that this second Russian revolution was the first step in a worldwide socialist revolution.

communism a political and economic system in which land, industry and other means of production are owned and controlled by the society as a whole and the total wealth of the society is distributed according to need

What were the major result/s of each of the two revolutions of 1917 (February revolution and October revolution)?

Based on what you know about each of these revolutions, which do you consider the more significant? Explain.

SOURCE 15.3 Lenin addressing crowds during the Russian Revolution

What does this photograph suggest about Lenin as a leader? Can you tell whether the audience comprises workers, soldiers or intellectuals? What other information would you need to know to place this source in context?

Civil war

The Russian Civil War lasted from November 1917 until October 1922. The war was fought primarily between the Bolshevik Red Army and the White Army, which represented a large group of allied forces (including monarchists and foreign nations) who opposed communism. It was a chaotic war with widespread destruction and loss of life. The Bolsheviks emerged as the victors – marking the end of the Russian Empire and the beginning of the Soviet Union. However, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania left the Russian sphere of influence and achieved their independence.

In the early stages of the civil war, the Romanov family, comprising Tsar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra Feodorovna and their five children Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia and Alexei, were shot and bayoneted to death by Bolshevik revolutionaries in July 1918.

Formation of the Soviet Union

By 1922, four 'Soviet Socialist Republics' (SSR) had formed in the territory of the former Russian Empire, and they united to create the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Representatives of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and the Transcaucasian republic (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia) met in Moscow in December 1922 at the First Soviet Congress to sign a treaty of union. They declared that the Soviet Union would take the form of a federation: the central government would oversee foreign policy, trade, finance and defence, while the individual republics would manage other affairs within their territories.

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Source **15.4** Declaration of Union

SOURCE 15.4 Extract from the Declaration of Union, Moscow, 30 December 1922

Since the formation of the Soviet Republics the world has been divided into two camps – the capitalist and the Socialist.

In the capitalist camp reigns national hostility and inequality, colonial slavery, chauvinism, national suppression, pogroms, and imperialist brutality.

Here, in the Socialist camp, is to be found mutual confidence and peace, national freedom and equality, and the tranquil community and fraternal co-operation of peoples ...

Only in the camp of the Soviets ... has it been found possible to ... create conditions for mutual trust, and to lay the foundations of fraternal cooperation. Thanks solely to this fact were the Soviet Republics able to ... bring the civil war to a successful conclusion ...

But the years of war were not without their heritage. The ruined fields and idle factories, the breakdown of production and the exhaustion of economic resources which follow from the war, render the isolated efforts of the separate Republics towards economic reconstruction inadequate. The revival of the economic life of the country has proved impossible as long as the Republics lead a divided existence.

... All these considerations imperatively demand the union of the Soviet Republics into a single State, powerful enough to ensure internal economic prosperity, security from foreign attacks, and the free development of her peoples according to their nationality. ... it will form a firm bulwark against world capitalism, and will be a decided step towards the union of the workers of all countries into a World Socialist Soviet Republic.

First Congress of Soviets, *Declaration of Union*, 1922

Responding to the source

1. How does the declaration describe the state of the world after the Russian Revolution?
2. What reasons does the declaration provide for the creation of the Soviet Union?
3. According to its founders, what will the single state of the Soviet Union offer its people?
4. Consider the origin of the source: of the over 2200 delegates at the congress who approved the declaration and treaty, 1727 were from Russia. How does that affect the source's reliability as an indication of the will of the people?

How did the new Soviet state operate?

The Bolsheviks had won the civil war, but the economy and industrial infrastructure had been weakened. Western powers were boycotting the Soviet Union because they resented the Bolsheviks for withdrawing Russia from World War I at a crucial moment, for repudiating the debt owed by tsarist Russia to foreign nations, and for launching Comintern, an international organisation that aimed to overthrow capitalism and establish world communism.

nationalised transferred from private to state ownership and control

market economy an economy that is regulated by the forces of supply and demand, rather than state intervention

The Bolshevik Party had **nationalised** business and industry in urban centres during the civil war, but was forced to retreat to a partial restoration of a **market economy** to enable the economy to recover. Some observers in the West hoped that the revolutionary fervour was over and things might be returning to 'normal', with trade resumed. Lenin insisted that all foreign trade was to be conducted by the state, with an emphasis on purchasing machinery to modernise agriculture and

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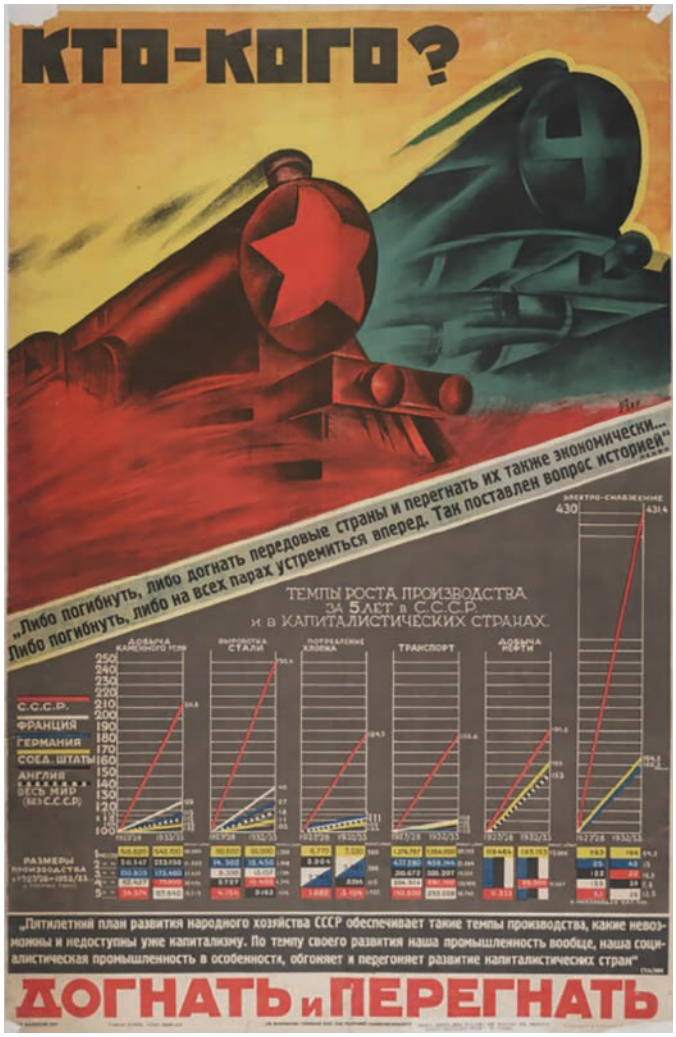
industry. To prevent a black market in other goods, borders were tightly shut. This resulted in the isolation of the people of the Soviet Union from the West.

A change in leadership of the new state was forced when the health of Lenin, the inspirational revolutionary leader, deteriorated. Lenin suffered from a bullet wound from a 1918 assassination attempt, and he suffered three strokes in 1922 and 1923. He died in January 1924. Lenin was held in such high regard that, ever since, his mummified body has been on public display in Red Square, Moscow.

Josef Stalin, a Georgian-born Marxist with a long career of fighting for the Bolsheviks against the monarchy and religion, won a leadership struggle to succeed Lenin. Stalin was a name he chose for himself, meaning 'Man of Steel'. He was a ruthless leader whose focus was strengthening the economy, rather than promoting world revolution. Stalin introduced a series of five-year plans to set targets for state-planned industrialisation and **agricultural collectivisation**. The plans made progress towards modernising the economy, and the Soviets had their admirers around the world, yet the gains were made at great cost.

agricultural collectivisation where individual privately owned farms are combined to create large state-controlled collective farms

Source **15.5** Government poster issued during the first five-year plan, c. 1930



Responding to the poster

1. What does the poster show about the goals of the first five-year plan?
2. Do you recognise the symbol on the dark (capitalist) train? What does that symbol reveal about who Russians saw as their competitors?
3. This poster was obtained by a Scottish Labour Member of Parliament who visited the Soviet Union to learn about progress under communism. Based on these origins, what might be suggested about how the Soviet Union was regarded?
4. How useful and reliable might this poster be to understand the economic goals of the Soviet Union in the late 1930s? Provide two judgements for usefulness and two judgements for reliability.

SOURCE 15.5 'Who Will Beat Whom? … Soviet Russia Must Overtake and Outstrip the Industrialised Capitalist World – or Perish'. Government poster issued during the first five-year plan, c. 1930. The graphs show how the Soviet Union (the red line) plans to overtake the main capitalist states in various branches of industry.

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Holodomor (death by hunger in Ukraine) a human-made famine that affected the Soviet republic of Ukraine from 1932 to 1933 as a result of Soviet policies

The focus on funding industry meant that social welfare was neglected. Collectivisation alienated the peasantry and, as Stalin ordered grain to be collected to fund industrial projects, food shortages and avoidable famines occurred, including the starvation deaths of several million people in the '**Holodomor**' in Ukraine from 1932 to 1933. Politically, Stalin ruled through fear. He promoted foreign threats as a motivation for building the economy. There was no evidence that Western powers were planning to invade the Soviet Union. However, in show trials, politicians, army officers and engineers were accused of spying for foreign intelligence agencies. Stalin's Great Purge of 1936–38 resulted in the majority of senior Communist Party figures being executed or dying in labour camps.

SOURCE 15.6 The relocation of the kulaks to work in the gulags. The kulaks resisted Stalin's forced collectivisation, but millions were arrested or killed.

People who resisted collectivisation often faced a hard life. What work can you see prisoners doing in this forced labour prison camp? What might be the purpose of such punishment?

The rise of Nazi Germany in the 1930s saw a new power emerge that was anti-communist, anti-Soviet and looking to expand. In response, Stalin aligned the Soviet Union with anti-Nazi European nations, including treaties with France and Czechoslovakia. In 1934, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations. In 1938, however, the appeasement policies implemented by the British and the French allowed Nazi Germany to expand. The Soviet Union was not invited to the Munich Conference in September 1938, where Britain and France gave into the demands of German Chancellor Adolf Hitler, who was supported by Italy's Prime Minister, Benito Mussolini, to take over part of Czechoslovakia.

Activity **15.1**

Investigate how the Soviet state operated

1. Create and complete a table like the one below, summarising the goals of the new Soviet state.
2. How did political, economic and territorial concerns shape the relationships the Soviet Union had with Western nations from 1918 until 1939? An example for each has been provided.

	List key events and actions	Note impact on relationship(s)
Political	The establishment of Comintern – an organisation that aimed to establish world communism (1919)	Potential threat of communist revolutions in Western nations
Economic	The Bolsheviks repudiated all tsarist debts (1918)	Western nations owed money would be resentful towards the Soviet Union
Territorial	The borders of the Soviet Union were tightly closed by Lenin (1922)	The people of the Soviet Union are isolated from the West

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What was the impact of World War II?

Nazi Germany's expansion in the late 1930s forced neighbouring nations to prepare for war. Under its third five-year plan (1938–41), the Soviet Union emphasised the military and more than doubled its armed forces to over four million personnel. Anti-Nazi nations expected that they could rely on the Soviet Union to ally with them to contain Germany, as tsarist Russia had fought with them in World War I. Hitler sent his foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, to explore ways that Germany could achieve its territorial objectives without drawing the Soviets into a war. On 23 August 1939, Ribbentrop and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov signed a deal that publicly announced a 'non-aggression pact' under which their nations agreed to avoid conflict. The pact surprised Russians, Germans and the rest of the world. Secretly, the agreement stipulated that Poland would be divided between the two nations, and that Germany would allow the Soviets to take the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia).

On 1 September 1939, Hitler's army invaded Poland, starting World War II. By 1940, Germany and the Soviet Union had established a new shared border, with each nation annexing half of Poland. Soon after, the Soviet Union also annexed the Baltic states, claiming to be assisting workers in these states with their 'revolutions'. On 14 June 1941, KGB personnel in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania received orders from General Ivan Serov, Deputy People's Commissar for State Security of the Soviet Union, to eliminate 'anti-Soviet elements' by mass deportations to labour camps in remote Siberia and northern Kazakhstan. Tens of thousands of people from the Baltic states were arrested and deported. During the Soviet occupation, large numbers of Russians were settled in the Baltic countries and the local languages, religions and customs were suppressed.

How could settlement of large numbers of Russians in Baltic states, and the official suppression of local languages, create problems for the long-term stability of the region?

How, 80 years later, has a similar issue of national identity and language complicated the Russo-Ukraine conflicts that intensified in 2014 and 2022?

On 22 June 1941, Nazi Germany launched Operation Barbarossa, ordering German forces to invade the Soviet Union, violating the non-aggression pact signed just two years earlier. The surprise invasion threatened to overwhelm the Soviet Union, until Soviet defenders and the bitter Russian winter forced the Germans back from the outskirts of Moscow and the strategic city of Stalingrad. It also led to the creation of an alliance, born out of necessity, between the Soviet Union, Britain and its allies, and eventually the United States. During the course of the war, the leaders of the 'big three' met three times to discuss key issues arising from the conflict: first in 1943 at Tehran (Iran) and twice in 1945, at Yalta (Crimea, Soviet Union) and Potsdam (Germany). Source 15.7 on the following page is a photograph from the second meeting.

Soviet deaths in the war were higher than any other nation and have been estimated at over eight million soldiers and 19 million civilians. The Soviet counter-attack was crucial in forcing Germany's surrender in May 1945, bringing the war in Europe to an end and allowing the allied victors to negotiate over the fate of postwar Europe. Since the Soviet Union and its allies had very different political ideologies, even before fighting had ended, the relationship was already showing indications of strain.

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SOURCE 15.7 The 'Big Three' at the Yalta Conference, February 1945. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and General Secretary of the USSR Josef Stalin discuss the shape of a postwar world at the conclusion of the war.

What does the image suggest about the relationship between the three leaders? (Pay particular attention to the body language and interactions between the three leaders.) What are the limitations of photographic evidence to answer a question such as the one first posed? How might this photograph be used by each of the powers involved? Be prepared to justify your answers.

Explain why the Nazi–Soviet non-aggression pact was a surprise.

What do the secret Serov instructions suggest about sentiment towards the Soviet Union in the Baltic states?

If the Soviets' wartime alliance with Britain and the United States was becoming strained, then what was likely to happen after the war's end?

How did the Cold War start?

By 1945, the 'hot' war had finished, and when Germany and Japan surrendered, only two great powers remained: the capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union, followed by Britain, and to a lesser extent France and China.

The United States had developed in secret a new weapon – a nuclear bomb, based on nuclear fission (which had first been discovered by German scientists) – and demonstrated its devastating power on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to force Japan to surrender in August 1945. The Soviet Union worked independently to develop its own nuclear bombs and, helped in part by Russian spies in the United States, achieved its first successful nuclear test in 1949. The United States, however, remained significantly further ahead of the Soviet Union in economic and military strength.

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The intense rivalry that emerged between the two superpowers, grounded in opposing ideologies, an arms race and competition for spheres of influence across the globe, is known as the Cold War.

During the Cold War, two major power blocs emerged. The Western bloc – the United States and its allies, particularly in Western Europe – formed NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in 1949, as a mutual defence pact with the aim of stopping Soviet expansion. The United States had by then begun to supply financial support to anti-communist states. The Eastern Bloc – the Soviet Union, its Eastern European allies and satellite states – established the Warsaw Pact in 1955 in response.

By supporting and controlling Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union made its own borders more secure. By 1948, Stalin had led the Soviet Union through three five-year plans and had begun the fourth plan, which emphasised military buildup. He had ensured that communist governments had come to power in all the countries of Eastern Europe that the Soviet Union's Red Army had 'liberated' from Nazi control. These included Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany (German Democratic Republic). Those nations that did not become part of the Soviet Union became known as Soviet satellites.

In early 1946, less than a year after victory in Europe, Britain's former wartime prime minister, Winston Churchill, visited the United States and delivered the following speech about relations with the Soviet Union on 5 March (Sources 15.8 and 15.9). He was introduced to the audience by the US President Harry Truman. Shortly after, Stalin responded to what Churchill said in the official newspaper of his communist party, *Pravda*.

Sources **15.8** and **15.9** The 'Iron Curtain'

Scan the QR code to watch a recording of the speech.

SOURCE 15.8 Extract from Winston Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech, 5 March 1946

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, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in some cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.

... The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control.

... Whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts – and facts they are – this is certainly not the Liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is this one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

Winston Churchill, 'The Sinews of Peace', Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, 5 March 1946.

→

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SOURCE 15.9 Extract from a *Pravda* interview with Josef Stalin, 14 March 1946

> The following circumstance should not be forgotten. The Germans made their invasion of the U.S.S.R. through Finland, Poland, Rumania [now Romania], Bulgaria and Hungary. The Germans were able to make their invasion through these countries because, at the time, governments hostile to the Soviet Union existed in these countries.
>
> ... And so what can there be surprising about the fact that the Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety, is trying to see to it that governments loyal in their attitude to the Soviet Union should exist in these countries? How can anyone, who has not taken leave of his wits, describe these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as expansionist tendencies on the part of our State?
>
> ... I don't know whether Mr. Churchill and his friends will succeed in organising a new armed campaign against Eastern Europe after the Second World War; but if they do succeed – which is not very probable because millions of plain people stand guard over the cause of peace – it may confidently be said that they will be thrashed, just as they were thrashed once before, 26 years ago.

Interview with Stalin, *Pravda*, 14 March 1946. *Pravda* was the official newspaper of the Communist Party.

Responding to the sources

1. Identify the language that Churchill uses to describe the Soviet Union's actions and impact in Eastern Europe (Source 15.8).
2. Identify the language that Stalin uses to describe the Soviet Union's actions and impact in Eastern Europe (Source 15.9).
3. Compare how the two sources portray the actions of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe. Provide one similarity and one difference. Support each point (i.e. the similarity and the difference) with evidence from each source.
4. What might be the motive/s of each source?
5. How might the motives of these sources affect their reliability for an inquiry into Stalin's actions in Europe after World War II? Are there any other features of the sources that would limit or strengthen their reliability for such an inquiry?
6. To what extent do you think Stalin gives reasonable justifications for taking such actions in Eastern Europe?

How close did the Cold War get to a 'hot' war?

Churchill and Stalin's enmity for each other's ideologies continued as new leaders rose in the West and the East. In the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev took over when Stalin died. In a 1956 speech to the Communist Party, Khrushchev criticised the former leader's 'intolerance, his brutality, and his abuse of power', and criticised the party for allowing a 'cult of personality' to develop around Stalin. However, under Khrushchev from 1953 to 1964, the Soviet Union continued Stalin's drive to match and surpass the West.

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Soviet achievements included early wins in the 'Space Race' with the launch of the first-ever manufactured satellite (*Sputnik* in 1957), and in the 'Arms Race' by developing and testing the most powerful ever nuclear weapon, the Tsar Bomba, in 1961. Socially and economically, the prospects of an average Soviet citizen improved: average life expectancy rose from under 40 years in the first half of the twentieth century to 69 years in 1960, on par with the United States, Australia and Japan. Gross domestic product more than doubled, but average Soviet citizens still earned only one-quarter of the income of people in most 'Western' nations.

In the United States, leader of the so-called free world, the threat of communism was at its heart an existential threat. Communism, as an international force, threatened national boundaries, disrupted traditional economic systems, challenged religion and upended centuries-long social hierarchies. Politicians who led Western democracies debated how to contain communism both from without (invasion) and from within (revolution). In the United States in the late 1940s and 1950s, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) subjected suspected communists to extraordinary scrutiny and public hearings, ruining the careers of politicians, writers, actors, film directors and musicians. At the same time, in Britain, significant resources were allocated to the security agency, MI5, to uncover large Soviet spy rings. In Australia, Prime Minister Robert Menzies tried unsuccessfully to ban the Australian Communist Party in the early 1950s.

Despite the United States' lead in the nuclear arms race, both sides held so many nuclear weapons that any direct conflict between them, should it involve nuclear weapons, would result in their 'mutually assured destruction'. It was therefore of concern that Berlin, in the heart of Europe, became a point of contention. In a June 1961 meeting with newly elected US President John F. Kennedy, Khrushchev threatened to cut off West Berlin, and Kennedy publicly promised to 'be ready to resist with force' (Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Berlin Crisis, July 25, 1961), if talks failed. Soon after, the Soviets built the Berlin Wall, a concrete representation of Churchill's metaphorical 'Iron Curtain'.

For 13 days in October 1962, a tense stand-off between Soviet nuclear-armed submarines and the US Navy, off the coast of the island of Cuba, brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. Khrushchev, angry that Kennedy had supported efforts to depose the regime of the Cuban communist leader Fidel Castro, had begun to build Soviet nuclear missile facilities on the island. Kennedy sent shockwaves around the nation when he announced on television that Soviet missiles were being installed less than 150 kilometres from the coast of the United States, within reach of most major American cities. The United States imposed a blockade on Soviet ships, which Khrushchev said he would ignore, bringing the respective navies into direct conflict.

Ultimately, unprecedented disaster was only averted by some cautious actions of navy officers and a series of letters between Khrushchev and Kennedy: the Soviets agreed to withdraw their missiles from Cuba, and the United States agreed not to interfere with Cuba and (secretly) to remove American missiles from Turkey (now Türkiye). The two leaders later started the first talks to limit nuclear weapons, leading to a nuclear test ban treaty, and established the 'red phone' in the White House and the Kremlin, for direct and immediate contact to avoid misunderstandings in the case of emergency.

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Source **15.10** 'Let's get a lock for this thing'

SOURCE 15.10 Cartoon by Herbert Block, published in the *Washington Post*, 1 November 1962

Responding to the cartoon

1. How is nuclear war depicted in this image?
2. Do you think the cartoonist is critical or supportive of the two leaders?
3. Consider the origin of the source: it was drawn a week after the Cuban Missile Crisis, for an American audience. How does the context shape its tone?
4. To what extent, in today's world, is nuclear war under 'lock and key'? Are there any signs of nuclear war 'breaking free' in the future? Explain your response.

Activity **15.2**

Soviet actions in the Cold War: research activity

Allocate each of the following topics to groups to research and report back:

- Berlin blockade and airlift 1948–49
- Hungarian Uprising 1956
- Space Race from 1957
- Berlin Wall from 1961
- Czechoslovakia (Prague Spring) 1968
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks 1972 and 1979.

For each topic, identify:

a. when and where it happened
b. who was involved
c. what happened
d. what the event reveals about the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Contextual study: Summing up

The Soviet Union was established as a one-party state after the communist revolution of 1917, and then the regime of Stalin strengthened the central government's control over its republics and capacity to crush dissent. Five-year plans for the world's largest nation set ambitious targets for industrial and agricultural development, aiming to overtake the West. After hard-won victory over Nazi Germany in World War II, Stalin annexed more states into the Soviet sphere of influence. Postwar foreign policy became dominated by rivalry with the United States, in a prolonged and tense competition known as the Cold War. By the 1970s, the Soviet Union was facing questions about how long it could hold its diverse republics together, and whether it could afford to continue its rivalry with the West. In the depth study that follows, you'll explore how internal and external factors tested the limits of Soviet ambition.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: What were the main causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991?

In 1991, the Soviet Union collapsed, without a single shot being fired. In one tumultuous year, there were failed attempts at legal reform to preserve the superpower with a less centralised structure, an attempted *coup d'état*, violent public protests, secret meetings to plan how Soviet republics could break away, and, ultimately, reluctant acceptance by Mikhail Gorbachev that the Soviet Union and his leadership were over.

Years later, there remains debate about why and how the Soviet Union ended. In this depth study, you will investigate the external and internal pressures on the Soviet Union from the late 1970s.

This depth study is explored through seven sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.

The seven sub-questions are:

1. How did the war in Afghanistan (1979–89) affect the Soviet Union?
2. How did the policies of Ronald Reagan (1981–89) affect the stability of the Soviet Union?
3. What were the impacts of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster on the Soviet Union?
4. What were the effects of Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* on the Soviet Union?
5. What impact did Gorbachev's foreign policy have on the Warsaw Pact nations and the Soviet republics?
6. To what extent was Boris Yeltsin responsible for the collapse of the Soviet Union?
7. What have historians said about the collapse of the Soviet Union?

SOURCE 15.11 Fallen Soviet hammer and sickle on a Moscow street in 1991

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Study the photograph in Source 15.11. Taken in 1991, it shows a woman reaching into her bag, which rests on a fallen Soviet hammer and sickle on a Moscow street. The hammer and sickle is a communist symbol representing the proletarian solidarity between industrial workers (hammer) and agricultural workers (sickle).

Source **15.11** Fallen Soviet hammer and sickle

Responding to the photograph (see previous page)

1. What appears to have taken place at this site prior to this photograph? Make specific reference to various aspects of the photograph to support your answer.
2. Note the various individuals and groups in the photograph – the woman with the handbag, the man directly looking at the camera, the small groups of people walking along the pavement and the single woman in white in the background (right). How would you describe the responses of these individuals and groups to the scene depicted in the photograph? Do you find these responses surprising, expected or understandable? Explain.
3. What might have been the intention of the photographer who took this picture? Explain your response.

SUB-QUESTION 1: How did the war in Afghanistan (1979–89) affect the Soviet Union?

A feature of the Cold War was the attempt by the United States and the Soviet Union to gain global power and influence. At times, this was achieved through diplomacy, treaties and alliances. In some cases, the superpowers resorted to force to overthrow unfriendly governments.

In 1978, a small band of Soviet-trained Afghans seized control of the Afghan Government and declared the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a socialist state. The new communist regime, led by President Nur Mohammad Taraki, announced a suite of reforms that clashed with traditional Afghan beliefs and values, resulting in limited support for the new government. Civil war erupted, religious leaders proclaimed a jihad (armed struggle) against the new regime, and Taraki was assassinated.

Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet leader since 1964, saw direct Soviet intervention as the only way to rescue this new communist state on the Soviet Union's southern border. Planning a three-year intervention to bolster the Afghan communists, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan on 25 December 1979. This was an extension of the foreign policy known as 'the Brezhnev Doctrine', which promised Soviet intervention to respond to any threat to socialist rule in any nation across the Warsaw Pact (e.g. the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968).

US President Jimmy Carter was alarmed by this expansion of the Soviet Union's influence in south-west Asia. Carter immediately postponed action on the SALT II (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty), which would have limited the manufacture of strategic nuclear weapons by both superpowers, recalled the US ambassador based in Moscow, and, on 4 January 1980, addressed the American public live from the White House to announce other economic and diplomatic consequences.

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Sources **15.12** and **15.13** Carter on Afghanistan

SOURCE 15.12 President Jimmy Carter announces reduction of US exports to the Soviet Union, 4 January 1980

> … I have decided to halt or to reduce exports to the Soviet Union in three areas that are particularly important to them. These new policies are being and will be coordinated with those of our allies.
>
> I've directed that no high technology or other strategic items will be licensed for sale to the Soviet Union until further notice, while we revise our licensing policy. Fishing privileges for the Soviet Union in United States waters will be severely curtailed. The 17 million tons of grain ordered by the Soviet Union in excess of that amount which we are committed to sell will not be delivered …
>
> These actions … are also compatible with actions being taken by our own major trading partners and others who share our deep concern about this new Soviet threat to world stability.
>
> Although the United States would prefer not to withdraw from the Olympic games scheduled in Moscow this summer, the Soviet Union must realize that its continued aggressive actions will endanger both the participation of athletes and the travel to Moscow by spectators who would normally wish to attend the Olympic games …
>
> History teaches, perhaps, very few clear lessons. But surely one such lesson learned by the world at great cost is that aggression, unopposed, becomes a contagious disease. The response of the international community to the Soviet attempt to crush Afghanistan must match the gravity of the Soviet action.

US President Jimmy Carter, *Address to the Nation on the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan*, 4 January 1980

SOURCE 15.13 US President Jimmy Carter's press conference on Moscow Olympics and Afghanistan, 13 February 1980 (01:34). Scan the QR code to watch the video.

Responding to the sources

1. Identify Carter's perspective on the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. Why was he so concerned?
2. Explain Carter's plans to respond to the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan as outlined in his address.
3. How might such a response by the United States and its allies weaken the Soviet Union?
4. The United States and 55 of its allies boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics, which were the first to be held in a communist country. What is the significance of refusing to send athletes to an Olympic Games?

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In Afghanistan, an Islamist resistance movement with fighters known as the Mujahideen was building popular support, and on the Cold War principle that 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend', the United States provided aid to these fighters, including anti-aircraft missiles that they fired at Soviet planes from the Afghan mountains.

Source **15.14** A group of Afghan Mujahideen

SOURCE 15.14 A group of Afghan Mujahideen, Kunar Province, Afghanistan, c. 1980

Responding to the photo

1. What do you notice about the clothing and equipment of the men who fought against Soviet forces?
2. How could this be used as evidence to support historians' conclusions that failure in Afghanistan was humiliating for the Soviet Union?

Although the Afghanistan War was initially conceived as a small-scale intervention by Soviet leaders, it grew into a decade-long war involving nearly one million Soviet soldiers, killing and injuring tens of thousands of them (Reuveny & Prakash, 1999). As early as 1986, the new Soviet leader, Mikhael Gorbachev (1985–91), signalled his intention to withdraw.

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Source **15.15** Gorbachev on Afghanistan, 1986

SOURCE 15.15 General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on Afghanistan, 1986

There are quite a few persons who, in disregard of the national interests of either our country or those of countries neighbouring upon us, are endeavouring to aggravate the situation on the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

For instance, counter-revolution and imperialism have turned Afghanistan into a bleeding wound. The USSR supports that country's efforts to defend its sovereignty. We should like, in the nearest future, to withdraw the Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan at the request of its government. Moreover, we have agreed with the Afghan side on the schedule for their phased withdrawal as soon as a political settlement is reached that will ensure an actual cessation and dependably guarantee the non-resumption of foreign armed interference ...

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, *Report to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, February 1986

Responding to Gobachev

1. Identify Gorbachev's perspective on the reason why Soviet troops were stationed in Afghanistan.
2. Explain the condition that Gorbachev places on the Soviets' withdrawal.
3. How could Gorbachev's statement be understood to both a) defend previous Soviet policies, and b) indicate a change of policy?

The Soviets' involvement in Afghanistan continued until February 1989. Rafael Reuveny, a Professor of Public and Environmental Affairs at the Indiana University, and Aseem Prakash, Professor of Political Science at the University of Washington, argue that the war in Afghanistan was a key factor, though not the only cause, in the breakdown of the Soviet Union. They identified four ways that the war impacted Soviet politics.

Source **15.16** Historians assess the impact of the Afghanistan War on the breakdown of the Soviet Union

SOURCE 15.16 Rafael Reuveny and Aseem Prakash categorise the effects of the Afghanistan War

We categorize the war's effects into four types: (1) Perception effects; (2) Military effects; (3) Legitimacy effects; and (4) ***Glasnost*** effects. These categories are not equally important in explaining the impact of the Afghanistan war on Soviet politics and hence on Soviet breakdown. We consider the Perception and Military effects as being most important followed by Legitimacy effects, and finally *Glasnost* effects. The Perception and Military effects refer to the discrediting of the Soviet army, perhaps the most important institution for holding the diverse country together, and to the changed Soviet leadership's perception on the efficacy of employing the army to quell **secessionist** movements in non-Russian republics.

glasnost openness and transparency in government institutions and activities in the Soviet Union

secessionist favouring formal withdrawal from membership of a federation or body, especially a political state

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Afgantsy Afghanistan War veterans, many of whom belonged to non-Russian nationalities

In particular, the ***Afgantsy*** played a key role in discrediting the army. Legitimacy effects describe the weakening of the army's and the country's internal cohesion. Finally, *Glasnost* effects refer to the impact of the war on accelerating *glasnost* by emboldening the media to report non-official war stories, thereby widening cleavages among various organs of the Soviet state.

Rafael Reuveny & Aseem Prakash, 'The Afghanistan War and the Breakdown of the Soviet Union', *Review of International Studies*, 1999, 25(4), pp. 693–708

Responding to the source

1. Why do Reuveny and Prakash argue that 'Perception' and 'Military' effects are the most important?
2. How might the facts that a) many of the *Afgantsy* belonged to non-Russian nationalities, and that b) their presence was largely ignored by Soviet leaders affect how citizens in non-Russian Soviet republics viewed the war, the military and the Soviet political leadership?
3. Explain how 'Legitimacy' effects and '*Glasnost*' effects might also be linked to perceptions of the military.

Additionally, Paul Dibb, a former Australian defence intelligence official who has written about the impact of the war in Afghanistan on the Soviet Union, says the failed war had a 'corrosive impact' on Soviet society and was a 'huge humiliation geopolitically', which damaged the reputation of the Soviet Union.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How did the war in Afghanistan (1979–89) affect the Soviet Union?

Create and complete a table like the one below, summarising your learning about the information and sources given for each sub-question. This will help you to develop a response to the overall inquiry question.

Inquiry question: What were the main causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991?			
Sub-questions (factors)	**Key information**	**Key sources**	**Reflection: How significant is this factor? Justify your response.**
1. How did the war in Afghanistan (1979–89) affect the Soviet Union?			

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SUB-QUESTION 2: How did the policies of Ronald Reagan (1981–89) affect the stability of the Soviet Union?

In 1980, Jimmy Carter lost the US presidential election to Ronald Reagan. Reagan, a former Hollywood actor, sold himself to the American public on a platform of conservative values, including lower taxes and smaller government. His slogan was, 'Let's Make America Great Again'.

During Reagan's energetic first term in the White House, the US defence budget increased dramatically. His approach to foreign policy was 'Peace through strength', and his support for anti-Soviet groups and nations became known as the 'Reagan Doctrine'. He was influenced by the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD) – a conservative think-tank that welcomed an expensive arms race as a strategy to push the Soviet Union into an economic collapse – and supported by conservative Christians, who opposed communism.

Meanwhile, Reagan's Soviet counterparts struggled in the Kremlin. It was a period for the Soviet Union that Gorbachev would later describe as 'stagnation'. Three leaders in succession died in office. Brezhnev suffered several health issues until his death ended an 18-year reign in November 1982, and both of his successors were ill and survived little more than a year in the role – Yuri Andropov until February 1984 and Konstantin Chernenko until March 1985.

Ideological offensive

When Reagan entered the White House in 1981, an ideological counteroffensive was launched against the Soviets. In his first press conference, he accused the Soviets of a willingness to 'commit any crime, to lie, to cheat' in order to advance world communism. This ideological counteroffensive was to continue throughout his two terms in office.

Sources **15.17–15.19** Selection of Reagan's speeches

SOURCE 15.17 Excerpt from Ronald Reagan's 'Evil Empire' speech, 1983

> Yes, let us pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness – pray they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the state, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples on the Earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world.
>
> ... I urge you to beware the temptation of pride – the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.
>
> ... I believe that communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written.

Ronald Reagan, 'Speech to the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals', March 1983

→

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SOURCE 15.18 Excerpt from Ronald Reagan's State of the Union speech, 1985

> We cannot play innocents abroad in a world that's not innocent; nor can we be passive when freedom is under siege. Without resources, diplomacy cannot succeed. Our security assistance programs help friendly governments defend themselves and give them confidence to work for peace.
>
> ... We must stand by all our democratic allies. And we must not break faith with those who are risking their lives – on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua – to defy Soviet-supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth.

Ronald Reagan, 'State of the Union Address', February 1985

SOURCE 15.19 Excerpt from Ronald Reagan's 'Tear Down This Wall' speech, 1987

> [I]n the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind – too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

Ronald Reagan, 'Tear Down This Wall' speech at the Brandenburg Gate, West Berlin, 12 June 1987

Responding to Reagan's speeches

1. Identify the binary language (i.e. opposites) that Reagan uses in Source 15.17.
2. Identify the similarity in the language that Reagan uses two years later in Source 15.18 and four years later in Source 15.19.
3. Identify the audiences of Sources 15.17 and 15.19. These speeches were widely televised and reported. How might the audiences affect their reliability for an inquiry into Reagan's presidential policies? Note: 'Evangelicals' are Christians who adhere strictly to the Bible; and the 'State of the Union' is the annual policy statement by the President to the Senate and House of Representatives.
4. Compare the excerpt of Reagan's 1983 'Evil Empire' speech with the excerpt of his 1987 'Tear Down This Wall' speech in terms of his view of the Soviet Union and its communist system. Identify one similarity and one difference, providing evidence from each source to support the similarity and the difference.

Defence buildup and the Strategic Defense Initiative

The Reagan administration increased conventional forces by adding to the number of personnel and divisions in the US army, the number of tactical fighter wings in the airforce, and the number of ships in the navy. It also built up special operations forces. In 1983, according to the *U.S. News & World Report*, an American media company that publishes news, consumer advice, rankings and analysis, 'Rarely in peacetime have U.S. military forces been better prepared to defend the nation … few experts doubt that the U.S. armed forces have stepped back from the brink of the disaster they faced not long ago' (in Busch, 1997). To achieve this, the Reagan administration increased military spending.

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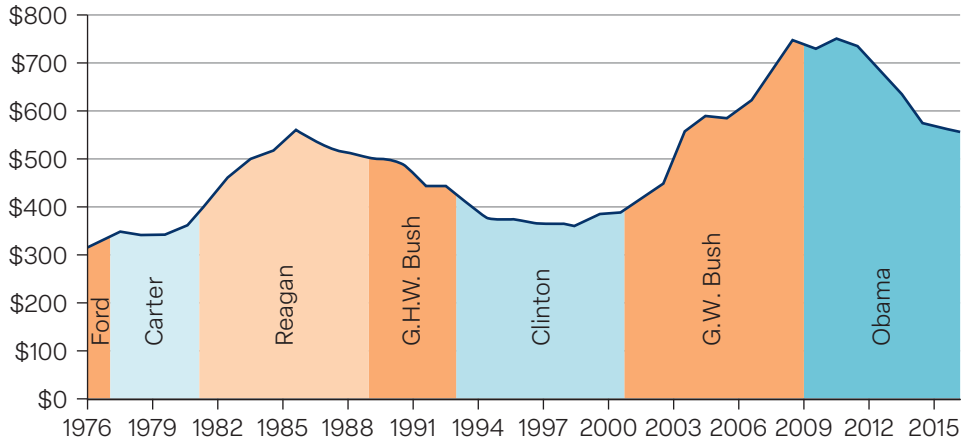
Source **15.20** US Department of Defense Budget Authority



SOURCE 15.20 US Department of Defense Budget Authority (in US billion dollars adjusted for inflation to 2014)

Responding to the graph

1. Focusing on the Cold War period from 1976 to 1991 (when the Soviet Union fell), describe the pattern in military spending under the last four Cold War presidents (Ford, Carter, Reagan and G.H.W. Bush).
2. How might the increase in military spending under Reagan (42% in real terms between 1980 and 1985) be viewed by the Soviet leadership? How might the Soviet leadership respond?
3. Is there any correlation between Gorbachev's time in power (1985–91) and the United States' military spending?
4. This graph was part of a paper to defend Barack Obama's proposed defence budget cuts to the military during his second term. A key argument was that Obama's defence plan provided more money than Reagan ever did. What might this argument tell you about how Reagan's defence policy has been historically and politically regarded? (Note that Reagan and Obama were from politically opposed parties – Reagan, a Republican and Obama, a Democrat.)

In the mid-1980s, Reagan's best-known defence policy was his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), through which the US Government tasked researchers with developing a satellite-based missile defence system that he told the American people, in 1983, would 'intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies'. He said that it would enable the United States to move beyond relying on retaliation in the event of nuclear conflict. The plan was a central feature of a US$1.6 trillion commitment to defence over five years.

Some critics satirised SDI, which soon became known as 'Star Wars', as an expensive fantasy that would never work, while others warned that the idea jeopardised the careful balance of 'mutually assured destruction' that deterred the nuclear superpowers from using their weapons. SDI quickly became an obsession of the Soviet leadership. Andropov (1982–84), Chernenko (1984–85) and Gorbachev (1985–91) all tried to derail it through propaganda and arms control. When Gorbachev came to power, he condemned Star Wars as threatening a 'new stage of the arms race', which would transfer the arms race to 'outer space'. Records of Politburo (the highest policy-making body of the Communist Party) meetings show that senior officials doubted the American system would ever be built – which it wasn't. However, there was a push in the Soviet military-industrial complex for greater investment to neutralise the American threat. According to Andrew E. Busch, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Denver, 'SDI changed the strategic environment, threatening the Soviets with the choice of an unacceptable strategic defeat or an unacceptable technological and economic burden' (1997).

SOURCE 15.21 Reagan's remarks on the Strategic Defense Initiative, 23 March 1983 (4:57). Scan the QR code to watch the video.

What hopes and objectives does Reagan express?

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sanctions political or trade penalties imposed on countries for breaching international norms

This was made more difficult by Reagan's economic **sanctions** against the Soviet Union; for example, in 1981, the US Government blocked the supply of equipment for finishing pipelines to sell Siberian oil and gas to Western Europe.

When Reagan and Gorbachev first met in Geneva, Switzerland, in November 1985, in the first US–Soviet summit of the 1980s, Reagan reportedly said, 'Mr General Secretary, you can never win an all-out arms race with the United States because we will always have the ability to outspend you'. In addition to increased military spending, the United States provided financial aid to anti-communist rebel groups in Angola, Cambodia, Nicaragua and Afghanistan, which made Soviet efforts to support communist states more difficult and more expensive. Ultimately, Reagan was able to boast that his administration was the first since World War II that hadn't given up an inch of territory to the Communists.

While Reagan and Gorbachev agreed in principle to work together to reduce nuclear weapons, Reagan would not give up his SDI, and work towards limiting or reducing nuclear weapons would have to continue in a second summit in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986, again in Washington, DC, in 1987 and in Moscow in 1988.

In 1987, Reagan made his second and most famous trip to the site of the Berlin Wall, the symbol of the Cold War, dividing East and West, communism and democracy. Reagan was the fourth American president to make such a visit. While 20 000 West Berliners were there to listen, his speech made a direct appeal to Gorbachev.

Source **15.22** Reagan speaks at the Berlin Wall, 12 June 1987

SOURCE 15.22 President Reagan's 'Tear Down This Wall' speech, 12 June 1987

Scan the QR code to watch the video.

Responding to the video

1. What might Reagan have meant when he said that 'Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men'?
2. What might West German President von Weizsacker (1984–94) have meant when he said, 'The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed'?
3. Identify the positive change that Reagan notes is occurring in the Eastern Bloc.
4. Explain what Reagan calls on Gorbachev to do, and what that would prove.
5. Consider the various audiences: West Berliners in the crowd, East Berliners who could hear the loudspeakers over the wall, Americans and others in the West via television, and the Soviet leadership. Identify how each audience was likely to interpret Reagan's message.
6. How useful is this speech for an inquiry into the national values that underpin Reagan's foreign policy?

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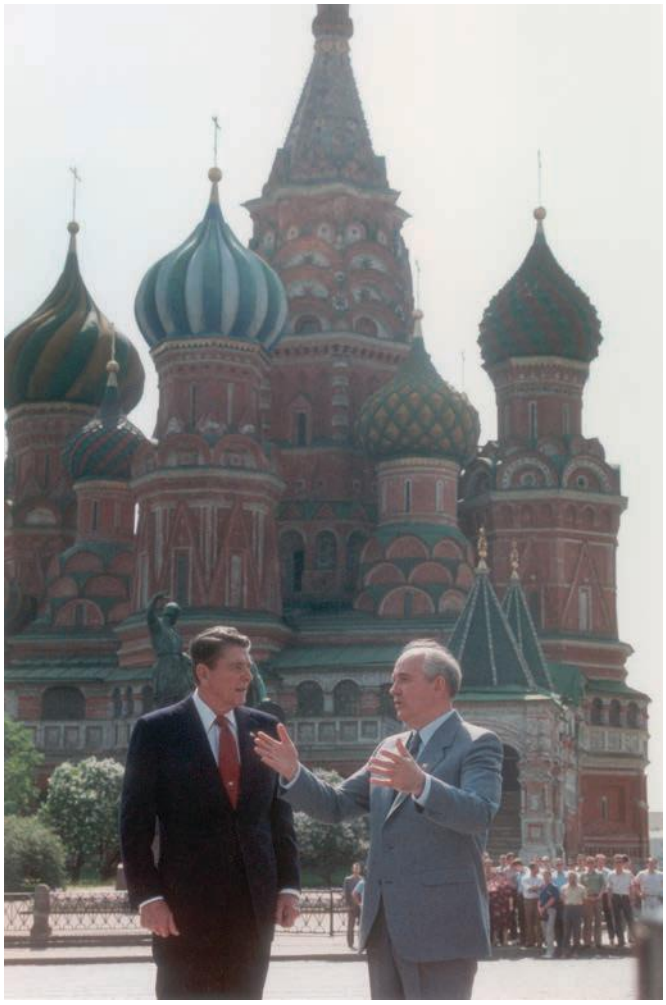
In May 1988, Reagan made his first and only visit to the Soviet Union to continue arms talks with Gorbachev. While the Moscow summit failed to make any substantial progress on strategic arms control that would have led to further reductions in each country's nuclear weapons' stockpiles, Reagan did make an important concession. When asked by a reporter about the famous 'Evil Empire' speech of 1983, Reagan responded, 'I was talking about another time, another era.' He also declared that the Cold War with the Soviet Union had ended.

On the same day, the photo in Source 15.23 was taken of the two leaders standing in front of sixteenth-century St Basil's Cathedral, in Red Square, Moscow.

Source **15.23** Reagan and Gorbachev in Red Square, Moscow, 31 May 1988



Responding to the photograph

1. Might American and Russian people interpret the significance of this image differently? Explain.
2. Might such a photograph bolster or damage the political fortunes of each man? Explain.

SOURCE 15.23 Reagan and Gorbachev standing in front of St Basil's Cathedral, in Red Square, Moscow, 31 May 1988

With hindsight, we know that the Soviet Union collapsed shortly after Reagan's presidential term finished, and we know that, in 1982, Reagan had predicted that Marxism-Leninism would be left on 'the ash heap of history'. How does this knowledge influence your judgement about cause and effect? When scholars began to debate the causes of the end of the Soviet Union, one theory was 'The Reagan Victory School', which claimed that Reagan's aggressive stance delivered the final blow to a weakening Soviet system.

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This is what Andrew E. Busch had to say.

Source **15.24** Historian's assessment of the role of Reagan in the downfall of the Soviet Union

SOURCE 15.24 Busch writes about Reagan and the defeat of the Soviet empire

> Far from being accidental or, conversely, inevitable, this foreign policy triumph arguably resulted from a coherent strategic vision forged and implemented by American policy makers against much opposition and great odds[1]; a triumph of the West, and a triumph for the foreign policy of Ronald Reagan.

Andrew E. Busch, 'Ronald Reagan and the Defeat of the Soviet Empire', *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 27(3), 1997, pp. 451–66

Responding to the source

1. What is Busch's position on the accidental nature or inevitability of the Soviet downfall?
2. What does Busch maintain was the reason for the Soviet downfall?
3. Busch begins his article, entitled 'Ronald Reagan and the Defeat of the Soviet Empire', with a quote from a former KGB General, Oleg Kalugin, who claimed: 'American policy in the 1980s was a catalyst for the collapse of the Soviet Union'. Why might Busch have chosen to begin his article with this quote? How does it affect the strength of his argument? Does your assessment of the reliability of Kalugin's assertion change knowing that he was later a critic of the KGB and became a US citizen?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

How did the policies of Ronald Reagan (1981–89) affect the stability of the Soviet Union?

Return to the table you created to summarise your learning about the information and sources given for each sub-question. Complete the table for this sub-question. You may wish to reconsider your responses to the previous sub-question because of your increased knowledge.

Inquiry question: What were the main causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991?			
Sub-questions (factors)	**Key information**	**Key sources**	**Reflection: How significant is this factor? Justify your response.**
2. How did the policies of Ronald Reagan (1981–89) affect the stability of the Soviet Union?			

SUB-QUESTION 3: What were the impacts of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster on the Soviet Union?

While Reagan exerted external military and economic pressure on the Soviet Union, another event placed great pressure on the Soviet Union from within. On 26 April 1986, the worst nuclear accident in history occurred at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine. At 1.25 a.m., due to a series of human errors and design flaws, nuclear reactor 4 exploded, starting a fire that took nine days for firefighters to extinguish. The emergency responders were exposed to doses of radiation hundreds of times greater than the safe level, and large amounts of radioactive material were released into the atmosphere. Wind carried the cloud of fallout across Belarus, Ukraine and Russia, and to a lesser extent across other nations in Europe. The world only discovered there had been a nuclear disaster two days later, when monitoring devices in Sweden picked up large traces of radioactivity on workers' shoes.

[1] The Reagan administration was criticised for an aggressive and ideologically driven foreign policy.

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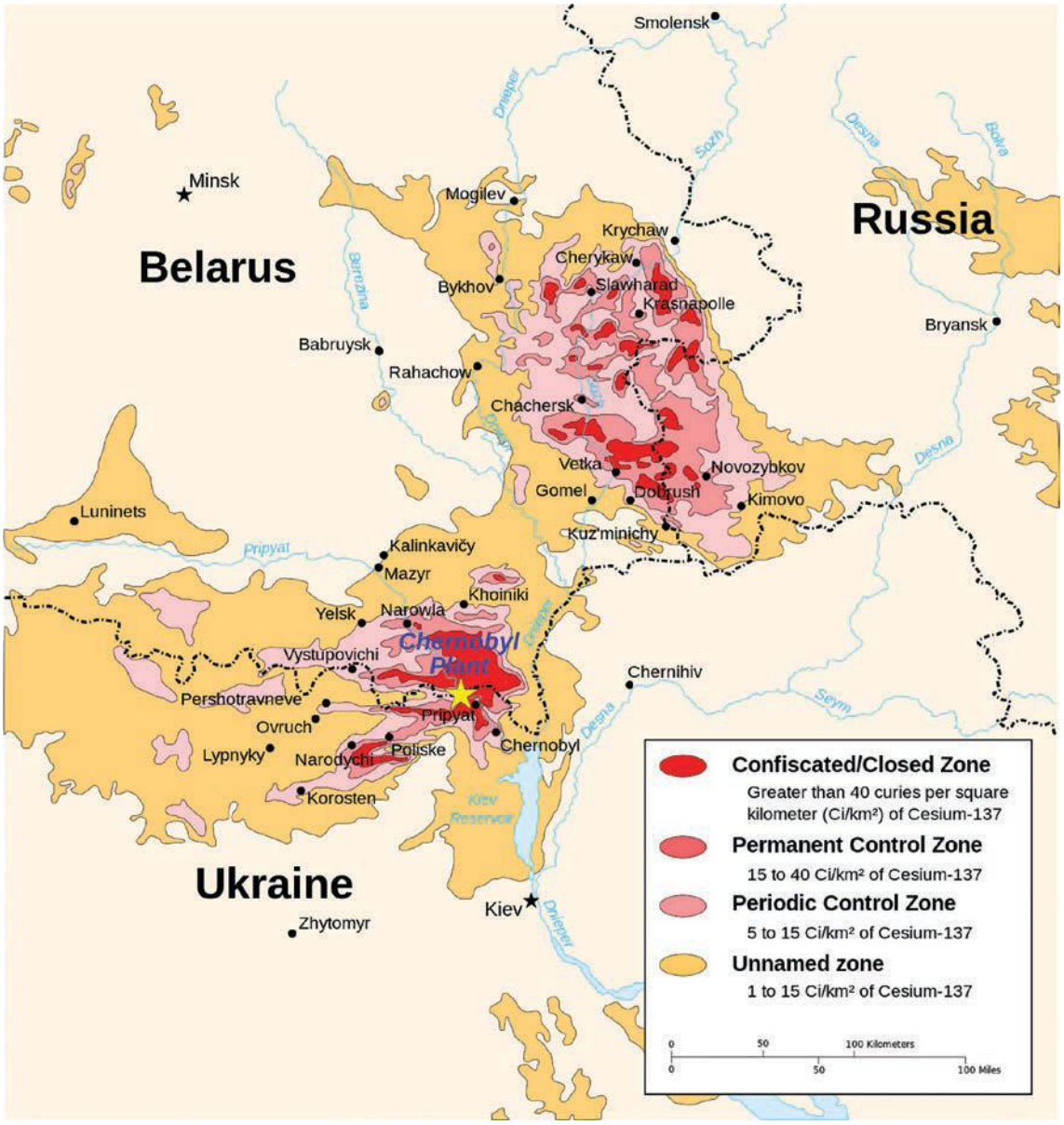
Source **15.25** Map of Chernobyl radiation



SOURCE 15.25 Chernobyl radiation map from *CIA Handbook*, 1996

The curie is the original unit used to express the decay rate of a sample of radioactive material. Cesium-137 (Cs-137) is the most radioactive form of cesium (chemical symbol Cs). Cs-137 is produced as a by-product of nuclear fission processes (splitting of atomic nucleus) in nuclear reactors.

Responding to the map

1. Which Soviet states were most affected?
2. What might explain the contamination of Belarus beyond the site of the Chernobyl plant situated in Ukraine? (Note that roughly two-thirds of the territory of Belarus suffered significant contamination.)
3. What do you notice about how land and water connects the zones of concern with human settlements?

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At first, official Soviet television news denied that there was a crisis, only admitting two days later that a nuclear reactor was damaged, but reassured viewers that the incident was under control. Authorities waited 36 hours before starting to evacuate the nearly 50 000 people who lived in the city of Pripyat, just 3 kilometres from the plant. Many were already showing symptoms of radiation poisoning, particularly the children.

Sources **15.26–15.28** Eyewitness accounts of the Chernobyl disaster

SOURCE 15.26 A journalist writes about the Chernobyl disaster

> The radiation hovered over us. It was killing us all, but we couldn't see or hear it. … When I first visited the zone, everyone had bewildered, almost crazed faces. They looked on while they sheared the upper, infected layer of earth and buried it in special pits. They buried earth in earth. They buried eggs and milk, and infected animals they had shot. They just kept burying and burying. The information about Chernobyl in the papers was straight out of a military report: an explosion, an evacuation, heroes, soldiers … The system was reacting as usual when faced with extreme conditions, but a soldier with an assault rifle in this new world cut a tragic figure. All he could do was amass an enormous dose of radiation and then die when he returned home.
>
> … The government did everything in its power to keep the people as ignorant as possible. That's because, if the people had known more, they would have demanded checks on food products, dosimeters [radiation detectors], and medicines to cleanse the body – and the government had no intention of providing these things. That's why they lied.

Extract from Svetlana Alexievich (Belarusian journalist and winner of the Nobel Prize for literature), 'Eyewitness Account: The Aftermath of the 1986 Chernobyl Disaster', 2016

SOURCE 15.27 A local child tells of the Chernobyl disaster

> In April 1986 I was not yet 10 years old. For me, … the cozy little streets of our town, all its yards and back alleys, and also the nearby wood and the Pripyat River, were the scenes of our childish play and 'war games' … the evacuation itself then also seemed like an exciting game, only now with real camouflaged military helicopters flying low over the roofs, with real armoured troop-carriers, with militiamen in flak jackets and gas masks standing along the road, with an endless line of buses taking us and all the town's population 'for three days' to an unknown destination. We did not know and did not understand then that we were leaving our town for ever.

Eyewitness account of Alexander Sirota (nine years old in 1986), published in 1996

Responding to the sources

SOURCE 15.28 YouTube video (duration 02:50) in which a Chernobyl engineer talks about the day of the disaster, available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/11075.

1. What do these sources reveal about the deficiencies of the Soviet political and administrative system?
2. What is the perspective of Source 15.27? Does that perspective make it more or less reliable than Source 15.26?
3. Alexander Sirota (author of Source 15.27) later became a senior figure in a Ukrainian organisation dedicated to revealing the truth of the disaster. How does that affect the reliability of Source 15.27?
4. How could these sources be used as evidence that Chernobyl increased the internal pressures on the Soviet Government?

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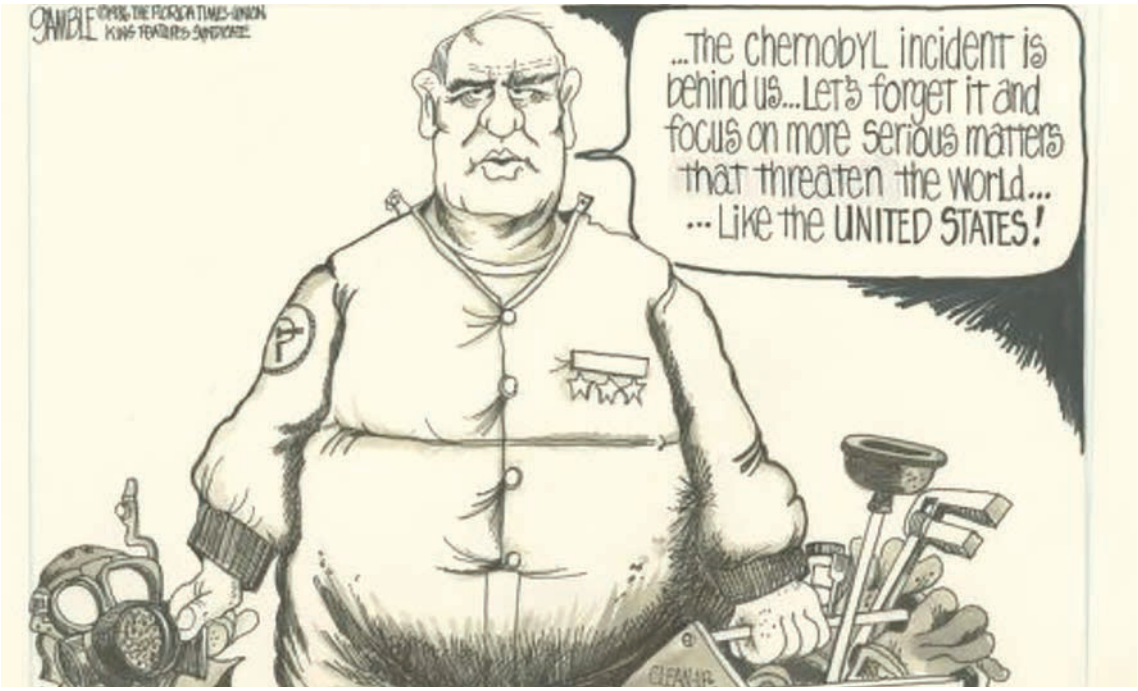
Gorbachev did not speak publicly about Chernobyl until 14 May, over two-and-a-half weeks later. By then, various theories about the disaster were circulating in the world's media. While Gorbachev acknowledged there had been an accident, at the time he claimed that Reagan and other Western nations who were questioning the Soviet version of events were 'not interested in the truth', but were using Chernobyl as 'a pretext to grasp at in order to blacken the Soviet Union and its foreign policy'.

Source 15.29 shows an American cartoon commenting on Gorbachev and his handling of the Chernobyl disaster.

Source **15.29** A cartoonist's perspective on the Soviet response to Chernobyl



SOURCE 15.29 Ed Gamble, 'The Chernobyl incident is behind us...', *Florida Times-Union*, USA, 1986. © Ed Gamble – USA TODAY NETWORK.

In this cartoon, Gorbachev wears a hazmat suit and carries a gas mask and a toolkit labelled 'clean-up'.

Responding to the cartoon

1. How does this cartoon depict the Soviet response to the Chernobyl nuclear meltdown? What does this depiction suggest about the Soviet response to the nuclear disaster? Focus particularly on the cartoon image.
2. What is the cartoonist suggesting about the motivation of the Soviet leadership by the words that feature in the speech bubble? (Think about why it might be in the interests of the Soviet Union to shift focus away from Chernobyl to the United States.)
3. How might the origins of this cartoon (author and place) affect the perspective of this source?

Eventually, 200 000 people were relocated from a 30-kilometre 'closed' zone, and other zones of contamination were identified for special controls. A total of 600 000 workers were brought to the site as 'liquidators', to clean up the contamination and construct a thick concrete 'sarcophagus' to contain further emissions from the ruined reactor.

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The cost of Chernobyl to the Soviet budget during the first month alone was 3 billion rubles (US$1.8 billion at the time; equivalent to around US$5 billion today). Gorbachev later estimated that 14 billion rubles were spent addressing the immediate effects of the explosion and several more billions were spent in the years that followed. Those who were exposed to dangerous radiation received special medals for heroism, and tens of thousands of them either died or were permanently disabled. Across Europe, for several months, various agricultural products such as milk, vegetables and meat were declared unfit for human consumption and had to be destroyed.

The link between the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and the collapse of the Soviet Union is made in the article from *The Conversation* website, which was written when the 2020 HBO miniseries *Chernobyl* first aired.

Source **15.30** Linking Chernobyl to the Soviet Union's collapse

SOURCE 15.30 *'Chernobyl'* shows how mass mobilisations saved Europe and doomed the Soviet Union' 2020

'Chernobyl' creator, writer and executive producer Craig Mazin has observed that enlisting more than half a million people for such a dangerous mission was more easily accomplished in a place like the Soviet Union than, say, the United States.

However, communist citizens grew weary of incessant crises – both real and contrived – along with the propaganda designed to motive them.

Once people living in communist countries began to rebel against mobilizations and the rest of the state's demands on their lives, their governments collapsed, including the Soviet state itself.

Mikhail Gorbachev, the last Soviet leader, wrote in 2006 that the 'Chernobyl catastrophe was a historic turning point' responsible for his government's unravelling. I believe that the same practice that limited the impact of this disaster exacted a great political cost.

The miniseries begins and ends with a daunting question: What is the cost of lies? For the USSR and its communist neighbours, the real cost was in the everyday, mundane lies that ultimately led to regime change.

Gregory R. Witkowski, '"Chernobyl" shows how mass mobilisations saved Europe and doomed the Soviet Union', *The Conversation*, 10 January 2020

Responding to the source

1. Using evidence from the article, explain the link between the Chernobyl nuclear accident and the fall of the Soviet Union.
2. Does the inclusion of Gorbachev's assertions enhance or detract from the reliability of this source? Explain. (Note that Gorbachev made these comments on the twentieth anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear meltdown in 2006.)

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Long-term impacts of Chernobyl

The impacts and the clean-up were long-term. The concrete sarcophagus that had been hastily built began to fail, and was replaced in 2016 by a joint European consortium at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars. The structure is taller than the Statue of Liberty and larger than a football stadium, and is expected to contain radiation for the next century. Despite this, tourists may now make short visits to the evacuated city. Source 15.31 depicts one of the most haunting sites that is visited.

Source **15.31** The abandoned amusement park in Pripyat, Ukraine, 2020

SOURCE 15.31 The abandonded amusement park in Pripyat, Ukraine, 2020

Responding to the photograph

1. How could this source be used as evidence of the impacts of Chernobyl?
2. What does it show about the former Soviet regime?
3. What do you think about this type of 'dark tourism'?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

What were the impacts of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster on the Soviet Union?

The environmental and health catastrophe caused by Chernobyl raised questions about the Soviet state's ability to manage its sensitive technology, and the central government's control of information. This led to a rise in secessionist and nationalist movements in Ukraine and Belarus. On the twentieth anniversary of the event, Gorbachev (2006) further acknowledged that 'Everything that had been built up over the years converged in this drama: the concealing or hushing up of accidents and other bad news, irresponsibility and carelessness, slipshod work, wholesale drunkenness.'

Return to the table you created to summarise your learning about the information and sources given for each sub-question. Complete the table for this sub-question. You may wish to reconsider your responses to other sub-questions because of your increased knowledge.

Inquiry question: What were the main causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991?			
Sub-questions (factors)	**Key information**	**Key sources**	**Reflection: How significant is this factor? Justify your response.**
3. What were the impacts of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster on the Soviet Union?			

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SUB-QUESTION 4: What were the effects of Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* on the Soviet Union?

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the eighth and final leader of the Soviet Union, was the first Soviet ruler to have been born after the Russian Revolution. While he was a lifelong communist, he saw that the Soviet system was failing to achieve its goals, the state was overcommitted to defence spending due to the war in Afghanistan and the arms race, and failing to modernise technology and raise the poor living standards of its people. Preparing for his first day in office, he told his wife Raisa, 'We just can't go on living like this'. Gorbachev would declare that the economy of the Soviet Union was in urgent need of 'restructuring', known as *perestroika*, and that the political system needed openness, known as *glasnost*, and democratisation.

Perestroika

Gorbachev addressed the Communist Party with his concerns less than two months after taking office, and indicated what *perestroika* might mean at the party congress in 1986.

Sources **15.32** and **15.33** Gorbachev and *perestroika*

SOURCE 15.32 The need for restructuring, April 1985

In most branches, scientific and technical progress is proceeding listlessly, essentially at evolutionary speed – primarily through the improvement of existing technologies and the partial modernization of machinery and equipment. These measures are bringing a certain return, of course, but it is too little. We need revolutionary changes – a shift to fundamentally new technological systems, to the latest-generation equipment, which yields the highest efficiency ...

The concept of the restructuring of the economic mechanism has now become clearer to us. In continuing to develop the centralized principle in the accomplishment of strategic tasks, we must more boldly advance along the path of expanding the rights of enterprises and their independence, introduce economic accountability and, on this basis, increase the responsibility and stake of labour collectives in the final results of work ...

Mikhail Gorbachev, reported in *Pravda*, 24 April 1985

SOURCE 15.33 Obstacles to restructuring, March 1986

Yes, comrades, acceleration, radical transformations in all spheres of our life are not just a slogan but a course the Party will steer firmly and unwaveringly.

Many delegates pointed out that departmentalism, paper shuffling and other bureaucratic obstacles are a serious hindrance in the way of things new and progressive. I want to assure you, comrades, that the Central Committee will be resolutely removing all impediments to accelerating social and economic progress, strengthening discipline and order and creating organisational, moral and material prerequisites for an all-out promotion of creative activity, bold quest and socialist enterprise. I am certain that this will find broad and vigorous support on the part of the entire Party and all working people.

Mikhail Gorbachev, closing speech to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party, March 1986

Responding to the sources

1. Using evidence from both sources, what problems did Gorbachev identify in the Soviet economy?
2. According to his 1985 announcement, what had to be done to solve the problems?
3. According to his 1986 speech, what obstacles stood in the way of *perestroika*?
4. Using examples, explain what made *perestroika* radical.
5. To what extent are these sources of evidence useful for an inquiry into how *perestroika* was intended to work? Explain. (In your response, consider both strengths and limitations.)

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Source **15.34** Summary of *perestroika* laws

SOURCE 15.34 Summary of *perestroika* laws

Date	Law	Objective
November 1986	Law on Individual Labour Activity	Encourage individuals and families to be entrepreneurs and enable them to keep the profits of their private labour.
June 1987	Joint Venture Law	Permit foreign investment in joint ventures with Soviet ministries, state enterprises and cooperatives for the first time.
July 1987	Law on State Enterprises	Remove aspects of central planning from the economy that had been in place since Stalin's five-year plans. Local managers could decide what to produce, in line with customer demand.
May 1988	Law on Cooperatives	Permit private ownership and profit making in businesses in the services, manufacturing and trade sectors for the first time since 1928.

Responding to the summary of laws

1. Provide evidence that the policy of *perestroika* was a radical departure from communist ideology and past Soviet practices. (Economically, communism was based on state ownership of the means of production, the abolition of private property and a centrally planned economy.)
2. Create and complete a table like the one below, identifying a) the possible benefits of the law, and b) possible obstacles/problems in implementing the law and/or possible negative outcomes.

Law	Possible benefits	Possible obstacles/problems in implementation and/or possible negative outcomes
Law on Individual Labour Activity		
Joint Venture Law		
Law on State Enterprises		
Law on Cooperatives		

Perestroika involved 10 different economic reform packages, but, according to an analysis by two former Moscow-based US diplomats, not one of the packages was fully put into effect, because Gorbachev 'did not understand how rotten were the foundations of the Soviet economy' (Blaney & Gfoeller, 1993).

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Aspects of *perestroika* resulted in unintended consequences. The Law on State Enterprises, for example, undermined the old stabilising parts of the Soviet economy and allowed directors and trade union leaders to control industry and accumulate profits, with no requirement or motivation to invest in new equipment to increase the efficiency and quality of production. Replacing state-run enterprises with private cooperatives disrupted supply chains, removed price controls on basic goods and saw prices rise. While some owners enjoyed the profits, most citizens experienced empty shelves and long queues.

Sources **15.35** and **15.36** Queuing in Moscow

SOURCE 15.35 Customers queue at the state fish market in Moscow, 1990

SOURCE 15.36 The queue outside the first McDonald's in the Soviet Union, Moscow, January 1990

Responding to the photographs

1. How could these photographs be used as evidence of the impacts of Gorbachev's policies?
2. Is there evidence in the photographs that people were accustomed to queuing and used it as a social occasion?
3. A typical wait in the state fish market queue (Source 15.35) was two hours, even to purchase tinned fish. What does this indicate about daily life in a Soviet city? What might be the political and social ramifications of ongoing queuing for food and other consumables? Explain.
4. On the opening day of McDonald's in Moscow, an estimated 5000 customers waited up to five hours in the queue for their first experience of a hamburger. A burger cost 3.5 rubles, equivalent to the price of a monthly bus pass. How might the McDonald's photograph (Source 15.36) have been interpreted in the West? How might this photograph have been interpreted in the East?

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Glasnost

The policy of *glasnost* was more nebulous. The word had been used by previous Russian regimes to mean preventing corruption, but Gorbachev used it to mean transparency, openness and self-criticism: people would be encouraged to express their opinions about life and their views on previous and current Soviet governments.

Source **15.37** Gorbachev on *glasnost* and democratisation

SOURCE 15.37 The need for openness, March 1986

The acceleration of a society's development is inconceivable and impossible without a further development of all the aspects and manifestations of socialist democracy.

Bearing that in mind, the Party and its Central Committee are taking ... steps to heighten the activities of the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol [communist youth league], the work collectives and the people's control bodies, and to promote publicity.

... In socialist society, especially in modern conditions, government should not be the privilege of a narrow circle of professionals. We know from theory and from our extensive experience that the socialist system can develop successfully only when the people really run their own affairs, when millions of people are involved in political life.

Mikhail Gorbachev, political report to the 27th Congress of the Communist Party, March 1986

Responding to Gorbachev's report

1. What opportunities did *glasnost* give Soviet citizens?
2. According to Gorbachev's report, what steps was the Communist Party taking to improve democracy?

In 1987, Gorbachev wrote a book, *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, in which he explained that his government had begun drafting bills to make their activity more transparent, and to ensure that ordinary people would be able to express opinions without fear of reprisal. He said that the press was moving towards 'dialogue' rather than 'monologue', with interviews and discussions replacing the publication of formal reports.

Gorbachev's report (Source 15.37) was given to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and printed in Russian, while an English version of *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* was printed at the time in the United States. Explain how the audience for each work may have influenced Gorbachev's language and message.

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Source **15.38** Summary of *glasnost* and democratisation reforms

SOURCE 15.38 Summary of *glasnost* and democratisation reforms

Date	Reform	Effect/outcome
January 1987	Reorganisation of the CPSU	Local elections were open to multiple candidates and non-Communist Party candidates
1988	Criticism of communist errors encouraged	First examples of freedom of speech, in public events to remember the victims of Stalin's regime
1988	Censorship relaxed	A wider range of books was available and information about 'Western' consumer products was more widespread
June 1988	Free elections	A Congress of People's Deputies was created to pass laws. The March–April 1989 Congress election was the first free election in the Soviet Union.

Responding to the table

1. Summarise the reforms taken to implement *glasnost* and democratisation in two sentences.
2. Create and complete a table like the one below, identifying a) the possible benefits of the reform, and b) possible unintended consequences of the reform.

Reform	Possible benefits	Unintended consequence of the reform
Reorganisation of the CPSU		
Criticism of communist errors encouraged		
Censorship relaxed		
Free elections		

Glasnost and democratisation allowed a range of opinions to be expressed in the Congress, and the conflict was now broadcast by television into the living rooms of ordinary citizens. In dismantling the Communist Party apparatus, Gorbachev removed a tool that might have been used to keep reforms and the entire country under control. Instead, there was evidence of economic chaos, political populism and nationalism; and political clubs and factions seized the invitation to criticise, denouncing Soviet history and discrediting the leaders of the present.

Outside the Soviet Union, journalists were fascinated by this new political culture. Foreign cartoonists used satire and humour to comment on Gorbachev and his policy of *glasnost*.

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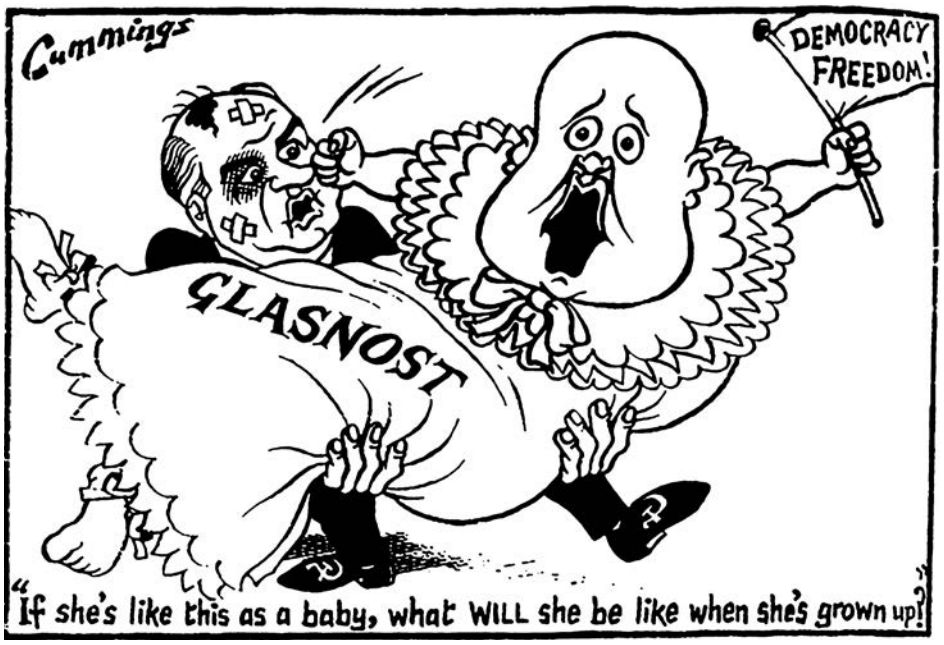
Sources **15.39–15.41** Cartoons satirising *glasnost*



SOURCE 15.39 *Glasnost* baby. Michael Cummings, 'Glasnost', *The Daily Express* (Britain), August 1988.

SOURCE 15.40 Genie out of the bottle. Etta Hulme, 'Glasnost', *The Fort-Worth Star Telegram* (USA), October 1989.

Embedded text: Soviet media, Extra, Glasnost, Economy worsens!! Sakharov wins popularity poll! Ethnic unrest! Dog bites man!

Andrei Sakharov (1921–89) was a Soviet physicist and a 1975 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, which was awarded for his work on human rights. 'Man bites dog' is a phrase used in journalism to describe how an unusual, infrequent event (such as a man biting a dog) is more likely to be reported as news than an ordinary, everyday occurrence with similar consequences, such as a dog biting a man.

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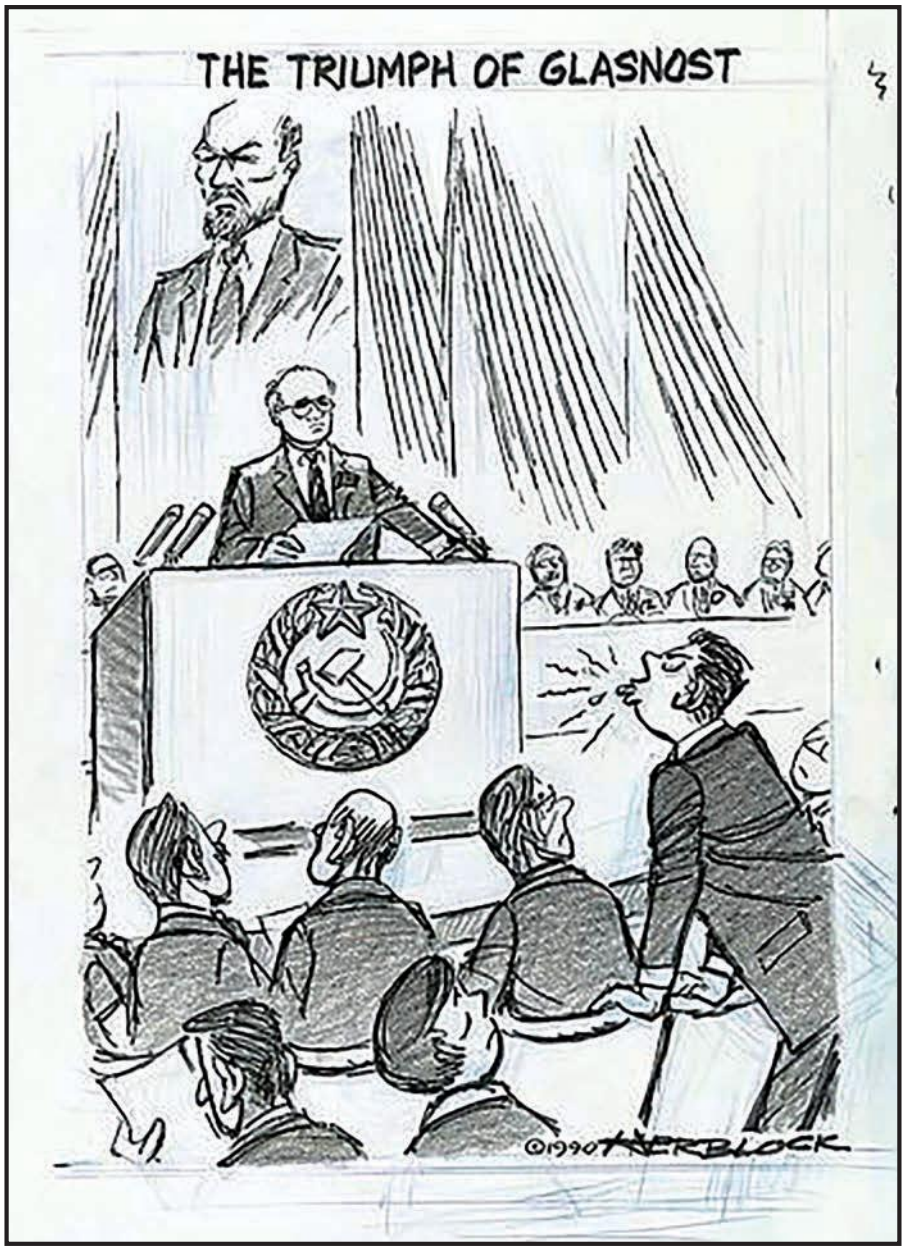

SOURCE 15.41 Poking tongues, 1990. Herbert Block, 'The Triumph of Glasnost', *The Washington Post* (USA), July 1990.

Responding to the cartoons

Work in groups of three to complete the following. Divide the cartoons among the group, with each group member taking one to analyse and evaluate.

1. Explain how your designated cartoon uses humour to satirise Gorbachev and his policy of *glasnost*.
2. How useful and reliable is your cartoon in understanding the outcome/s of Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost*? Provide one judgement for usefulness and one judgement for reliability.
3. Share your responses with your group, then complete the following questions:
   - **a.** Identify and discuss a perspective that is common to all three cartoons.
   - **b.** Discuss to what extent the sources corroborate each other.
   - **c.** Which cartoon do you think is most effective in conveying a criticism of the policy of *glasnost*? Justify your response.

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Activity **15.3**

Undertake a QCAA-style assessment

To assess the impact of Gorbachev's new policies, here are three perspectives. You will undertake a QCAA-style assessment of the perspectives.

SOURCE 15.42 Australian academic Matthew Sussex on *glasnost* and *perestroika*

Gorbachev's accomplishments were numerous. … And perhaps most notably, he was the chief architect of a grand plan to revitalise the Soviet Union's economy (through "perestroika", or restructuring), its society (via "glasnost", meaning openness), and its politics ("demokratizatsiya", or democratisation). …

And while he will be most remembered in Europe and the US as one of history's great peacemakers, Russians saw an entirely different face to Gorbachev, as the personification of instability and decline.

By the time the East European communist dominoes fell in 1989, culminating in the tearing down of the Berlin Wall in November and the defection of a large chunk of East Berlin's workforce to the West virtually overnight, the USSR had lost its empire. It was also in the process of losing its unifying national idea.

The chief reason for this was that Gorbachev's social reforms were far too successful, while his economic reforms were an abject failure. Perestroika served only to reveal how deeply inefficient and corrupt the Soviet command economy had become. Beginning as a program of economic acceleration, and ultimately morphing into a 500-day plan to shift the Soviet economy from the plan to the market, Gorbachev relied on a new cadre of younger technocrats to push through his reforms while many of the old guard remained in top positions.

…

Ultimately, the tragedy of Gorbachev was his misplaced faith in Soviet economics, and how badly he mistook the desire of the people of the USSR for national self-determination for a willingness to revitalise the Soviet idea.

Yet his enduring belief in enlightened progress and a preparedness to take risks to achieve it stand in stark contrast to the caricature Russia resembles today, which celebrates what divides rather than what might unite us.

Matthew Sussex, 'A consequential but ultimately tragic figure': last leader of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev dies aged 91, *The Conversation*, 31 August 2022

Context statement: Matthew Sussex is Associate Professor (Adj), Griffith Asia Institute; and Fellow, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, ANU. His main research specialisation is on Russian foreign and security policy.

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SOURCE 15.43 Moscow-born historian Vladislav Zubok on the hope and hardship of *perestroika*

> Scholars who studied the Soviet economy concluded that the Soviet economic system was destroyed not by its structural faults, but by Gorbachev era reforms. The purposeful as well as unintended destruction of the Soviet economy, along with its finances, may be considered the best candidate as a principal cause of Soviet disintegration.
>
> ... Millions of Soviet citizens had long become accustomed to hardship and shortages. Perestroika gave them hopes for a better life, but instead it created more everyday troubles and problems. ... The daily hunt for food items left people, especially women, standing in line for hours after work ... people were becoming exhausted and furious with the local bosses and top leadership.

Vladislav Zubok, *Collapse: The Fall of the Soviet Union*, 2021, pp. 62, 70–1

Context statement: Vladislav Zubok is a Moscow-born historian who is a Professor of International History at the London School of Economics, and uses newly released archival sources and interviews.

SOURCE 15.44 Australian historian Sheila Fitzpatrick on the hope and effect of *glasnost*

> ... Everything the intelligentsia had ever hoped for in terms of freedom of expression and publication was suddenly available. Thanks to glasnost, the Soviet press was full of informed, detailed criticisms of historical mistakes such as collectivization, the great Purges, bad decisions in World War II, wartime ethnic deportations and post war anti-Semitism ... The effect of the crash course on the flaws of Soviet socialism was to undermine the public's confidence rather than rally it for reform.
>
> ... If it had been a pre-crisis situation for the Soviet economy in 1987, as Gorbachev had said, by 1990–1991 it had become a full blown crisis, largely as a result of Gorbachev's own policies. The high popularity ratings of Gorbachev's first years in power dropped down to twenty percent by 1990 and were below zero in 1991.

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Shortest History of the Soviet Union*, 2022, pp. 182–4, 198–9

Context statement: Sheila Fitzpatrick is a Professor of History at the Australian Catholic University and has written about the Soviet Union since the 1970s.

Synthesise evidence from Sources 15.42–44 to form a historical argument in response to the question: *To what extent did Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of* perestroika *and* glasnost *fail to fulfil their promise?*

Include a judgement about the extent to which evidence from one of these sources is reliable for the historical argument proposed.

Key steps to writing a 'synthesis' response for the external assessment (EA) are as follows:

- **Step 1 – Unpack the question** by marking up the command statements and the actual question. For the above question, mentally ask yourself: Do I understand the term 'synthesis'? What sources do I need to synthesise? (In the EA, you need to use *all designated* sources.) Do I understand the phrase 'To what extent'? Do I understand what the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* entailed? Do I understand the phrase 'fulfil their promise'? (That is, did the policies provide the positive things that were expected?)
- **Step 2 – Annotate the sources** by highlighting relevant evidence to answer the question and making side notes next to the sources to draw out meaning.

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- **Step 3 – Evaluate a source** by choosing at least one source to evaluate its reliability (trustworthiness). The challenge is to integrate your evaluation of the source/s without disrupting the argument.
- **Step 4 – Formulate an argument/hypothesis** to determine your historical argument and decide where the weight of evidence lies – did Gorbachev's policies *in the main* fail or succeed in delivering their promise? To advance a sophisticated argument, a range of perspectives should feature in your response. It is important that you don't silence evidence against your main argument; instead, insert it into your argument as a counter-point.
- **Step 5 – Synthesise evidence** from historical sources. When synthesising, you combine evidence to advance a historical argument. To combine evidence, look for similarities and direct points of corroboration as well as points of difference or contrast. In your response, make sure you use relevant historical terms and concepts that appear in the sources.

Possible arguments for the above question could centre around the following ideas:

- short-term/longer-term effects
- positive and negative effects (more one than the other?)

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

What were the effects of Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* on the Soviet Union?

Gorbachev inherited a stagnant economy and a political system that resisted change and criticism. His reforms of *glasnost* and *perestroika* introduced openness, transparency, democracy and market reform. However, they also unleashed a wave of criticism and demands for change, and exposed the weaknesses of the Soviet system, including corruption, inefficiency, human rights violations and environmental degradation.

Return to the table you created to summarise your learning about the information and sources given for each sub-question. Complete the table for this sub-question. You may wish to reconsider your responses to other sub-questions because of your increased knowledge.

Inquiry question: What were the main causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991?			
Sub-questions (factors)	**Key information**	**Key sources**	**Reflection: How significant is this factor? Justify your response.**
4. What were the effects of Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost* on the Soviet Union?			

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SUB-QUESTION 5: What impact did Gorbachev's foreign policy have on the Warsaw Pact nations and the Soviet republics?

Warsaw Pact nations

In 1988, Gorbachev announced a change in foreign policy that was as significant as his political and economic reforms within the Soviet Union. He decided to cut off economic and military support to client states that were costing the Soviet economy more than it could afford, and encouraged Warsaw Pact nations to introduce reforms, inspired by *glasnost* and *perestroika*, into their countries. In effect, this signalled the demise of the once-mighty Warsaw Pact, the military alliance that the Soviet Union had formed in response to NATO in 1955 with seven Eastern Bloc countries – Albania (withdrew 1968), Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany (GDR), Hungary, Poland and Romania.

The history of the Warsaw Pact shows that while it was created to achieve 'collective security', the Soviet Union used it to maintain significant military presences in member states, which it deployed to suppress uprisings against communist governments, including in Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968). However, signs of change emerged in 1980 in Poland, when shipyard workers held a series of strikes to pressure the Polish Government to improve the conditions of workers, allow more freedom of speech and religion, and release political prisoners. Under Poland's Gdańsk Agreement (August 1980), the 'Solidarity' union was recognised by the state, making it the first independent labour union in a Soviet-bloc country. Within a year, it had 10 million members under a charismatic leader, Lech Wałęsa. As Solidarity transformed from a trade union into a social movement, it emerged as an increasing threat to not only the Polish Government but also the entire Communist Bloc. It was subsequently banned in October 1982, and only re-emerged as a formidable force in 1988, organising nationwide general strikes and calling for democratisation. Despite these developments, communist governments across the Warsaw Pact countries remained in power and their leaders resisted introducing any changes.

In December 1988, Gorbachev travelled to New York to deliver his first-ever speech at the United Nations (UN). He said that that the Soviet Union would make a dramatic unilateral cut to its military of 500 000 personnel, and loosen military control on Warsaw Pact countries. Soviet tank divisions would be withdrawn from East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and 50 000 troops would be pulled out.

Following Gorbachev's UN address, pro-democracy public demonstrations multiplied throughout the Warsaw Pact nations and developed into 'revolutions', which forced regimes out of power and began steps towards multi-party democracies. Gorbachev's senior adviser, Anatoly Chernyaev, would later reflect that it was as if a 'nationalities bomb' had exploded.

The communist governments in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria had neither the support of their people nor the backing of the Soviet Union, and they were forced to step aside. The political change came about through mostly non-violent movements, such as the 'Velvet Revolution' in Czechoslovakia (November 1989), except in Romania, where there was bloodshed, ending in the summary public execution of the dictator Nicolae Ceauşescu and his wife. In Poland, Solidarity dominated the first free elections in June 1989, and Wałęsa led Poland's transition away from Marxism-Leninism. A 'Pan-European Picnic' was held at the border between Hungary and Austria in August 1989, which signalled the opening of the Iron Curtain, as people from the Eastern Bloc began to move into Western Europe.

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A highly symbolic change occurred in East Germany when, on 9 November 1989, the Berlin Wall, a physical representation of Cold War divisions, fell. Its fall was triggered by a political blunder by East German officials that was exploited by the media and responded to by the masses. As a result of concerted public pressure and the isolation of the communist government, East and West Germans began to move freely between the two sides of the city, and the two Germanys were reunified within a year on 3 October 1990.

Source **15.45** The fall of the Berlin Wall, November 1989

SOURCE 15.45 East German soldiers stand by as the Berlin Wall is dismantled, November 1989

Responding to the photograph

1. What does the image suggest about the role that ordinary people played in the fall of the Berlin Wall?
2. East German soldiers guarding the Wall were under orders to shoot to kill anyone who approached it. Knowing this, what makes this photograph particularly significant? Explain with reference to aspects of the photo.
3. Based on the body language of the East German soldiers, what appears to be their response to the fall of the Berlin Wall? Justify your answer using your wider knowledge and sound reasoning.

According to American historian Professor John Lewis Gaddis (2007), although Gorbachev had made his intentions clear, the revolutions of 1989 'caught everyone by surprise'. Gaddis used a powerful metaphor to describe the position the Soviet Union found itself in at the beginning of 1989. He likened it to a sand pile, ready to slide away with pressures exerted on the regime representing more grains of sand.

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Activity **15.4**

Research

Research what Gaddis said about Mikhail Gorbachev's role in the collapse of the Soviet Union. If you can, look for quotes from Gaddis' book *The Cold War* from 2007, especially what he writes on page 239.

1. Explain Gaddis' metaphor that 'the Soviet Union, its empire, its ideology – and therefore the Cold War itself – was the sand pile ready to slide'. What is Gaddis implying about these four concepts by comparing them to a sand pile?
2. According to Gaddis, to what extent was Gorbachev responsible for the revolutions that broke out in Eastern Europe? Explain.

The Soviet republics

Gorbachev's foreign policy of non-intervention in the 1989 revolutions and independence movements in its former Warsaw Pact allies was not extended to the 15 Soviet republics. Democratisation was encouraged, but not secession.

The first democratic elections across the Soviet Union were held on 26 March 1989, giving Soviet citizens their first chance to choose between multiple candidates. From these elections, a Congress of People's Deputies was created and 15% of its members were non-communist. In the Baltic states, many of the seats were won by members of pro-independence Popular Fronts. In June, the Congress established a commission to investigate the history of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and the Soviet Union acknowledged for the first time that the 23 August 1939 deal with Nazi Germany included a secret protocol that allowed the Soviet Union to take control of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Fifty years later to the day, two million people from the Baltic states joined hands to demand freedom and independence, creating a 690-kilometre human chain called the Baltic Way.

Source **15.46** The Baltic Way, 23 August 1989

SOURCE 15.46 The Baltic Way, 23 August 1989. Protesters holding Lithuanian flags form part of an enormous human chain.

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Responding to the photograph

1. What makes this such a powerful protest? (Consider such things as the date, location, nature, size and composition of the protest.)
2. What does the image suggest about the role of ordinary people in movements to independence?
3. Watch a video of the protest on YouTube via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10547.

Elections in the individual republics, held under the new rules, began at the end of 1989. Many non-communist governments were elected, with policies to establish independence from the Soviet Union. The first step was to declare national sovereignty over their territory and laws. Subsequently, the Soviet states worked towards seceding from the Soviet Union. The Baltic state of Lithuania was the first to break away and thus test Moscow's response.

Source **15.47** The Lithuanian Declaration of Independence, 11 March 1990

SOURCE 15.47 The Lithuanian Declaration of Independence, 11 March 1990

Expressing the will of the people, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania resolves and solemnly proclaims that the sovereign rights of the Lithuanian State, which were violated by a foreign power in 1940, are restored and that henceforth Lithuania is again an independent state.

The Lithuanian Council's Feb. 16, 1918, Act on Independence and the Constituent Seimas May 15, 1920, Resolution on the Restoration of the Democratic Lithuanian State never lost legal force and are the constitutional foundation of the Lithuanian State.

The territory of the Lithuanian State is integral and indivisible, and no other state's constitution is in effect therein.

Act to Restore the Independence of the Lithuanian State, 11 March 1990

Responding to the Declaration of Independence

1. What point is being emphasised by the use of the term 'restoring' in the *Act of the Re-Establishment of the State of Lithuania*? What effect does the use of this word have on the legitimacy of Lithuania's actions?
2. The *Act of the Re-Establishment of the State of Lithuania* was passed by the first assembly of the Supreme Council of Lithuania after its first free elections. Explain the significance of that timing and what effect it has on the legitimacy of Lithuania's declaration of independence.

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Gorbachev responded to Lithuania's declaration of independence by appealing directly to the citizens of Lithuania.

Source **15.48** Gorbachev's appeal to the Lithuanians, 31 March 1990

SOURCE 15.48 Gorbachev's appeal to the Lithuanians, 31 March 1990

I appeal to you in this most difficult hour for our country. The resolutions of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR of 11 March 1990, have brought us all to a critical point. The attempts undertaken by the present leadership of Lithuania to cut ties immediately between the Republic and the Soviet Union ... are being resorted to at the very moment when we really have begun to solve, on a democratic basis, the most important questions of a Soviet federation.

What is the basis of our position? Sincere devotion to the ... unique development of all peoples of our country, respect for their legitimate rights to self-determination and sovereignty. All this could be said for the Lithuanian people as well.

... We have lived as one family for many years. Does this period deserve only negative words?

Mikhail Gorbachev, 'Appeal to the People of Lithuania', 31 March 1990

Responding to Gorbachev's appeal

1. Explain Gorbachev's perspective on Lithuania's declaration of independence and summarise his arguments against this move.
2. Identify the use of inclusive language in Gorbachev's response, explain what he was most likely seeking to achieve through its use, and assess the effectiveness of its use.
3. Why might Gorbachev have appealed directly to the people of Lithuania rather than its governing body?

Activity **15.5**

Hold a debate

Should Lithuania declare its independence or remain in the Soviet Union under different arrangements?

Using the arguments in Source 15.47 (Lithuania) and Source 15.48 (Gorbachev) as a basis, stage a class debate voicing arguments for and against Lithuania's secession from the Soviet Union.

Offer inducements

Make a list of those things that might induce/persuade Lithuania to stay in the Soviet Union.

While Lithuanian officials had declared independence, Moscow did not recognise this, and tried to reverse the policy by initially imposing an economic blockade. However, in January 1991, Soviet troops were ordered to capture key sites in the Lithuanian capital city, Vilnius, including the radio and television broadcast tower.

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Crowds of pro-independence Lithuanians gathered at the site, and they were met violently by Soviet soldiers, who drove tanks over unarmed protesters and fired at the crowd, killing 14 and wounding over 700. A week later, a similar attempt was made to return Latvia to the Soviet Union. Gorbachev attempted to distance himself from the violence, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin denounced Gorbachev's vacillation between democracy and authoritarianism.

In his 29 January 1991 State of the Union speech, US President George H.W. Bush, while expressing concern over the violence in the Baltics, welcomed what he called 'the end of the cold war' as 'a victory for all humanity': 'A year and a half ago, in Germany, I said that our goal was a Europe whole and free. Tonight, Germany is united. Europe has become whole and free, and America's leadership was instrumental in making it possible.'

Emeritus Professor of Politics at Oxford University, Archie Brown, provides a different perspective from Bush. Here is what he had to say.

Source **15.49** Emeritus Professor Archie Brown

SOURCE 15.49 Emeritus Professor Archie Brown writes about the end of the Soviet Union

The impact of the countries of East-Central Europe gaining independence contributed far more to the disintegration of the USSR than did U.S. policy. And the greatest stimulus to the dramatic change of 1989 in Eastern Europe had come not from the West but from Moscow – the reforms in the Soviet political system and countries' 'right to choose' their preferred political and economic system ... If force had been applied to crush anti-Communist and pro-independence movements in Eastern and Central Europe, people within even the most disaffected Soviet republics would have assumed they were doubly likely to suffer the same fate. But because Soviet troops remained in their barracks while Eastern Europe was politically transformed, people in the Baltic republics and western Ukraine drew altogether more optimistic conclusions ...

To see the peoples of Eastern Europe send their own communist rulers packing, to witness the ending of the limited sovereignty that characterised the East-Central European states' relationship with the Soviet Union, and to observe Soviet troops staying in their barracks while all this was happening could hardly fail to radicalise and embolden Estonians, Lithuanians, and Latvians in the first instance ...

Archie Brown, 'The End of the Soviet Union' [Review Essay], *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 17(4), Fall 2015, pp. 158–65

Responding to Brown

1. According to Brown, what radicalised and emboldened Baltic independence movements?
2. What does Brown imply is a counter-claim, or alternative explanation, about the disintegration of the Soviet Union?

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Source **15.50** The sovereignty and secession of Soviet states

SOURCE 15.50 The **sovereignty** and **secession** of Soviet states by region and date

Region	Soviet state	Declared sovereignty of republic laws over Soviet laws	Declared secession from the Soviet Union
Baltic States	Lithuania	May 1989	March 1990
	Estonia	November 1988	August 1991
	Latvia	July 1989	August 1991
Eastern Europe	Ukraine	July 1990	August 1991
	Belarus	July 1990	August 1991
	Moldova	June 1990	August 1991
	Russia	June 1990	December 1991
Central Asia	Kyrgyzstan	December 1990	August 1991
	Uzbekistan	June 1990	September 1991
	Tajikistan	August 1990	September 1991
	Turkmenistan	August 1990	October 1991
	Kazakhstan	October 1990	December 1991
South Caucasus	Georgia	May 1990	April 1991
	Armenia	August 1990	September 1991
	Azerbaijan	September 1989	October 1991

Responding to the table

1. Explain the difference between sovereignty and secession.
2. Examine the table to identify patterns and draw conclusions:
   - **a.** Which regions/Soviet states were the *first* to declare independence? Which were the *last*? What might account for why some regions/particular Soviet states sought independence early and why some later?
   - **b.** What is the time gap between the *first* Soviet state to declare independence and the *last* Soviet state to do so? Do you find this time gap surprising? Explain.
   - **c.** What general patterns are discernible between declaring sovereignty and declaring independence? Are there any notable exceptions?

sovereignty a political concept that refers to the dominant power of supreme authority

secession formal withdrawal of a group from a political entity (e.g. a country)

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

What impact did Gorbachev's foreign policy have on the Warsaw Pact nations and the Soviet republics?

The communist governments of Warsaw Pact countries had remained in power in Eastern Europe due to Soviet support and the threat of intervention by Moscow if their regimes were challenged. When Gorbachev announced in December 1988 that this was no longer the case, democratic revolutions rapidly transformed Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. The Warsaw Pact was formally dissolved in July 1991. The pace of change was sudden across the 15 Soviet republics, too. Exercising the political freedoms of *glasnost*, disappointed by the lack of prosperity from the economic policies of *perestroika*, and encouraged by Moscow's non-intervention in Eastern Europe, secession movements emerged, beginning in the Baltic states. Attempts to keep the Soviet Union together by force failed.

Return to the table you created to summarise your learning about the information and sources given for each sub-question. Complete the table for this sub-question. You may wish to reconsider your responses to other sub-questions because of your increased knowledge.

Inquiry question: What were the main causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991?			
Sub-questions (factors)	**Key information**	**Key sources**	**Reflection: How significant is this factor? Justify your response.**
5. What impact did Gorbachev's foreign policy have on the Warsaw Pact nations and the Soviet republics?			

SUB-QUESTION 6: To what extent was Boris Yeltsin responsible for the collapse of the Soviet Union?

In the first half of 1991, having lost the Baltic states to independence movements, Gorbachev attempted to save the Soviet Union by offering a new Union Treaty. The treaty would replace the 1922 founding document of the Soviet Union and provide extensive concessions: the central government would have less control; individuals would have rights and freedoms; and the republics would be recognised as sovereign, and allowed to determine their own forms of government and negotiate directly with foreign countries (though not on foreign policy).

A Soviet-wide referendum was held on 17 March 1991 that asked Soviet states to approve the Union Treaty. The six republics that were moving towards independence boycotted the vote – the Baltic states as well as Armenia, Georgia and Moldova. However, across the remaining nine republics, over 75% of residents voted to retain the Soviet Union under new terms. Following negotiations, eight republics (Ukraine abstained) approved the Union Treaty with some conditions. The new union would be a federation of independent republics with a common president, foreign policy and military. The signing of the treaty was scheduled for 20 August 1991.

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In August 1991, hardliners in the senior levels of the Communist Party decided to take drastic action against Gorbachev's reforms, the resulting loss of control over Eastern Europe, and the Union Treaty's plan to decentralise power. They attempted to stage a *coup d'état* and seize control of the country.

The coup leaders dispatched KGB agents to arrest Gorbachev on the night of 18–19 August in Crimea, where he was on holiday. They told Gorbachev to either resign or declare a state of emergency and allow members of the Communist Party to restore order to the country. He refused. Gorbachev was publicly declared unwell, and Vice President Yanayev (a member of the coup) signed a decree entrusting himself with presidential powers. The coup members met in the Kremlin and declared a state of emergency across the entire Soviet Union, banning all newspapers except for party-controlled media, and prohibiting rallies, demonstrations and strikes.

An arrest list was drawn up that included the anti-communist leader of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. A year earlier in May 1990, Yeltsin had been elected by members of the Supreme Soviet of Russia to be the president and, in July 1991, he had become Russia's first head of state to be elected by the people. Yeltsin had reduced the influence of the Soviet central government and increased the sovereignty of Russia; he banned the Communist Party from the workplace, had taxes paid to the Russian Federation rather than the Soviet Union, and began developing Russia's own military and security policies. Yeltsin would prove pivotal in defeating the coup.

When soldiers, tanks and armoured personnel carriers were sent to Moscow on 19 August, the first day of the coup, Yeltsin famously climbed onto one of the tanks guarding the White House, Russia's parliament building, and addressed the crowd.

Sources **15.51** and **15.52** The August coup, 19–22 August 1991

SOURCE 15.51 Yeltsin's address to citizens of Russia, 19 August 1991

Citizens of Russia ... we are dealing with a rightist, reactionary, anti-constitutional coup.

Despite all the difficulties and severe trials being experienced by the people, the democratic process in the country is acquiring an increasingly broad sweep and an irreversible character. The peoples of Russia are becoming masters of their destiny ...

The leadership of Russia has adopted a resolute position toward the Union Treaty striving for the unity of the Soviet Union and unity of Russia. Our position on this issue permitted a considerable acceleration of the preparation of this treaty, to coordinate it with all the republics and to determine the date of signing as August 20. Tomorrow's signing has been canceled.

These developments gave rise to angry reactionary forces, pushed them to irresponsible and adventurist attempts to solve the most complicated political and economic problems by methods of force ...

We appeal to citizens of Russia to give a fitting rebuff to the putschists [coup leaders] and demand a return of the country to normal constitutional development.

Boris Yeltsin, 'Address to the People', 19 August 1991

Responding to the sources

1. Provide evidence from Yeltsin's address to indicate his perspective on:
   - the coup leaders
   - the reason for the coup
   - Gorbachev's policies
   - the Union Treaty.
2. What is Yeltsin asking the citizens of Russia to do? What does this suggest about Yeltsin's view of the people?

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3. What aspects of the photograph suggest that the situation is precarious and possibly dangerous for Yeltsin and his entourage?
4. This photograph and the coverage of this incident propelled Yeltsin to the status of hero. Based on this photograph and your wider knowledge, why might this have been the case?
5. How could the photograph be used as evidence that the Russian people were predisposed to accede to Yeltsin's call? (Note that he also asked his followers not to harass the soldiers and offered amnesty for any military servicemen who defected in opposition to the coup.)

SOURCE 15.52 Photograph of Yeltsin on the tank, 19 August 1991

By the time Gorbachev returned to Moscow on 22 August, the last day of the coup, Yeltsin effectively controlled the military, and he convinced Gorbachev to place a temporary ban on the Communist Party. The Russian president invited Gorbachev to address the parliament on 23 August, but Yeltsin interjected during his speech to tell him not to defend the communists and to reveal more of the details of his plans to replace traitors.

Source **15.53** Yeltsin and Gorbachev, 23 August 1991

Responding to the photograph

1. What does the body language suggest about the power relationship between the two leaders?
2. Are you surprised by Yeltsin's actions? Explain.
3. What might be a political motive for Yeltsin to humiliate Gorbachev in this manner?

SOURCE 15.53 Yeltsin interjects while Gorbachev is speaking to the Russian Parliament, 23 August 1991

In the wake of the failed coup, more Soviet republics began to declare independence, with Ukraine and Belarus departing the Soviet Union within the next two days. Yeltsin assumed the role of Russian Prime Minister (November 1991) and declared that the Russian Council of Ministers was now the authority on Russian territory. The power of Gorbachev and the USSR Congress of People's Deputies was now limited to the walls of the Kremlin.

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Source 15.54 shows how Estonian-American cartoonist, Edmund Valtman, viewed the position Gorbachev found himself in.

Source **15.54** 'Gorbachev beholds a shattered hammer and sickle', 31 August 1991

SOURCE 15.54 Cartoon by Edmund Valtman, published in American newspapers, 31 August 1991

Responding to the cartoon

1. What does the symbol represent and why is it broken?
2. Count how many parts the symbol has broken into. What is the significance of this number?
3. Describe Gorbachev's body language. How does he appear to be reacting to the situation before him?
4. Consider the origin of the cartoonist. Valtman grew up in Estonia but moved to the United States after the Soviet Union took control in 1944. How might this affect his perspective?

On 8 December 1991, Yeltsin agreed to meet the leaders of Belarus and Ukraine to discuss the future at a secret meeting in a hunting lodge on the Belavezha estate, near the border between Belarus and Poland. Yeltsin only agreed to attend if Gorbachev was not invited. It was here that the three Soviet states signed the Belavezha Accords. This agreement dissolved the Soviet Union and established a loose federation called the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

Ten minutes after the leaders signed the accords, Yeltsin phoned President Bush.

He told the president that there had been two days on discussion before the three states agreed to join together as the CIS. Yeltsin was critical of current policies, which he felt had created an economic and political crisis in Belarus, Ukraine and Russia. He also told President Bush that President Gorbachev had not yet been advised of the outcome of the discussions. You can read a full transcript of this phone call at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10807.

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? Consider Yeltsin's motive. Why might he phone the President of the United States before informing Gorbachev?

Gorbachev saw Yeltsin's announcement as a betrayal of an agreement to establish a new Union Treaty and argued that none of these leaders had the authority to make such pronouncements. However, with the loss of its two major republics, Russia and Ukraine, the Soviet Union could no longer exist. On 21 December, 11 of the other republics joined the CIS: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Georgia would join in December 1993. The Baltic states remained separate.

On 25 December 1991, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned in a televised address, in which he described what had changed in the six years since he came to power. During his address, the Soviet flag was taken down from the Kremlin.

Source **15.55** Gorbachev's resignation speech, 25 December 1991

SOURCE 15.55 Excerpt from Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation speech, 25 December 1991

... I have firmly advocated the independence of peoples and the sovereignty of republics. But at the same time I have favoured the preservation of the Union state and the integrity of the country. Events have taken a different path. A policy line aimed at dismembering the country and disuniting the state has prevailed, something that I cannot agree with.

... We are living in a new world: An end has been put to the Cold War, and the arms race and the insane militarization of the country, which disfigured our economy and the public consciousness and morals, have been halted. The threat of a world war has been removed.

... All these changes required enormous effort and took place in an acute struggle, with mounting resistance from old, obsolete, and reactionary forces – both the former Party-state structures and the economic apparatus – and also from our habits, ideological prejudices, and a leveling and parasitic mentality. The changes ran up against our intolerance, low level of political sophistication, and fear of change.

For this reason, we lost a great deal of time. The old system collapsed before a new one had time to begin working. And the crisis in society became even more acute ...

Mikhail Gorbachev, resignation speech, 25 December 1991

Responding to the source

1. What is Gorbachev's perspective on why the Soviet Union ended?
2. What positive changes does Gorbachev claim have taken place in the Soviet Union since he took office?
3. Why does Gorbachev claim that these changes were not enough to save the Soviet Union from collapse?

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Activity **15.6**

Represent historical information

Create an illustrated timeline of the 10 most significant events/developments that led to collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. You might use a Canva infographic template.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 6

To what extent was Boris Yeltsin responsible for the collapse of the Soviet Union?

Boris Yeltsin played a significant role in the demise of the Soviet Union. He led the Soviet Union's largest republic to its independence, created a successful political career outside the Communist Party, defused the August 1991 coup and formed the CIS. Yeltsin had the legitimacy of having been elected President of Russia by popular election, while Gorbachev, who introduced democratisation, had not been popularly elected to his role. Historian Ian Kershaw (2022:358) uses a medical analogy to describe the roles of Gorbachev and Yeltsin: 'Gorbachev's reforms, above all the introduction of contested elections in 1989, had left the patient on life support. Yeltsin pulled the plug.'

Return to the table you created to summarise your learning about the information and sources given for each sub-question. Complete the table for this sub-question. You may wish to reconsider your responses to other sub-questions because of your increased knowledge.

Inquiry question: What were the main causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991?			
Sub-questions (factors)	**Key information**	**Key sources**	**Reflection: How significant is this factor? Justify your response.**
6. To what extent was Boris Yeltsin responsible for the collapse of the Soviet Union?			

SUB-QUESTION 7: What have historians said about the collapse of the Soviet Union?

When the Soviet Union collapsed at the end of 1991, journalists and historians began to analyse what factors caused the fall. Points of disagreement soon emerged over whether the fall was caused by long-term, short-term, external or internal factors, and the extent to which the end was inevitable. Short-term factors included the internal power struggles between Yeltsin and Gorbachev, the external pressures of the arms race and Reagan's policies, and resistance from the Baltics and other republics towards the Soviet centre. Longer-term factors were typically economic and structural. The historiography reveals competing 'schools' of historical explanation, which may be influenced by the context of the historian and the availability of evidence.

Andrei Kovalev was a former state official of the USSR and then Russia. He was closely involved in the implantation of policy during the period from 1986 to 1991 under Gorbachev. Finding the Putin regime to be too politically repressive, he left government service in 2007 and moved to Belgium. Below he comments on historical accounts of the Soviet Union's collapse from an insider's perspective.

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Source **15.56** The limitations of sources

SOURCE 15.56 Historian Andrei Kovalev writes about perspective in primary sources

Every participant or even observer of those fascinating and dramatic events has his or her own perspective, which sometimes bears no resemblance to what actually went on. And they are the primary sources . . . The personal and other ambitions of some authors of memoirs, of researchers, and of journalists occasionally distort the historical mirrors to such an extent that quite soon after the events it is often difficult to distinguish between the truth and its falsification. Sometimes, however, this is done unconsciously as a result of an ignorance of what has transpired. But almost no one admits to such ignorance, and this gives rise to the Big Lie, so characteristic of Russia.

Kovalev, Andrei A. (2017) *Russia's Dead End: An Insider's Testimony from Gorbachev to Putin*, Potomac Books. Preface

Responding to the source

1. Explain what Kovalev means by the phrase 'distort the historical mirrors'?
2. What is the 'Big Lie' that Kovalev claims is 'so characteristic of Russia'?
3. Identify the limitations of many primary and secondary sources that represent the collapse of the Soviet Union according to Kovalev.

A recent work by Vladislav Zubok (2021) considers many of the factors that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Zubok is a Moscow-born historian who is a Professor of International History at the London School of Economics. Zubok has drawn on new evidence released from the archives from both Russia and the United States and has also interviewed many of the participants in the events of the 1980s and 1990s.

Source **15.57** Zubok on the collapse of the Soviet Union

SOURCE 15.57 Historian Vladislav Zubok's assessment of the collapse of the Soviet Union

Scholars who studied the end of the Soviet Union identified several causes of the state's demise. Their conclusions can be summarised as follows. First, the superiority of the United States and its policies in the Cold War had made the USSR retreat and surrender. Second, Gorbachev's glasnost had discredited both communist ideology and doomed the Soviet system to failure. Third, the Soviet Union had died because its economy imploded. Fourth, the movements for national independence had led to the implosion of 'the last empire'. Finally, the most powerful Soviet elites had opposed Gorbachev's reforms and thereby inadvertently caused the demise of the USSR. In this book, I argue that none of those causes, when taken separately, could have destroyed the Soviet Union. And it took me some time to understand how all those threads had converged in a kind of perfect storm, unleashed by the rule of Mikhail Gorbachev.

The literature about external Cold War pressures argues that the Soviet Union collapsed because it was overstretched: it lost the war in Afghanistan, carried the unbearable burden of military expenditures, and subsidised its clients around the world. The Soviet superpower, some scholars contend, could no longer compete, militarily and technologically, with the United States and its western allies ... Recently, more nuanced studies of the Western, especially American, factor in the Soviet collapse have appeared. This book explores the external factors as secondary to the internal causes ...

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The Soviet economic crisis played a central and often underestimated role in the last three years of Soviet history. In conjunction with revelations of past communist crimes [through glasnost], it contributed to mass discontent and mobilisation against the central authority … Scholars who studied the Soviet economy concluded that the Soviet economic system was destroyed not by its structural faults, but by Gorbachev era reforms. The purposeful as well as unintended destruction of the Soviet economy, along with its finances, may be considered the best candidate as a principal cause of Soviet disintegration …

Gorbachev lies at the centre of this puzzle … the personality and leadership of the last Soviet leader helps to bring together many pieces in the story of Soviet dissolution. Scholars who sympathise with Gorbachev usually foreground his international policies and give short shrift to his domestic problems and failures, ascribing the latter to intractable historical and other factors, as well as to the resistance and treason of his enemies …

This book rethinks the inevitability of the Soviet collapse. It addresses questions: Which other policy options were available to the Kremlin? Could a smart use of coercion and incentives, resolute actions and a bit of luck have made a difference? Were there other much earlier choices and contingencies that, in the light of new evidence, constituted the points of no return? Many skeptics, when they heard me raising these questions, reproach me: the Soviet Union was doomed they said, so one should celebrate its collapse not interrogate it… History is never a sequence of inevitabilities and the Soviet demise was no exception: it was full of contingencies …

Vladislav Zubok, *Collapse: The Fall of the Soviet Union*, 2021, pp. 3–6

Responding to Zubok

1. According to Zubok, what are the five main arguments that have existed about the cause of the collapse of the Soviet Union?
2. What were the external factors that contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union?
3. Why does Zubok see external factors as secondary causes of the collapse?
4. According to Zubok, how might the collapse of the Soviet Union have been prevented?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 7

What have historians said about the collapse of the Soviet Union?

Return to the table you created to summarise your learning about the information and sources given for each sub-question. Complete the table for this sub-question. You may wish to reconsider your responses to other sub-questions because of your increased knowledge.

Inquiry question: What were the main causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991?			
Sub-questions (factors)	**Key information**	**Key sources**	**Reflection: How significant is this factor? Justify your response.**
7. What have historians said about the collapse of the Soviet Union?			

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Depth study: Summing up

In this depth study, you have looked at what happened between 1979 and 1991 to cause the collapse of the Soviet Union. You have seen how external factors, including war in Afghanistan, Reagan's policies, and independence movements in the Warsaw Pact nations and Baltic states exerted pressure on the Soviet Union. You have also seen how internal events may have caused the breakdown of old ways and a breakup of the Soviet Union more likely, including the Chernobyl disaster, *glasnost* and *perestroika*, and Yeltsin and the coup. You have also considered how historians have debated the end of the Cold War and the Soviet Union.

SYNTHESISING

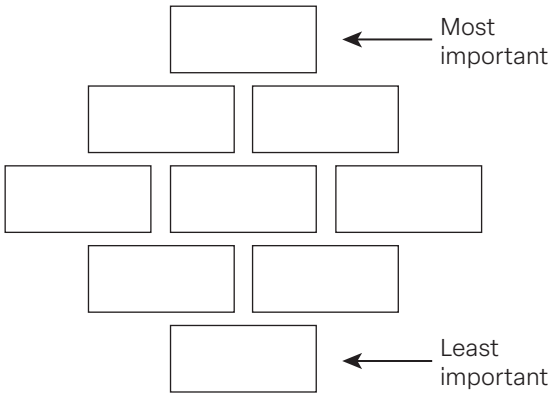
In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: What were the main causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991?

To help you, use the table you have created as the basis of an historical argument in response to the question. You might also complete the diamond ranking activity below.

Ranking reasons

Working in pairs, diamond rank the factors that contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union from the most significant to the least significant. The reasons that feature in this chapter are listed below. Be prepared to justify your decisions:

- war in Afghanistan
- Reagan's policies
- Chernobyl
- inherited structural deficiencies in the communist system
- Gorbachev's domestic policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*
- Gorbachev's foreign policy of non-intervention
- secession of Baltic states
- August 1991 coup
- Boris Yeltsin.



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CONCLUDING STUDY

What is the legacy of the collapse of the Soviet Union?

Significance at the time

When Gorbachev resigned in December 1991, it marked the official dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Since the revolutions of 1917, the Soviet Union had represented the ideals of communism, and since World War II, it had been the superpower in the 'East' that answered the challenges of the United States and the 'West'. Now, when people were celebrating the end of the Cold War, journalists and world leaders trying to process the rapid turn of events had more questions than answers.

Would East Germany, Poland and other former satellite states of the Warsaw Pact embrace democracy and prosper from global trade? Would the newly independent Baltic states keep their sovereignty, or even join NATO? Would the former Soviet republics in the newly formed Commonwealth of Independent States continue *glasnost* and *perestroika*, or return to one-party rule? Who was responsible for the tens of thousands of nuclear weapons across the former Soviet Union?

The collapse of the Soviet Union had huge personal significance for many people. For some, there was profound loss.

Activity **15.7**

Research

Research the opinion of Valery Boldin, Gorbachev's Chief of Staff, on what caused the end of the Soviet Union. Boldin's memoirs were published in 1994 as *Ten Years That Shook the World*.

1. Identify what Boldin suggests caused the collapse of the Soviet Union.
2. Boldin was Gorbachev's personal assistant, but turned against him during the 1991 coup. How might this have shaped his perspective?
3. Boldin's reflection was published in English in 1994. What does this show about the significance of the end of the Soviet Union at this time?

For Vladimir Putin, 1989 marked a turning point, because as the Berlin Wall was being dismantled, a crowd of angry protesters surrounded his KGB headquarters in Dresden, East Germany, demanding the secret files inside. Putin called the nearby Soviet base for backup but was told, 'Moscow is silent'. He realised that the Soviet Union had abandoned its agents and that he was on his own. Deciding to bluff his way out of the situation, Putin went outside and told the angry mob that he had armed backup inside and that they would shoot anyone who tried to enter. Falling for the ruse, the crowd backed away. Putin bought himself time to save secret records and destroy the rest.

Putin later said he felt betrayed by the Soviet leadership, who failed to propose something new to take the place of the Soviet Union. Putin would look for opportunities to build a stronger Russia from the ruins of the Soviet Union, and in time he saw that the best opportunity was to move to Moscow.

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Russia from Yeltsin to Putin

In the Russian Federation, Yeltsin, the people's hero of the crises of 1991, inherited much of what had belonged to Gorbachev: the Kremlin as headquarters, state-run businesses, the majority of the Soviet population (nearly 150 million Russians), the nuclear weapons stockpile, a seat on the UN Security Council and the unfinished task of restructuring.

Yeltsin chose 'shock therapy' in a rapid transition to a market economy. However, while privatising state-run enterprises enriched some Russians, the living standards of ordinary people worsened. Gross domestic product shrank every year until 1997, and in 1993 when the economy declined by nearly 15%, the Congress of People's Deputies tried to depose Yeltsin. In response, Yeltsin disbanded the Congress and arranged fresh elections.

Yeltsin was considered increasingly erratic. Four times during his presidency he fired his entire cabinet. A financial crisis in 1998 saw the Russian Central Bank default on its debts and the country came to the brink of bankruptcy. In the same year, he appointed Putin to head the new security service that had replaced the KGB. Putin was promoted to Prime Minister in 1999, and then Acting President when Yeltsin resigned on 31 December 1999. In the March 2000 elections, Putin won 54% of the popular vote, and he has remained as leader ever since.

Chechnya

Yeltsin and then Putin faced ongoing disputes related to the 'nationalities bomb', as cultural and language groups within Russia sought national independence. Separatists in the primarily Muslim and oil-rich area of Chechnya tried to break away from the Russian Federation soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and in 1994 Yeltsin sent in the military. Fierce fighting over 20 months resulted in the deaths of up to 100 000 people, until a peace deal granted Chechnya some autonomy within Russia.

One month after beginning his term as Russian President in 2000, Putin took decisive action in a Second Chechen War. Russian forces reinvaded the region, bombed much of the Chechen capital, Grozny, inflicted heavy casualties and installed a pro-Moscow leader.

Source **15.58** A Russian perspective on Putin and Chechnya

SOURCE 15.58 Interview with a Russian citizen, 2000

I am satisfied with his decisiveness and courage. Why? Because where others started in Chechnya and then threw it off, afraid, he bravely went to it. He took it upon himself, young, energetic, and said, 'I will go to the end. There. That's how it will be.' Everyone says that Stalin was such an old so-and-so, but under him we lived without being afraid of anything. We were under a kind of large defence. I would hope Putin will be like that.

Interview conducted in 2000, in Ellen Carnaghan, 'Thinking about Democracy: Interviews with Russian Citizens', *Slavic Review*, 2001, p. 356

Responding to the source

1. Identify the characteristics of Putin that the elderly woman admires.
2. What is the significance of her reference to Stalin?
3. What might the interview suggest about Russian people's attitudes to politics in 2000?

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Chechen fighters persisted, and mounted terrorist attacks on Russia. Russians who criticised the government's actions in Chechnya suffered; in 2006, human rights activist Anna Politkovskaya was shot dead in the elevator of her apartment building, and Alexander Litvinenko, who accused Putin of ordering her murder, was killed by Russian radioactive poison in London.

Legacy – significance for today

Today, the academic debate about why the Soviet Union collapsed continues. However, a key concern is that Putin regards the history of the collapse of the Soviet Union as a disaster, which left hundreds of thousands of Russians stranded outside the borders of Russia. He seems intent on rebuilding aspects of the former Soviet Union, and this intention threatens a return to Cold War-like mistrust and lack of understanding between world powers.

Source **15.59** Understanding Russia

SOURCE 15.59 Gorbachev on Russia

When I proposed perestroika for our country and new thinking for the world, it started with the following words: 'We want to be properly understood.' There is still not enough understanding of Russia, even now. America and Europe should be grateful to us and respect Russia. Yet, today Russia is suspected instead of trying to rebuild its empire, of becoming a dangerous country again. That is wrong.

Mikhail Gorbachev, interview with *New Perspectives Quarterly*, 2005

Responding to the source

1. What is Gorbachev's perspective on how the West should regard Russia?
2. Given that Gorbachev expressed this view in 2005 and Putin only became president in 2000, how valid might Gorbachev's assertions be about Russian aspirations and the nature of Russia in the 2020s?
3. In 2024, Vladimir Putin also expressed opinions about how the West should regard Russia, in an interview with US journalist Tucker Carlson. You can see a video of this interview, and read a transcript, at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10808.
   a. What is Putin's perspective on how the West should regard Russia?
   b. Carlson was a popular far-right host on America's *Fox News* until he was sacked in 2023, in part for promoting pro-Donald Trump conspiracy theories. Putin chose Carlson as his interviewer. What conclusions might you draw about Putin based on his selection of interviewer?

Ukraine

In 2014, pro-democracy groups filled the streets of Kyiv to protest against Ukrainian leader Viktor Yanukovych, who had abandoned plans to develop closer ties with the European Union and instead developed trade deals with, and gave territorial concessions to, Russia. The 'Revolution of Dignity' succeeded in ousting the pro-Russian president, but it was followed by a swift response from Putin: Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine.

Crimea was significant to Russia in Putin's eyes because, since the fall of the Soviet Union, Russia's Black Sea Fleet had remained stationed in Sevastopol, Crimea, and many ethnic Russians lived there.

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SOURCE 15.60 Map of Crimea, Ukraine and Russia

Based on the map, what is the strategic importance of Crimea to Russia? How does the occupation of Crimea by Russia threaten Ukraine's national security?

Russia's invasion of Ukraine began in February 2022, starting in the eastern Donbass region, which Putin claims has always been ethnically Russian. The military operation rapidly escalated, displacing millions of people, while Western allies provided aid to Ukraine's charismatic president, Volodymyr Zelenskyy. A catalyst for the war was that Zelenskyy sought to follow other former Soviet states in joining NATO, which Putin regarded as an unacceptable threat to Russian security. Moreover, Putin has consistently claimed that Ukraine is an artificial state that was formed by Stalin. Many analysts argue that Putin sees the reclaiming of territory from Ukraine as a step towards reuniting parts of the old Soviet Union and regaining the glory of the Russian Empire.

Russia's international relations

In response to the illegal annexation of Crimea in 2014, Russia was increasingly isolated. Putin was immediately excluded from the 'G8', where leaders of the world's most industrialised economies meet to discuss global security and economic issues. The group has since become known as the G7. Russia hosted the 2014 Winter Olympics, but since then Russian teams have been banned from Olympic games due to state-sponsored doping.

Individual Russian athletes were allowed to compete at the Paris 2024 Olympics in a neutral stance. Similarly, after hosting the 2018 FIFA men's World Cup football finals, Russia was banned from subsequent tournaments. However, in 2023 FIFA allowed Russian youth teams to participate. A further sign of the isolation came during the COVID-19 pandemic (2019–22), when Russia developed its own vaccine separately from global efforts, named Sputnik V.

In the UN, Russia retains its permanent seat on the Security Council, meaning that Russia can veto any Security Council agreement or decision to which it objects. However, Russia was suspended from the UN Human Rights Council in 2022 due to Ukraine.

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Russia has cultivated close relations with a small number of countries. Russia and China, after a long history of disputes, have recently expanded their military, economic and diplomatic relations. At a meeting in February 2022, days before Russia invaded Ukraine, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Putin said their partnership had 'no limits' and vowed to deepen cooperation on various fronts. Russia is also allies with Syria, Belarus and Kazakhstan – all nations governed by dictators.

Putin – popular president versus dictator

During his time in office, Putin has carefully crafted his image, as the official photograph of the Russian President illustrates.

DOC

Source **15.61** Putin on vacation in Siberia, 2009

SOURCE 15.61 In this official photograph, Putin rides a horse while on holiday in southern Siberia, 2009.

Responding to the photograph

1. What does the photograph suggest about how Putin wants the public to see him?
2. How does the composition of this photograph enhance the image of Putin?

Opinion polls suggest that Putin's approval ratings remain consistently high. Together with censorship of the media and prohibitions on anti-government political actions, he uses Western criticism of Russia to unify Russians and strengthen their patriotism.

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Putin is well-known for silencing his critics. A recent instance is Alexi Navalny, a Russian lawyer, corruption investigator and opposition leader, who was banned from running for election in 2018. In 2020, Russian agents attempted to murder Navalny by poisoning his clothes. In trials starting in 2021, Navalny was found guilty of extremism and sentenced to prison in remote Siberia, where in February 2024, aged 47, he mysteriously died.

While on trial in 2021, this is how Navalny described Putin.

Source **15.62** Navalny on Putin, 2021

SOURCE 15.62 Extract from Alexi Navalny's speech in court, 2021

[Putin has] never participated in any debates or campaigned in an election. Murder is the only way he knows how to fight. He'll go down in history as nothing but a poisoner. We all remember Alexander the Liberator [Alexander II] and Yaroslav the Wise [Yaroslav I]. Well, now we'll have Vladimir the Underpants Poisoner.

... I salute and thank the staff at the Anti-Corruption Foundation who have been arrested and all the honest people across the country who aren't afraid and who take to the streets. Because they have the same rights as you. This country belongs to them just as it does to you and everyone else. We demand proper justice, decent treatment, participation in elections, and participation in the distribution of the national wealth. Yes, we demand all this.

Alexy Navalny, speech in court, Moscow, February 2021

Responding to Navalny

1. Explain Navalny's view of Putin.
2. Explain what Navalny's political group demands.
3. Consider the origin of the source: Navalny risked his life to return to Russia and face arrest and trial. What does this demonstrate about his values, objectives and motivations, and the nature of the man?

'In many ways the country appears to be trapped in a repeating cycle of its history,' writes British historian Orlando Figes (2022). The nation sinks into chaos, rises from the disorder, returns as a regional power, attempts to consolidate these gains through the addition of neighbouring territories and autocratic rule, then collapses. The cycle then begins anew. This occurred under Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth century, Lenin and Stalin with the Soviet Union, and potentially Vladimir Putin, who rose to power by promising that he would restore Russia's prestige. And perhaps then, the cycle continues.

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Chapter 16

TERRORISM, ANTI-TERRORISM AND COUNTER-TERRORISM SINCE 1984

Aspect: Radical Islamist terrorism

BRIAN HOEPPER
and
RYAN SLAVIN

SOURCE 16.1 An Islamic State fighter waves the ISIS flag atop a fighter jet captured from Syrian Government forces in the city of Raqqa, 2015

Hamza* is pleased, proud and exhausted. But not too tired to wave aloft the Islamic State flag. Only weeks ago, this flag and dozens like it flew for the first time over the ancient Syrian city of Raqqa. Syrian Government forces were in retreat. Hamza was a face in the crowd as the ISIS leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, declared Raqqa the capital of the new 'Islamic Caliphate'. The crowd roared its support.

For Hamza, the word 'caliphate' evokes memories of the time, centuries ago, when the Islamic Empire ruled parts of southern Europe, much of northern Africa and vast expanses of Arabia and Persia. Hamza is proud to be part of the resurgence of Islam.

A dozen years earlier, as a teenager, his anger was aimed at the US forces who had invaded his homeland, Iraq. Eventually, like Hamza, other Iraqi Muslims flocked to the Islamic State (IS) cause, creating a fast-moving and hard-hitting army. Now, in 2015, the name 'Islamic State' is on everybody's lips, and the threat of a spreading caliphate strikes fear across the Middle East.

Hamza stands atop a captured Syrian jet fighter. For him, the satisfaction is special. His name – Hamza – means 'strong, like a lion'. 'Finally', he thinks, 'I am worthy of my name.'

Reader advice:

Students should exercise caution when conducting internet research on this subject matter, as searches may lead to pages containing content that is distressing and/or denied classification, and thus illegal to access or download in Australia. In addition, certain search terms may be monitored by Australian police and intelligence agencies. Searches should be restricted to only reputable websites and a teacher should be consulted where a student is in doubt or has concerns. Students should also be aware that this chapter deals with themes that may be confronting, such as suicide-bombing.

In this chapter, the term ISIS is used in most cases when referring to the prominent radical Islamist organisation. Over time, the organisation has been known variously as ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant), ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) or simply IS (Islamic State).

* Hamza is a fictional character devised for this opening story

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

What is terrorism?

In providing examples of what might be called 'terrorism', this chapter deliberately casts a very wide net. You'll encounter individuals, groups and events that some label 'terrorist' but others definitely don't. You and your classmates can join that debate. To begin your investigations, you'll now look at a dramatic historical event. As you read, keep in mind the question: 'Is this terrorism?'

On 22 July 1946, a massive blast destroyed the west wing of the luxurious King David Hotel in Jerusalem. Ninety-three people were killed. Most were members of the British administration, the British Army or hotel staff.

The bomb was planted by members of Irgun, a Jewish Zionist group. Since the 1800s, **Zionists** had been wanting to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. But their aspirations had been thwarted by deals done between Britain and France during World War I. In the wake of World War II's Holocaust, Jewish people intensified their campaigns to establish a homeland in Palestine. Britain, which administered the area, moved slowly towards leaving Palestine and supporting a new Jewish state called Israel. Irgun bombed the hotel to hasten Britain's departure, but insisted afterwards that it had alerted the hotel's management in advance, advising an evacuation.

Zionists supporters of Zionism, a movement that seeks the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state

Palestine, 1946

Britain departed from Palestine on 15 March 1948; the new state of Israel had been declared the day before. Decades later, the leader of the Irgun bombers, Menachem Begin, became Prime Minister of Israel and a significant world leader.

? **Would you apply the label 'terrorism' to the event in Jerusalem? Share your answer and reasons with a classmate.**

SOURCE 16.2 The bombed King David Hotel, Jerusalem, 22 July 1946

Does the photograph suggest that the Irgun bombers wanted to kill a substantial number of people? Why might many Jews, including Zionists, have criticised the bombing? How do you think the British population – both in Palestine and in Britain – would have reacted to the bombing? Does the image suggest that Irgun intended to gain great publicity with this act? Do you think the bombing would have advanced the campaign of Zionists for a Jewish homeland? Note that Irgun has always claimed that they made phone calls to warn of the bomb, and to prompt an evacuation of the building. Does that affect your answers above?

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How can events such as terrorism be analysed and understood?

When analysing complex historical events, you can use 'comparative categorisation' to find patterns and trends in information. This broadens your understanding of phenomena such as terrorism. In Activity 16.1, you will dig into four significant events to see what patterns emerge.

Activity **16.1**

Conduct research

Create a table like the one below and research online to comparatively categorise the four events in the top row.

	1. Roman crucifixions of rebels, along the Appian Way, first century BCE	2. Jerusalem bombing, 1946 (outlined above)	3. Brighton bombing, 1984	4. Moscow concert attack, 2024
a. Perpetrators				
b. Action				
c. Target/ victims				
d. Motives				
e. Immediate impact				
f. Wider audience/ effect				
g. Long-term impact				
h. Additional notes				

1. What, if anything, do the four events have in common?
2. What are the key differences among them?

You probably noted that all four events involved violence and they created fear or a sense of terror among particular people. As you'll see later, all definitions of terrorism refer to violence (actual and/or threatened) and to the creation of fear or a sense of terror.

Next, you and your classmates will investigate 20 historical events. All the events involve both violence and the creation of fear, but some critics would argue that not all of them should be called terrorism. You also might be surprised to see particular events included in this activity. Clearly, you'll be prompted to continue asking: 'What is terrorism?'

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How have violence and the creation of fear been linked over the centuries?

The previous examples suggest that the use of violence to send a message, to create fear and, often, to kill people has a history stretching back over 2000 years. In Activity 16.2 you will individually research one such event, share your findings and discuss whether it deepens your understanding of terrorism.

Activity **16.2**

Research an event in which violence or a threat created fear

Here is a chronological list of 20 events characterised by violence (or the threat of violence) and the creation of fear. They belong to five categories (A–E), with four events in each category. Each category highlights one particular type of violent action that has been prominent historically.

1. Organise the class into five equal groups (A, B, C, D and E). Within each group, take a number (1, 2, 3 or 4).
2. In the list, find the event that has your number (e.g. C4). Identify one or more likely search terms in the description and conduct an internet search. Your task is to complete a 'Perpetrators/Actions/Victims/Targets/Audience/Motives etc.' analysis, as in Activity 16.1. Your notes will be the basis of a report to your group.
3. When ready, share your findings with your group. Then discuss why you think your four events were grouped together. After that, go to step 4 below.

List of actions – chronological

Note that you're given a little detail about each event. That detail could indicate the perpetrator of the violence (or threat of violence) or the victim. Use that detail as a springboard for finding greater detail online in order to understand the context and significance of the action.

E1: Athens 399 BCE

Famous philosopher Socrates is sentenced to death, drinks poison as ordered, and dies.

D1: Italy 30 April 1633

Threatened with torture, Galileo recants his theory that the Earth revolves around the Sun.

A1: Russia 13 March 1881

A Narodnaya Volya revolutionary, hurling a powerful bomb, assassinates Tsar Alexander II and kills many bystanders.

C1: Bosnia 28 June 1914

Soon after a failed bomb attack in Sarajevo, a gunman shoots and kills the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne – Archduke Franz Ferdinand – and his wife Countess Sophie.

B1: United States 28 September 1919

In Omaha City, a huge crowd forcibly takes Will Brown from police custody and lynches him – one of thousands of such lynchings over decades in the United States.

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SOURCE 16.3 Columbia, South Carolina, 10 July 2015. Victor Garlington holds up a photo of the lynching of his great uncle Richard Putt in 1913. The Confederate flag has just been officially removed from the Statehouse building in the background.

Who carried out lynchings in the United States? Who were the victims? What 'messages' did lynchings send? Might they be viewed as acts of terrorism? Why would Victor Garlington make this statement at this particular event? Why might his old photograph make a powerful impression? What mixed responses might Garlington have evoked?

D2: Germany 22 February 1943

Condemned to death for distributing leaflets at Munich University, young students Sophie and Hans Scholl are executed by guillotine.

D3: Kenya 1949

Hussein Onyango Obama, the grandfather of future US President Barack Obama, is imprisoned and tortured by British soldiers in Kamiti prison.

E2: Great Britain 7 June 1954

Brilliant cryptologist Alan Turing commits suicide after criminal prosecution and public persecution for his 'crime'.

D4: Chile 12–16 September 1973

Popular folk singer and theatre director Victor Jara is arrested, held in Chile Stadium, tortured and shot 44 times, with his body dumped near a railway line.

E3: Saudi Arabia 15 July 1977

Princess Mishaal bint Fahd, a 19-year-old member of the royal family, is executed by pistol, and a co-accused is beheaded by sword.

A2: Germany 5 September 1977

Leading German industrialist Hanns Martin Schleyer is kidnapped, held in captivity for over two months and finally executed by his captors.

C2: England 12 October 1984

In Brighton, a bomb destroys part of a major hotel, killing five but missing its major target.

A3: Peru 16 July 1992

'Shining Path' guerrillas detonate a bomb in Lima, the capital city of Peru, killing 25 men, women and children.

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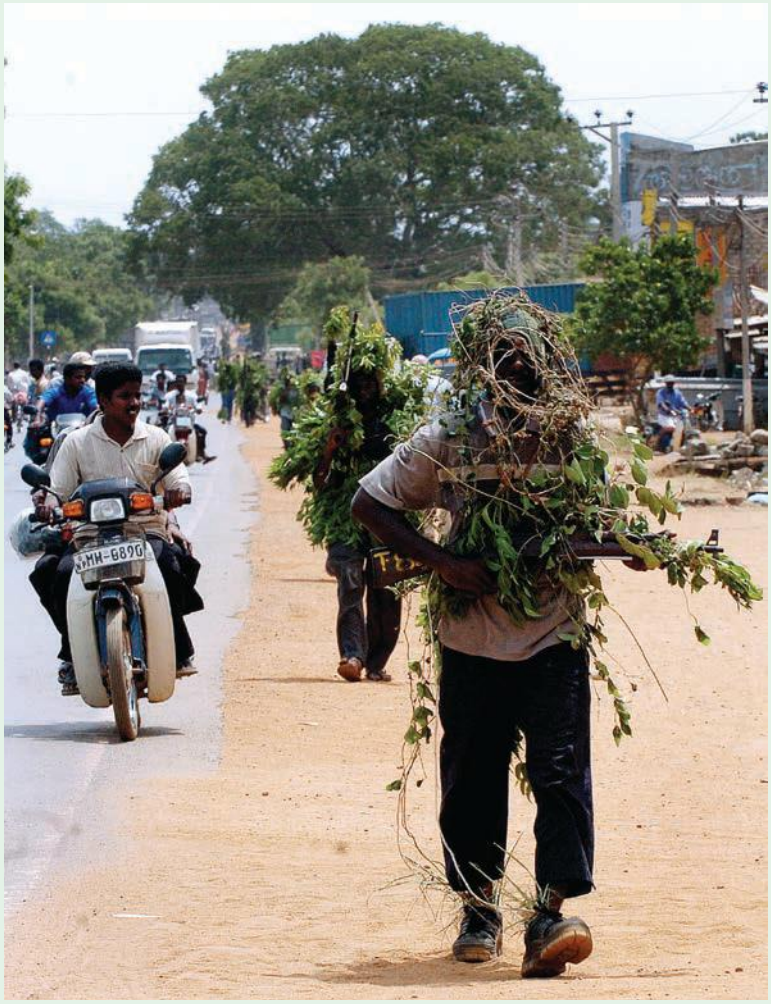
C3: Sri Lanka 1 May 1993

A Tamil Tiger suicide bomber assassinates the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa.



SOURCE 16.4 Sri Lanka, 1 July 2006. Members of the Tamil Tigers home guard patrol the street of Kilinochchi.

What in this picture suggests that the Tamil Tigers control this town? What does their appearance indicate about their military tactics? What might the passing people be feeling about this situation? Could the Tigers have used such images as positive propaganda? Explain your response.

B2: Rwanda April–July 1994

Rwandans slaughter up to a million of their fellow citizens.

A4: United States 19 April 1995

A bomb planted in a building in Oklahoma City by Timothy McVeigh explodes, destroying much of the building and killing 168 people, including 19 children.

B3: Bosnia 11–22 July 1995

At Srebrenica, over 8000 Bosnians – mainly men and boys – are killed in mass executions.

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C4: Russia 1 September 2004

Over a thousand people, mostly children, are held hostage for three days in a school. Hundreds die in an attempt to free the hostages.

E4: United States 31 May 2009

Scott Roeder murders Dr George Tiller in a church in Wichita, Kansas.

B4: Myanmar August–September 2017

Over 430 000 Rohingya refugees flee to Bangladesh after deadly attacks by Myanmar army soldiers.

4. As a group, discuss whether your particular events match the category/purpose listed below for your group.
   - Group A Category: Political revolutionary
     Purpose: to attack and/or overthrow a political and/or economic system
   - Group B Category: Socio-cultural repressive
     Purpose: to attack people because of their religion, race and/or ethnicity
   - Group C Category: Anti-imperialist
     Purpose: to gain political independence for a national, ethnic, religious or other population
   - Group D Category: Political authoritarian
     Purpose: for a government or institution to maintain control and crush opponents and enemies
   - Group E Category: Moral punitive
     Purpose: to punish people for alleged immorality
5. Discuss whether both violence and the creation of fear were key features of the events.
6. Discuss whether your events could also belong to one of the other categories.
7. Regroup to form four new groups of five students, based on your own number (all 2s in a group, etc.). Each group will include one event from each of the five categories.
8. In your new group, share your findings. Discuss similarities and differences among the actions.
9. In a whole-class setting, each student in turn reports briefly on a) what their event was, and b) whether they think it was 'terrorism' and why. The class can then discuss issues and questions that emerged from the reports.
10. In the whole-class setting, students can describe anything that they found particularly interesting, surprising or shocking.
11. Reflect on the activity. In particular, discuss how useful the internet was as your research base. Did you find any excellent sites and information? Did you encounter any common pitfalls of internet research – for example, doubts about the expertise and authority of a site; lack of citations for key claims; or information overly swayed by the author's standpoint?
12. Finally, prepare a report on what you researched and what you learned in the activity. Upload the report to the class Wiki or other sharing platform so that the whole class can review it.

This detailed activity looked at the long history of violence being used to create fear. You will have found out about vastly different perpetrators, with a range of motives and aims, targeting individuals, groups and institutions around the world. The activity probably highlighted why people argue about how terrorism should be defined.

? Using what you've now learned, write your own definition of 'terrorism'.

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How has terrorism been defined?

In 1988, Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman provided a definition that reflected the complexity of 'terrorism'. While they broadened the definition of the 'actors' (from lone individuals to groups) and the motives (from criminal to political) , they described all terrorist actions as 'repeated', 'violent' and producing 'anxiety'.

In a 2004 article, 'The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism', Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler wrote that 'few terms or concepts in contemporary political discourse have proved as hard to define as terrorism' (2004:777).

Sources **16.5–16.8** Four definitions of terrorism

SOURCE 16.5 Weinberg, Pedahzur and Hirsch-Hoefler, 2004

> **Terrorism is a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role.**

Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, 'The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16(4), 2004, p. 782

SOURCE 16.6 Hoffman, 2017

> **... the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change ... terrorism is always political, and it is always about power.**

Bruce Hoffman, 'All Terrorism is Revolutionary', *The Cipher Brief*, 29 October 2017

SOURCE 16.7 Primoratz, 2004

> **... for the purposes of philosophical discussion, terrorism is best defined as the deliberate use of violence, or threat of its use, against innocent people, with the aim of intimidating some other people into a course of action they otherwise would not take.**

Igor Primoratz, 'State Terrorism and Counter-terrorism', in I. Primoratz (ed.), *Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues*, 2004, p. 114

As recently as 2020, the United Nations (UN) failed to agree on a definition of terrorism. However, on 14 December 2015 the UN had adopted a resolution that reiterated an earlier declaration from 1994 – not a definition:

SOURCE 16.8 United Nations General Assembly, 2015

> **Reiterates that criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them.**

United Nations General Assembly, '49/60. Measures to eliminate international terrorism', 84th plenary meeting, 14 December 2015, p. 4

Responding to the four definitions

1. How does Weinberg, Pedahzur and Hirsch-Hoefler's 2004 definition (Source 16.5) differ from how Schmid and Jongman described terrorism in 1988?
2. What common elements, if any, are found in all the definitions above?

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3. Which definition, if any, best matches the particular event that you researched in Activity 16.2? Do these definitions change your previous decision about whether your event was actually terrorism?
4. Which of the definitions above seems the most restrictive or limited in defining terrorism?
5. Primoratz (Source 16.7) declared that there was such a thing as state terrorism – committed by a state against its own people or abroad. Do you think the state can/should be included in a definition of terrorism?
6. After studying the definitions, and reflecting on the research activity, revise your own initial definition of terrorism. You'll revisit that definition again later.

What might terrorist targets reveal?

Might we better understand a terrorist organisation by examining evidence relating to its targets? You will explore this question by way of investigating the targets of the radical Islamist terrorist organisation al-Qaeda.

Al-Qaeda formed in the late 1980s, emerging from US- and Saudi-supported Mujahideen fighters opposing the Soviet presence in Afghanistan during the Cold War. Its jihad against the Soviet (infidels) morphed into a jihad against the United States, opposing in particular US bases in Saudi Arabia, the homeland of Al-Qaeda's leader Osama bin Laden. Al-Qaeda sent shockwaves around the globe when it crashed four hijacked airliners into US sites on 11 September 2001 (9/11). Terrorism took on a new dimension. In New York, almost 3000 people perished when the famous Twin Towers of the World Trade Center were brought down.

SOURCE 16.9 A fiery blasts rocks the World Trade Center after being hit by two hijacked passenger jets on 11 September 2001 in New York City

What swirl of thoughts and emotions might a bystander viewing this event be experiencing? Why might commentators globally have predicted that the world had now changed irreversibly because of this significant event? If this photo had appeared in both a US newspaper and an al-Qaeda publication, how different might the two captions have been?

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Terrorist groups like al-Qaeda have a range of reasons for choosing their targets. Some target places of *symbolic value* – for example, a parliament, an army base, a bank or a church. Others aim for *maximum disruption* by targeting, for example, an oil pipeline or communications system. Yet others choose targets where *maximum fear and hysteria* will result, both at the site and later through widespread media coverage. This can motivate a suicide bomber to attack a sports stadium, shopping centre, concert hall, or even tall buildings in the middle of a bustling metropolis such as New York City.

Which of the three reasons do you think motivated the 9/11 terrorists?

There may also be deeper reasons underlying a terrorist's choice of target. These can reflect the aims, motives, objectives, worldview and particular set of grievances of a single terrorist or terrorist group. Through examining evidence relating to al-Qaeda's reported targets, we might infer more clearly the aims, motives, objectives or particular set of grievances that this terrorist organisation held.

In 2004, commander of al-Qaeda's operation on the Arabian Peninsula, Abdul Azziz-al-Moqrin, provided 'practical examples' of al-Qaeda terrorist targets in the online publication *Mu'askar al-Batar*. He recommended that his followers attack a hierarchy of targets that he listed.

Source **16.10** Al-Qaeda's hierarchy of targets

SOURCE 16.10 Al-Qaeda's hierarchy of targets

TARGET CATEGORIES

1. 'American and Israeli Jews first, the British Jews and then the French Jews and so on.'
2. 'Christians: Their importance is as follows: Americans, British, Spanish, Australians, Canadians, Italians.'

   Within the target categories above, further distinctions were made:

   i. 'Businessmen, bankers and economists, because money is very important in this age'

   ii. 'Diplomats, politicians, scholars, analysts and diplomatic missions'

   iii. 'Scientists, associates and experts'; 'Military commander and soldiers'; and

   iv. 'Tourists and entertainment missions and anybody that was warned by mujahideen not to go to step in the lands of the Moslems.'

Based on IntelCenter, *Al-Qaeda Targeting Guidance*, vol. 1.0, 1 April 2004, pp. 8–9

Responding to the hierarchy of targets

1. Discuss with a classmate why each of the people above (i to iv) would be targeted by al-Qaeda. (Refer to the three categories of 'aims/motives' in the table below.)

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2. Read the list of potential al-Qaeda targets below. Identify where each would fit in the 'target categories'.

- Jewish diplomat
- Australian businessman
- French politician
- Spanish economist
- Israeli soldier
- Canadian banker
- British rabbi
- Italian prime minister
- Israeli travel agent
- US diplomat
- Australian advertising executive
- US stockbroker

3. Allocate each of the targets to *one or more* of the three al-Qaeda aims in the left-hand column of the table.

Al-Qaeda's aims/motives for targeting people	Potential target that reflects the particular aim or motive in the left column
Removing all Israeli and US presence in the Middle East – the aim of ending the existence of the state of Israel completely	
Anti-capitalist sentiments and contempt for a culture that values monetary wealth over anything else, and their main desire to bring down this ideology and economic system worldwide	
Anti-democratic and secular sentiments, and the aim of ending secular democracies as a form of government	

4. Think back to the photograph of the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center (Source 16.9). Which of the aims/motives for targeting people could have been involved in that attack? Explain.

apostate someone who abandons or renounces their religious beliefs, principles or allegiance

sharia an Islamic system of law based on the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed

caliphate an area under Islamic control and headed by a caliph who claims to be the commander of the faithful and the successor to the Prophet Mohammed

Al-Qaeda's aims are very ambitious. In 2012, US academic Mary Habeck analysed statements by al-Qaeda leaders and identified four major aims: liberating Muslim lands from foreign occupation and/or **apostate** Islamic leadership; imposing **sharia** law on those lands; creating an expanding Islamic **caliphate**; and establishing sharia law across the whole world. For al-Qaeda, the question has been, 'How best do we achieve our aims?'

Saif al-Adel, an al-Qaeda commander and former Egyptian Army Special Forces officer, offered the following answer in a journal by the Middle East Media Research Institute (2003), stating: 'guerrilla warfare is the most powerful weapon Muslims have, and it is the best method [for the materially weak] to continue the conflict with the crusader enemy'. Then, in support of his point, Al-Adel offered historical examples of successfully employed guerrilla warfare, such as the American defeat in Vietnam, the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan and the reversal of immigration of Jewish people from Palestine, among others.

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SOURCE 16.11 A man wearing an American flag shirt visits the Tribute In Lights in Lower Manhattan on 11 September 2021 in New York City. The nation was marking the twentieth anniversary of the terror attacks, when al-Qaeda flew multiple hijacked aeroplanes into the World Trade Center, Shanksville, Pennsylvania and the Pentagon.

Do you think this image challenges Saif al-Adel's idea earlier that 'guerrilla warfare is the most powerful weapon Muslims have [against the US]'? The US Government decided not to rebuild the Twin Towers, but created a memorial at the site. Do you think memorials of victims of terrorism such as this deserve a similar place to those memorialising warfare? Do you think these two powerful pillars of light can convey a stronger sense of memorialisation than a rebuilt skyscraper? Discuss.

Activity **16.3**

Explain al-Qaeda's agenda

1. Using evidence from the information that you have engaged with in this section, list six statements and/or actions that seem to offer an insight into al-Qaeda's agenda.
2. Using the six items, write a well-structured and evidence-based paragraph addressing the question: *What is al-Qaeda's terrorist agenda?* You could begin your paragraph by finishing this topic sentence: *Al-Qaeda's terrorist agenda is …*

Contextual study: Summing up

In this contextual study, you've learned that terrorism is a very complex phenomenon, taking many different shapes in different places at different times. You've practised some ways of analysing and categorising terrorism, using categories such as 'type of target'; 'aims/objectives, motives and grievances'; and 'perpetrators, targets, victims and audience'. You've discovered that terrorism is often violent and is designed to damage people, create fear, influence government policy and/or change people's behaviour.

This contextual study concluded with a section on al-Qaeda. That sets the scene for the following depth study focused on radical Islamist terrorism.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: What have been the causes and consequences of the rise of radical Islamist terrorism in the modern world?

Radical Islamist terrorism burst into popular consciousness on 11 September 2001. Within weeks, the United States had launched a 'war on terror'. Now, more than two decades later, that war has not ended. Much of Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria is damaged and unstable. Countless thousands have died in terrorist attacks around the globe. Radical Islamist groups threaten governments in parts of Africa and Asia. Millions have become refugees from terror, mired in hopelessness. Populations have become fearful, and their governments have responded with extraordinary 'security' measures. In some schools there are controversial anti-radicalisation programs. Attacks continue.

In this depth study, you will investigate these extraordinary developments, beginning with the historical roots of radical Islamist terrorism.

This depth study unfolds through a series of five sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.

The five sub-questions are:

1. How and when did radical Islamist terrorism become prominent and powerful?
2. Did the 'war on terror' fought in Afghanistan and Iraq achieve its aims?
3. How effectively did ISIS pursue its aims between 2013 and 2018?
4. Did radical Islamist terrorism survive the defeat of the Caliphate?
5. What have historians and commentators said about ISIS's ongoing impact?

SOURCE 16.12 Rescue workers sift through the wreckage of the World Trade Center, 13 September 2001 in New York City, two days after the twin towers were destroyed by the al-Qaeda attack.

Why do you think this event has 'lived on in history'?

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SUB-QUESTION 1: How and when did radical Islamist terrorism become prominent and powerful?

Radical Islamist terrorism is not new. In 1966, Sayyid Qutb was hanged for plotting to assassinate Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Qutb – a prominent academic and writer – is widely recognised as the philosophical and political father of today's radical Islamists. In the mid-twentieth century, he was calling for the overthrow of ignorance and ungodliness (*Jahiliyyah*) and the transformation of states and societies according to Islamic principles. He declared that 'Islam cannot accept or agree to a situation which is half-Islam and half-Jahiliyya [separated from God]'. Eventually, he advocated revolution as a necessary strategy. His execution sparked the formation of a number of radical Muslim groups in Egypt, including Islamic Jihad, which assassinated Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1981.

Source **16.13** A radical Islamist demonstration in Cairo, Egypt, 21 April 2011

SOURCE 16.13 Abbud al-Zomor (tall, in grey coat) was jailed in connection with the assassination of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat in 1981. He was released a month before this photo was taken. This protest – in front of the US Embassy – is calling for the release of Egyptian cleric Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, a fellow member of Egypt's Islamic Jihad, who was jailed for life in January 1996 for his role in terrorist attacks, including bombing the World Trade Center in New York in February 1993.

Responding to the photograph

1. What do the photo and the caption suggest about the beliefs and dedication of Abbud al-Zomor? What do they suggest about the place of radical Islam within Egyptian society?
2. What does the photo suggest about the right to political activity and expression in Egypt in 2012?
3. Why would demonstrators carry banners and posters in both Arabic and English language?
4. Discuss the moral and practical issues associated with releasing convicted terrorists back into society after their jail terms.
5. Research Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman. Find out where he was jailed, the violent action of his supporters in 2005, and whether he was released after this 2011 demonstration, or subsequently.

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In 1981, when Egyptian President Sadat was assassinated, Afghanistan was another breeding ground for radical Islam. In 1979, the Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan to prevent the overthrow of its Marxist-influenced government. For nine years, the Soviet forces waged war against anti-government Muslim guerrillas – the **Mujahideen**. The rebels' numbers were swollen by enthusiastic volunteers from the Middle East, and their fighting power was strengthened by armaments from the United States. The situation reflected Cold War tensions: the Soviet Union wanted to prop up an unpopular Marxist government, while the United States was keen to limit any Soviet influence in the region. The UN overwhelmingly condemned the Soviets as invaders, while the Soviets called the Mujahideen rebels illegitimate terrorists. Finally, in 1988, the humiliated Soviet forces withdrew. The Marxist-influenced government survived for three years, but the ensuing political and military chaos finally brought to power a radical, **fundamentalist** Islamic group – the Taliban.

Mujahideen Islamist guerrilla fighters combating non-Muslim forces; they were instrumental in defeating Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s

fundamentalist having beliefs and behaviours that are based on the strict, literal interpretation of a religious text

jihad traditionally a 'struggle' to live a good life in line with Islamic ideals; today, the word is used more often to describe radical, armed conflict against perceived enemies of Islam

As described previously, Osama bin Laden played a significant role in the Afghan conflict. He fought for and helped finance the Mujahideen. Before the war's end, he had established the radical Islamist group al-Qaeda (1988) and was shaping an ambitious Islamist agenda. Incensed by the presence of US military bases in his Saudi homeland, bin Laden positioned al-Qaeda as a vanguard group to lead global **jihad** against the United States, which he accused of supporting oppressive and corrupt regimes around the world.

SOURCE 16.14 Mujahideen fighters with a tank, Jalalabad region, Afghanistan, 14 March 1989. These Muslim fighters were armed, trained and supplied by countries including the United States, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.

What common cause united those three countries? What risk was the United States probably taking by arming the Mujahideen? Note the date. What stage had the war against the Soviet-backed Afghan Government reached by then?

In 1993, an al-Qaeda bomb exploded under the World Trade Center in New York, but failed to bring the building down. In 1996, a truck bomb killed 19 US soldiers and wounded almost 400 at a base in Khobar, Saudi Arabia. Al-Qaeda truck bombs killed 224 at US embassies in Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) in 1998. In 2000, al-Qaeda rammed an explosive-laden boat into the naval ship USS *Cole* in Aden. These attacks were a prelude to the dramatic and stunning attacks on 11 September 2001 – now known to all as '9/11'.

? How did bin-Laden's agenda in 1988, when he formed al-Qaeda, clash with the US agenda in Afghanistan at the same time? What does that indicate about the wisdom of the US commitment to arm and train the Mujahideen?

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After 9/11

Soon after the 9/11 attacks, US President George W. Bush declared a 'war on terror'. Afghanistan became the first battleground, as the United States sought to capture bin Laden and punish the Islamic Taliban government of Afghanistan for providing sanctuary for him. After 9/11, bin Laden's agenda of worldwide jihad seemed to grow more powerful, even while the man himself was forced to hide in caves, eluding US aerial bombardments and ground searches. Emerging internet technologies meant bin Laden could communicate with allies and enemies alike.

In the years following 9/11, there were three major developments within radical Islamist terrorism:

1. Al-Qaeda consolidated, becoming a key player in crucial conflicts.
2. Radical Islamist groups – some linked to al-Qaeda – grew or emerged in various parts of the world: Abu Sayyaf, the Philippines, founded 1991; Jemaah Islamiyah, Indonesia 1993; Boko Haram, Nigeria, 2002; Al Shabab, Somalia, 2006; and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), 2014. In 2002, Australians learned of Jemaah Islamiyah's ferocity when 88 Australians and 114 others died in a nightclub bombing in Bali.
3. In unpredictable acts of terror, individuals and small groups not connected directly with any Islamist organisation – but apparently picking up the strident call for 'global jihad' – used bombs, weapons and vehicles to produce carnage among everyday crowds in various nations. Hundreds died in these 'copy-cat' attacks in London (United Kingdom, 2005), Fort Worth (United States, 2009), Nice (France, 2016), Orlando (United States, 2016) and Manchester (United Kingdom, 2017).

SOURCE 16.15 London, 7 July 2005. Fifty-two people died when four British-born suicide bombers – influenced by radical Islamist ideas – attacked three underground trains and a double-decker bus.

Why might the bombing of city trains and buses be a particularly effective terrorist tactic, both immediately and in the longer term? Why might such attacks be difficult to prevent? What preventative steps could rail and bus authorities take?

In the following pages, you'll explore the ongoing development of radical Islamist terrorism. First, you'll learn about the first major battlefield in the 'war on terror' – Afghanistan.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How and when did radical Islamist terrorism become prominent and powerful?

1. Construct a timeline to demonstrate key events in the history of radical Islamist terrorism from 1966 (the hanging of Sayyid Qutb) to 2017 (the Manchester bombing). Where appropriate, add notes to the timeline to explain the significance of an event.
2. Explain why the United States' Cold War agenda in the 1980s eventually backfired, strengthening its future enemy in the 'war against terror'.
3. Create a record of research. At the end of this chapter, you will research and produce a Syllabus-style IA3 research essay in response to the key inquiry question: *What have been the causes and consequences of the rise of radical Islamist terrorism in the modern world?*

Your essay will be based on your critical study of a variety of primary and secondary historical sources – some from this chapter and others from your further research.

Sub-question 1 already provides relevant sources.

Produce your own record, as below. List what you think are the main points that you encountered, while studying this section, about the causes and consequences of radical Islamist terrorism. For each point, list the relevant sources that were useful, and what evidence you derived from them. Include an evaluative comment on how trustworthy (reliable) you think the source is. Some examples are provided.

Table 1: *Record of research*

What have been the causes and consequences of the rise of radical Islamist terrorism in the modern world?
POINT: Radical Islamist ideas probably encouraged the development of radical Islamist terrorism. SOURCE: Egyptian leader Qutb (quoted in narrative text). COMMENT: Qutb: 'Islam cannot accept or agree to a situation which is half-Islam and half-Jahiliyya [separated from God].' Probably indicates a desire to 'Islamise' the world. EVALUATION: Qutb's aim seems logical in the context of an extreme reading of the Quran. Wikipedia describes Qutb's significant status and influence.
POINT: Osama bin Laden's terrorism was a reaction to US military bases in his homeland Saudi Arabia. SOURCE: Chapter narrative text. EVALUATION: Have found bin Laden quote from 1996 – 'There is no more important duty than pushing the American enemy out of the holyland.' Can be Googled.
POINT SOURCE: EVALUATION:

You will continue using this research record as you complete your study of this chapter. It will be a key tool in developing your IA3 research essay.

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SUB-QUESTION 2: Did the 'war on terror' fought in Afghanistan and Iraq achieve its aims?

On the same day that the twin towers in New York collapsed in a tangle of steel and ash, President George W. Bush declared a 'war on terror'. He expressed 'disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger'. The president called on other nations to join the United States in a war to 'defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world'.

The 'war on terror' was a five-pronged strategy:

- *diplomatic:* gaining support of like-minded allies, dissuading others from supporting terrorism
- *intelligence:* finding terrorists and preventing attacks
- *law enforcement:* detaining suspected terrorists
- *financial:* freezing terrorist-related funds
- *military:* striking terrorists and their supporting states.

War in Afghanistan

On 20 September 2001, Bush named the enemy in the 'war on terror' – al-Qaeda – and accused the Islamic Taliban government in Afghanistan of harbouring al-Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden, and his supporters. On 7 October, after the Taliban refused US demands to hand over the al-Qaeda terrorists, Bush ordered air strikes on 'terrorist training camps and military installations'. The war in Afghanistan had begun.

Significantly, Bush was careful to distinguish between Islamist terrorists and the 'almost a billion people worldwide who practice the Islamic faith'. On 29 January 2002, Bush foreshadowed a widening of the 'war on terror'. In his State of the Union Address, he named Iran, Iraq and North Korea 'and their terrorist allies' as an 'axis of evil arming to threaten the peace of the world'.

In the Afghanistan conflict, over 40 countries, including Australia, joined the United States in 'Operation Enduring Freedom'. Within a month, the Taliban government – authoritarian, repressive and widely unpopular – was defeated by a combination of US and British air strikes and ground attacks by fighters from an anti-Taliban Northern Alliance. The Taliban capital city Kabul fell, but bin Laden escaped to neighbouring Pakistan.

By 2002, a provisional government had been formed, led by Hamid Karzai, and the UN had authorised a 37-nation International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF), under the command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Australia committed forces. But the promised peace and stability did not eventuate. Instead, the war in Afghanistan lurched on into the following decade. In 2013, an India-based cartoonist, Paresh Nath, suggested why (see Source 16.17).

SOURCE 16.16 On 7 October, the day President Bush ordered air strikes against targets in Afghanistan, this US Navy FA18 Hornet took off from the aircraft carrier USS *Carl Vinson* on its first bombing raid. In the first days of the war, at least three cities were bombed.

Why might 'terrorists' camps' be elusive targets, compared with government military bases and other conventional wartime targets?

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SOURCE 16.17 *Leaving Afghan Issues*, 2013

According to the cartoonist, what three factors made it difficult for the United States to stabilise Afghanistan and exit from the conflict? Explain why each of them was a problem.

The cartoon depicts a bleak picture of Afghanistan in 2013. Three factors fuelled the ongoing war:

1. Far from being defeated, the Taliban had gathered strength as the years passed. In the provinces, their forces were bolstered by an influx of enthusiastic Islamist fighters from Pakistan, the Middle East and elsewhere, keen to repel the **infidel** invaders. The eventual killing of Osama bin Laden by US SEAL forces in Pakistan in 2011 did not weaken the Taliban and al-Qaeda, but, instead, brought them closer together. By 2018, terrorists were launching attacks in Kabul, including a bomb that killed a child selling vegetables outside the Australian Embassy.
2. Despite a new constitution and the holding of elections, the central government of Hamid Karzai was widely unpopular, and perceived by many Afghans as incompetent and corrupt. In the provinces, feudal leaders held power within a traditional Muslim tribal culture.
3. Despite intensive training by allied specialists, the Afghan army was considered incapable of defending the country against the Taliban and terrorists. As well, some Afghan soldiers switched loyalties from their own national army to the Taliban. There were 'green on blue' attacks, where an Afghan soldier would turn their guns on the US or allied troops they had been fighting alongside. Some Australian soldiers died this way.

infidel a word used to label someone who has no religious beliefs, or whose beliefs are different from those of another religion

There was a fourth factor not depicted in the cartoon. The allied forces – in an echo of the Vietnam War experience – had failed to 'win the hearts and minds' of the Afghan population, particularly outside the major cities. There were various reasons. To deny profits to the Taliban, the allies destroyed opium poppy crops, which many farmers depended on financially.

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As well, allied air strikes often killed innocent families. There was probably a deeper cultural reason also – an intensely independent spirit developed by Afghan peoples during centuries of resisting invaders who had included Macedonians, Mongols, British and Russians.

By 2018, the future of Afghanistan seemed bleak. Various allied nations were withdrawing forces or, in the case of the United States, switching between plans for withdrawal and proposals for increasing troop numbers. The Taliban was gaining control over larger areas of the country. Al-Qaeda terrorists – some Afghans, others arriving from the Middle East – were causing chaos in major cities by bombings and attacks. Ominously, fighters from a new terrorist organisation, Islamic State, had started arriving in Afghanistan in 2015, and by 2017 were in control of some areas.

Further complexity was added in January 2018 when US President Donald Trump tweeted a message accusing Pakistan of 'lies & deceit' and providing a 'safe haven to terrorists we hunt in Afghanistan'. By late 2018, Trump made it clear that the United States would disengage from Afghanistan. The United States initiated talks with the Taliban and promised to withdraw US forces by May 2021. Troop withdrawals began during 2020, emboldening the Taliban, who were confident that the United States no longer had the will to continue the war.

Democrat presidential candidate Joe Biden defeated Trump in the November 2020 election, taking office on 20 January 2021. In the following months, as the promised May 2021 withdrawal deadline approached, it became clear that the United States had underestimated the strength of the Taliban forces and overestimated the ability of Afghanistan's national forces to resist the Taliban. The Taliban began a major offensive in May, making inroads in the provinces. On 15 August 2021, the Taliban captured Afghanistan's capital city, Kabul. There was a rapid and often chaotic evacuation of 124 000 American citizens, Afghan partners and other allies. The 20-year intervention in Afghanistan, sparked by the 9/11 attacks, had ended with the Taliban back in power.

Commentators were asking what had been achieved by the war in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan after the war

In early 2024, as this chapter was being written, there were three significant features of postwar Afghanistan.

1. The Taliban government was becoming increasingly authoritarian, suppressing dissent and imposing severe restrictions on daily life, purportedly in accordance with Islamic belief and law. Women and girls lost the right to be educated in schools and universities, to work outside the home and to engage freely in social life. These restrictions were bitter disappointments, after the relative freedom women and girls had experienced after the collapse of the Taliban government in December 2001.
2. The Afghan economy had weakened and most people's standard of living had declined, partly because many countries and organisations stopped providing much-needed financial and economic assistance.
3. Radical Islamist groups had increased their presence and their activities in Afghanistan. Australian expert on terrorism, Greg Barton (2024), described the 'safe base' these groups had found in Afghanistan, but also the conflict between the groups, leading to what Barton described as an 'outbidding' to carry out the most devastating attacks within the country while also planning attacks. Rival Islamist groups competed for power and influence, but also argued about how 'pure' or 'righteous' their respective jihadist programs were. Meanwhile, a new offshoot of ISIS, named 'ISIS-K', was using Afghanistan as its base in a plan to create a new 'Islamic caliphate' in the region. The Taliban government was unable to control al-Qaeda and ISIS groups in the country.

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SOURCE 16.18 A mass burial of 41 Afghans killed in an ISIS suicide bombing of a Shia Muslim mosque in Kandahar, Afghanistan, 16 October 2021, two months after the US withdrawal. The Shia Muslim minority and some ethnic groups continue to experience attacks from ISIS and al-Qaeda, but also persecution and maltreatment by the Taliban. This photo reflects not only the complexity of sectarian divisions within Islam, but also the conflict and rivalry between ISIS and al-Qaeda, competing to wreak havoc and promote their particular organisation.

Activity **16.4**

Discuss and research the war in Afghanistan

1. Discuss this statement: The 'war on terror' in Afghanistan failed to achieve its aims, and instead increased the threat of radical Islamist terrorism.
2. Discuss: What lessons might the United States and its allies have learned from their experience of the war in Afghanistan?
3. Research the situation today in Afghanistan, focusing on the political situation, the daily life of the Afghan people, the situation of women and girls, and the presence of radical Islamist elements in the country.
4. You can increase your understanding of the history of Afghanistan using the linked timeline at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10548.

War in Iraq

Iraq's President Saddam Hussein had been in the sights of the United States long before the 'war on terror'. Paradoxically, the United States had helped engineer a 1960 coup that toppled the Iraqi Government and installed a regime of the Ba'ath party, which Saddam eventually led. Saddam aspired to make Iraq the leading Arab nationalist state in the region, ahead of Egypt. He took Iraq into the long, inconclusive Iraq–Iran war (1979–88), and in 1990 he invaded Iraq's small, oil-rich neighbour Kuwait. By January 1991, a UN-sponsored and US-led force had defeated the Iraqi invaders, but did not remove Saddam from power.

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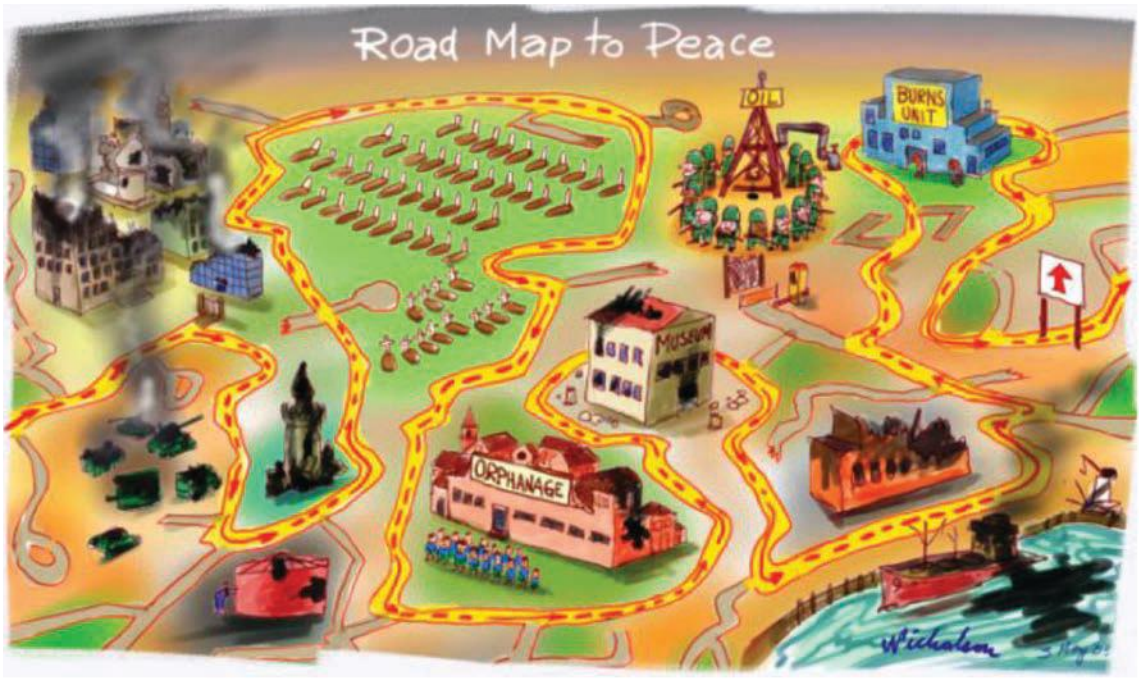
He continued a harsh and oppressive regime within Iraq, and was accused of possessing 'weapons of mass destruction' (WMD).

Even before 9/11, influential US conservatives were urging their government to remove Saddam from power. As early as 1993, the United States had initiated air strikes on Iraqi targets, using a range of justifications. After 9/11, US leaders started linking Iraq with international terrorism, despite lack of firm evidence. International pressure mounted on Iraq to give up its WMD program. When Iraq did not meet UN demands, the United States called on other nations to join a 'coalition of the willing' to strike against Iraq in Operation Iraqi Freedom. On 19 March 2003, they launched a 'shock and awe' attack on the Iraqi capital, Baghdad. The UN, which had still been negotiating with Iraq, did not authorise the war.

The Iraqi regime collapsed quickly, leading US President Bush to declare 'mission accomplished' on 1 May (this declaration appeared on a banner behind Bush during a speech he gave on that day from a navy aircraft carrier). Two days later, Australian cartoonist Peter Nicholson produced this prediction of what the 'road map to peace' would involve.

Source **16.19** Cartoon by Peter Nicholson, 3 May 2003



SOURCE 16.19 'Road Map to Peace', 3 May 2003. Note the 'entrance' on the far left to the road to peace and the 'exit' far right.

Responding to the cartoon

1. List the scenes that need to be passed when taking this trip. What does each predict will happen during the war in Iraq?
2. Does Nicholson suggest any motive for the war?
3. If all this happened, would it amount to 'mission accomplished'?
4. When you finish this section, return to the cartoon and decide whether Nicholson was indeed prescient.

ACTIVITY 16.5
Interpret video footage of the beginning of the Iraq war

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The following years were chaotic, tragic and controversial. Saddam, who had fled after the US-led invasion, was located by US troops in December 2003, tried by the Iraqi Special Tribunal for crimes against humanity, sentenced to death and hanged by Iraqi authorities in December 2006. By that time, the US-led 'coalition of the willing' had poured troops and money into stabilising the country and repairing infrastructure. In June 2004, an interim government was formed, and an Iraqi National Assembly was finally elected on 30 January 2005. But any sense of peace was illusory. Many around the world, especially in the Middle East, criticised the democratisation process and characterised it as US imperialism. The US Congress-appointed Iraq Study Group (ISG) reported in December 2006 that 'the situation in Iraq is grave and deteriorating … Violence is increasing in scope and lethality'.

SOURCE 16.20 Baghdad, 3 December 2006. The day before, a triple car bomb had killed more than 50 people here, many women. Terrorists used car bombs often in their conflict with the Iraqi Government and occupying coalition forces. The victims were often innocent civilians.

How did this devastation emerge in the aftermath of 'Operation Iraqi Freedom'?

As well, there was a growing suspicion that the United States was pursuing self-interested objectives in Iraq, as hinted at in Nicholson's cartoon; not only regarding oil, but also other profitable opportunities for US corporations. In her 2007 book, *The Shock Doctrine*, Naomi Klein (a Canadian author, social activist and filmmaker) described Iraq as 'a very capitalist disaster, a nightmare of unfettered greed unleashed in the wake of war' (2007:351).

The complexity of the conflict was described by the ISG in 2006 as 'fed by a Sunni Arab insurgency, Shiite militias and death squads, al-Qaeda, and widespread criminality'. Put simply, Iraqis were fighting other Iraqis, and many were also fighting the United States and its allies. On 6 November 2005, the prominent Iraqi blogger Riverbend asked 'what happened to the dream of … a united, stable, prosperous Iraq which has, over the last two years, gone up in the smoke of car bombs, military raids and a foreign occupation'.

The 'car bombs' were mainly the work of Sunni Muslims, particularly al-Qaeda and (from 2006) the Islamic State (IS). However, violent reprisals by Shia Muslim militia fighters – backed by Iran – added to the overall conflict and instability. There was some reduction in violence when, in 2007–08, US forces launched a 'surge'. But with the withdrawal of most US troops in 2011, the al-Qaeda and IS attacks intensified.

In 2013, the course of Iraqi history was impacted by the creation by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's formation of ISIS – the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria – from elements of al-Qaeda and the former IS. ISIS became a formidable force, occupying parts of northern Iraq and Syria as part of al-Baghdadi's vision of an Islamic 'caliphate'. You will learn more about this in the next section of this chapter.

While the Islamic caliphate dominated the region, there was ongoing instability in Iraq. But by 2017, ISIS had been defeated in Iraq, and the caliphate in Syria disintegrated by the end of 2018. Iraq regained a degree of normalcy. But politics remained volatile, social/religious divisions remained serious and random terrorist attacks continued.

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This bleak picture suggests a host of errors that may have been made by the US-led forces after 2003, some of which are outlined here:

- Saddam's regime was dominated by the Sunni sect of Islam. The coalition replaced it with a Shia-led provisional government. This, and ongoing discrimination against Sunnis, stoked the fires of Sunni resentment and opposition.
- The government elected in 2005 was seen by many as unrepresentative and ineffective.
- The new government's economic policies proved chaotic.
- After Saddam's defeat, the Iraqi army was disbanded. Huge numbers of soldiers became unemployed and felt aggrieved. Many joined the fight against US forces.
- After the defeat in 2003, there were still many Iraqis who supported Saddam.
- Many Iraqis were angry and offended by the humiliating trial and execution of Saddam in 2006.
- US-led air strikes and ground offensives killed many innocent civilians, and US troops were accused of humiliating, inhumane treatment of Iraqi prisoners.
- The WMD put forward as the major reason for Operation Iraqi Freedom could not be found by UN expert investigators, prompting charges of deception against the US and British governments, in particular.

For this chapter on terrorism, the war in Iraq has special significance. As early as 2003, Noam Chomsky (an American historian, social critic and political activist) quoted US officials admitting the invasion of Iraq had caused 'a spike in recruitment for al-Qaeda' (2003:211). Abdel Bari Atwan (editor-in-chief of Arab world digital news and opinion website *Rai al-Youm*) claimed the war had produced 'the apparently bottomless pit of raw recruits presenting themselves for "**martyrdom**" in Iraq every day' (2006:203). Indeed, in the complex landscape of conflict in Iraq, al-Qaeda emerged as a fierce adversary of the Iraqi Government and its sponsor, the US Government. In 2010, the skilled strategist Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi became the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq. In 2013, however, in a dramatic development, he split from al-Qaeda and formed what is commonly called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), also known by its Arabic name, Daesh. Iraq became the springboard for ongoing Islamic State expansion.

martyrdom the death or self-sacrifice of a person for a particular cause, usually political or religious

Islamic State transformed the face of global terrorism in terms of its vision, membership and tactics and devastating impact on battlefields in the Middle East and on everyday life around the world.

Today, what is the situation in Iraq in terms of stability and ongoing terrorist activity?

A timeline history of Iraq from 1917 to the present is available at the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10549.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

Did the 'war on terror' fought in Afghanistan and Iraq achieve its aims?

1. Discuss whether the 'war on terror' fought in Afghanistan and Iraq achieved the following:
   - replacing authoritarian regimes with elected governments favourable to free-market economic systems and to Western-style liberal values
   - preventing the emergence of anti-Western radical Islamist terrorism.
2. Continue entering relevant details into the record of research that you began earlier.

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SUB-QUESTION 3: How effectively did ISIS pursue its aims between 2013 and 2018?

SOURCE 16.21 David Kilcullen on Islamic State

In mid-2014 the Islamic State burst onto the global stage with a string of spectacular victories in Iraq, and a series of gruesome beheadings of journalists, aid workers and local civilians.

David Kilcullen, *Blood Year*, 2016, p. ix

This is how Australian terrorism expert David Kilcullen began his book *Blood Year*. Nowhere did Islamic State pursue its aims more gruesomely or fervently than in the Syrian city of Raqqa.

Iraq's neighbouring nation, Syria, was a secular state with a Sunni Muslim majority. In 2011, the people of Syria had begun to protest against the authoritarian regime of President Bashar al-Assad. Similar democratic uprisings were occurring in other Arab states – a phenomenon termed the 'Arab Spring'. In Syria, this protestation developed into a violent civil war, which was continuing still in 2014. Al-Baghdadi sent Islamic State members to set up an organisation in Syria, and in 2013 they were part of a group that overthrew government loyalists in Raqqa. By January 2014, Islamic State, now known also as ISIS, was in full control of the city.

apocalyptic catastrophic; producing the apocalypse, often associated with the end of the world

SOURCE 16.22 Clock Tower Square, Raqqa, December 2021. During the ISIS caliphate, this square was used for torture, public beheadings and other executions.

When ISIS was driven out in 2018, Kurdish soldiers found various instruments of torture and execution. What would they indicate about the nature of ISIS rule? What signs are there that life had returned to normal for Raqqa citizens by 2021? What might the citizens be thinking and feeling about this square, which had always been a thriving centre of city life until disrupted by ISIS?

How ISIS waged war

Islamic State's vision is **apocalyptic**, destined to end in a massive battle against all who oppose or refuse to convert to Islam. In 2014, the world gained a sense of that battle. ISIS made huge inroads into first Iraq and subsequently Syria, seizing cities and resources. Its military capacity was surprising. Charles Lister, a Syria expert at the Brookings Institution, described '31 000 fighters … tanks, armoured personnel carriers, field artillery, self-propelled howitzers, and multiple-rocket launchers … anti-tank guided missiles (ATGMs), anti-aircraft guns' (2014:16–17). ISIS financed all this through taxes on people in captured cities, kidnapping and extortion, but mainly by the massive sale of Iraqi and Syrian oil – the 'prizes' of military success – on a global black market.

How ISIS ruled Raqqa

Source 16.22 contains clues to Islamic State's aims and actions – a city in ruins and an instrument of public torture. Source 16.23 is a comment by another Brookings Institution expert.

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Source **16.23** How Islamic State exercises control

SOURCE 16.23 Daniel L. Byman, an expert on Syria, describes how Islamic State exercises control

> In territory it controls, the Islamic State uses mass executions, public beheadings, rape, and symbolic crucifixion displays to terrorise the population into submission and 'purify' the community, and at the same time provides basic (if minimal) services: the mix earns them some support, or at least acquiescence due to fear, from the population.

Daniel L. Byman, 'Comparing al-Qaeda and ISIS: Different Goals, Different Targets', Brookings Institution, 29 April 2015

Responding to Byman's description

1. What is Byman's key message?
2. Byman's words are from lengthy testimony he gave to a US Congressional sub-committee. Does that likely lend weight to his credibility as a commentator?

Source **16.24** Video of the square in Raqqa

Scan the QR code to view the video.

SOURCE 16.24 Video of the square in Raqqa where ISIS carried out public executions, 6 October 2017 (01:19)

Responding to the video

1. How does this video relate to Byman's description of ISIS control of cities?
2. Does the video convey a judgement of ISIS, not just a description? Try to locate further information to verify the video.

However, in 2014 there was another side to Islamic State. Lister described life in ISIS-controlled cities like Raqqa.

Source **16.25** Islamic State in operation

SOURCE 16.25 Charles Lister describes Islamic State in operation

> Civilian bus services are frequently established and normally offered for free. Electricity lines, roads, sidewalks, and other critical infrastructure are repaired; postal services are created; free healthcare and vaccinations for children are offered; soup kitchens are established for the poor; construction projects are offered loans; and Islam-oriented schools are opened for boys and girls. In Raqqa, IS even operates a consumer protection office, which has closed shops for selling poor quality products.

Charles Lister, 'Profiling the Islamic State', Brookings Doha Centre Analysis Paper, No. 13, November 2014, p. 28

Responding to the description

1. What features of this society would not be out of place in Australian cities?
2. What does this description suggest about Islamic State's aims as an organisation?
3. Are you surprised to learn this about Islamic State? Explain your response.
4. How would you describe the relationship between Byman's and Lister's accounts? Do you think Lister contradicts, qualifies, confirms and/or adds significantly to Byman's account? Explain your response.
5. Is it likely that both accounts could be accurate?
6. The two sources are both brief extracts from lengthy texts. Are there any research risks in not accessing the entire texts?

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The Brookings Institution is a leading US think tank. Lister's words in Source 16.25 provide a positive depiction of Islamic State administration, but the report overall concludes with advice on how Islamic State might be defeated. Does that help you decide whether to trust this description of Islamic State 'in operation'?

A secretly recorded video from Raqqa provides further evidence.

Source **16.26** Street life in Raqqa under Islamic State control

SOURCE 16.26 France 24 English. Caught on camera: Life under ISIS rule in Raqqa – Syria, available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/11112. 19 September 2014 (13:43).

Source 16.26 shows footage of daily life in Raqqa, secretly filmed by a female student with a hidden camera.

Responding to the video

1. How 'normal' does life seem in this city?
2. What two clues suggest it is ISIS-controlled?
3. The uninterpreted interviews depict citizens fearful of attacks by US-supported forces. Were their fears well founded?
4. Are there any indications that the video is not 'authentic'?

Investigating ISIS in Iraq or Syria can be challenging. The events are recent. Information flowing out from such tumultuous places is often hard to verify. But social media has transformed the information landscape in war-torn cities. Bloggers have been active in the most dangerous and insecure places.

Perhaps not surprisingly, both conventional reporting and social media posts have tended to highlight conflict, danger, hardship and elements of terror. In 2016, the BBC produced 'Inside "Islamic State": A Raqqa diary' – a compilation of blogs by a courageous (unnamed) Raqqa resident who risked execution if discovered. The diary included the headings 'The day IS first entered my beloved city'; 'Sentenced to death for missing a Sharia class'; and 'I see a man who has been crucified and beheaded'.

Why might a historian welcome but also question an anonymous blog from a city under ISIS control?

How have modern technologies extended historians' abilities to produce a credible portrayal of ISIS activities?

Do you think ISIS would be ambivalent about the extent of social media postings about its activities? Explain your response.

This chapter is too brief to describe and explain the complexities of ISIS rule – for example, ISIS's toleration of non-Muslim monotheistic residents of occupied cities – provided they adhere to strict rules of behaviour – and ISIS's persecution, enslavement and execution of people of some other faiths and Muslims from rival sects, particularly Shia Muslims.

The defeat of the Islamic Caliphate

From 2014 to 2017, ISIS's ambitious plan for a caliphate seemed on track. But, by 2018, the tide of war had turned. In both Iraq and Syria, various alliances of anti-ISIS forces began to win back conquered cities and territory. The names Mosul, Aleppo and Raqqa became synonymous with death, destruction, shattered lives and hopelessness.

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By early 2018, Islamic State had been driven out of Raqqa by the US-backed Syrian Democratic Forces (Kurdish and Arab militia). The city lay in ruins, largely the result of bombing by US planes.

SOURCE 16.27 View from a car driving through the streets of Raqqa, 13 November 2017. Scan the QR code to watch the video (00:52).

Given this devastation of Raqqa, discuss whether the means (destruction of Raqqa and deaths of hundreds of civilians) justifies the end (the defeat of ISIS)?

In Iraq, Mosul was a city that bore the full force of the battle to defeat ISIS.

SOURCE 16.28 Mosul, Iraq, 9 January 2018. An Iraqi boy cycles through his 'liberated town'. Islamic State was driven out six months earlier by Iraqi forces and US air strikes.

What could be the effects of living through months of destructive bombing raids? How could the US-led coalition justify bombings that killed thousands of innocent civilians? Is this a case of 'fighting terror with terror'? What would be the challenges of rebuilding a city and people's lives?

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Australia's ABC reporter Sophie McNeill reported from Mosul in 2018. The city had suffered catastrophically from ISIS conquest, ISIS rule and the US-supported battle to finally 'liberate' it.

Source **16.29** Report from Mosul, 2018

SOURCE 16.29 ABC reporter Sophie McNeill in Mosul, 17 March 2018

I met children forced to learn violent IS curriculum at school, attend public floggings and beheadings and encouraged to spy on their own parents if they saw them breaking the militants' fundamentalist rules.

There was also growing concern regarding the high civilian death toll from coalition airstrikes on Mosul. An investigation by the AP news agency in December 2017 found that between 9000 and 11 000 civilians died in the battle for Mosul, with about a third of the casualties killed in bombardments by the US-led coalition or Iraqi forces.

And then there was the case of eight-year-old Hashim Abdul Fattah Ali.

Local human rights monitors said on June 11, 2017 he was sitting with his family in their home in the town of Abu Kamal. That day a coalition plane carried out an air strike nearby, resulting in a huge explosion. Little Hashim lost his life. But there was no blood. He reportedly died of a heart attack.

He was literally scared to death.

Sophie McNeill, '"Indescribable Fear and Suffering": Reflecting on Three Years Covering the Middle East', *ABC News*, 17 March 2018

Responding to the report from Mosul

1. What is the overall impression created of ISIS control in Mosul?
2. In what ways could children suffer both physically and mentally in this situation? And what might this mean for both governmental and non-governmental agencies aiding in the redevelopment of Mosul after the war?
3. During the fighting, could the choice between staying in Mosul or fleeing as a refugee be a difficult one?
4. How important is the role of international media in revealing the tragedy of Mosul? Could this lead to greater understanding of the plight of refugees and improve the treatment of asylum seekers in places like Australia?

Despite the defeat of the Islamic Caliphate, the dangers of radical Islamist terrorism – particularly ISIS – have not disappeared. For that reason, it is worth finding out about the aims of ISIS.

The aims of Islamic State

In 2015, a CNN reporter, Peter Bergen, asked, 'Why does ISIS keep making enemies?' He pointed out that ISIS posts videos online of beheadings, stonings and other atrocities. He asked, 'What could possibly be the point?'

ISIS itself provided an answer in a 2016 article titled 'Why we hate you and why we fight you', published in the ISIS online magazine *Dabiq*. The article explained that 'terrorism, warfare, ruthlessness, and brutality' were all logical elements of a campaign to convert the world to Islam and to kill those who resisted.

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You'll now examine six reasons that ISIS has proclaimed publicly for why it hates and fights people, particularly in the West.

Activity **16.6**

Analysing Islamic State's reasons for hating and fighting

Below is a paraphrase of the six reasons Islamic State gave for 'hating and fighting' in a 2016 publication.

1. Read the six reasons given by Islamic State. Tick a column if you decide that:
P: this reason would make you an ISIS target *personally*
S: this reason would make many in Australian *society* ISIS targets
A: this reason would make *Australia as a nation* an ISIS target.

	Reasons published by Islamic State for hating and fighting	P	S	A
1	… we hate and fight those who believe that Jesus Christ was the son of God.			
2	… we hate and fight Western societies that allow things that Allah forbids, including drugs and alcohol, gambling, money-lending for profit, sexual promiscuity and gay rights.			
3	… we hate and fight atheists who do not believe that God exists.			
4	… we hate and fight Western societies where people mock Islam, burn the Quran, and criticise our Shari'ah law.			
5	… we hate and fight the Western nations that support oppressive dictatorships in lands where Muslims live.			
6	… we hate and fight Western nations that send their armed forces to invade countries and kill many Muslim people.			

2. Compare your ticks with classmates. Discuss similarities and differences.
3. Given your ticks, what is the possibility that there could be a peaceful resolution of the conflict between Islamic State and countries like Australia?

Later in the chapter, you'll read an excerpt from Reza Aslan's *How to Win a Cosmic War*. You'll decide whether or not ISIS in Iraq and Syria was fighting a 'cosmic war'.

The ISIS aims above help explain why ISIS fought to establish an Islamic Caliphate, beginning in Syria.

The vision of an Islamic Caliphate

On 29 June 2014, Islamic State's leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, declared the establishment of a caliphate. When ISIS extended its military sweep into Syria, it declared Raqqa the capital of the caliphate. This had important symbolic value for, as David Byman explains in 'Comparing al-Qaeda and ISIS: Different Goals, Different Targets' (prepared testimony before the US Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence of the House Committee on Homeland Security), 'thousands more foreign fighters, inspired by the stunning success of the Islamic State and the bold declaration of a caliphate, flocked to Syria and Iraq to join the fight' (2015). One foreign fighter drawn to the caliphate was Australian teenager Jake Bilardi, whose radicalisation you can study in Activity 16.7.

ACTIVITY **16.7**
The radicalisation of Jake Bilardi

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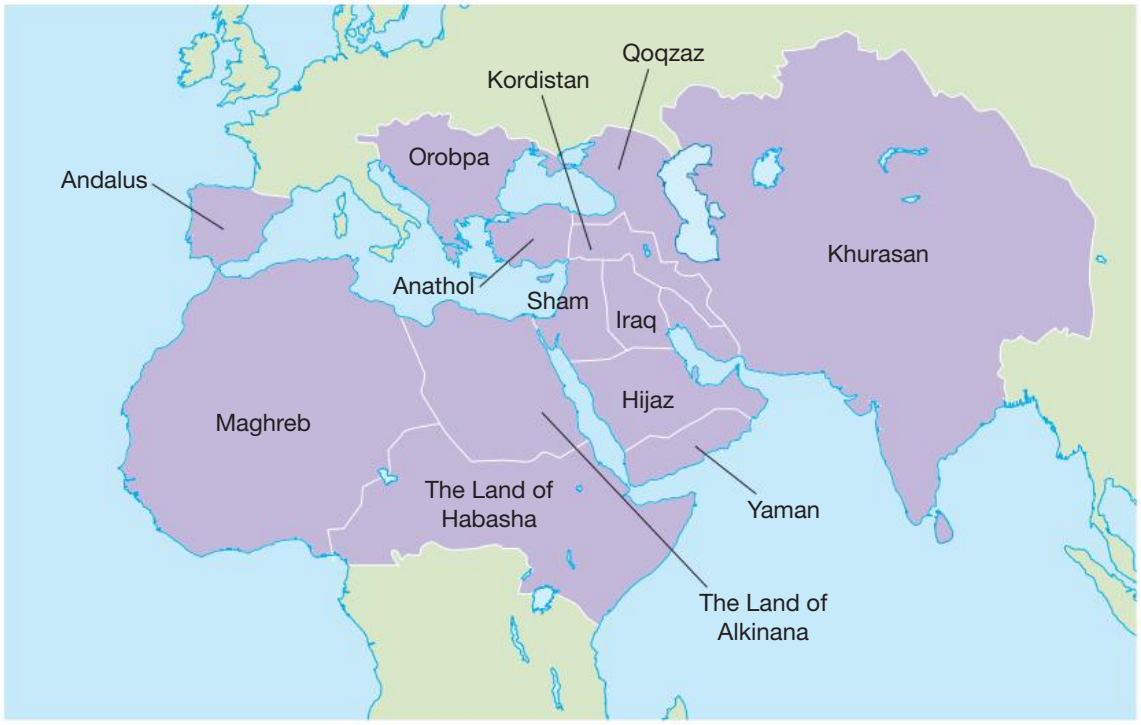
Islamic State envisaged its caliphate bringing together all the areas that, at some time in history, had been under Islamic influence or control.

Source **16.30** The proposed Islamic Caliphate



SOURCE 16.30 A map of the proposed Islamic Caliphate

Responding to the map

1. Find out the historical significance of the names given to the areas on the map.
2. What modern states are included in the purple-shaded area of the proposed caliphate?
3. What is the situation today in each of them?
4. In which of them is there terrorism-related activity today?
5. Is there any caliphate in existence?

Is Islamic State really Islamic?

A common question asked about Islamic State, al-Qaeda and other radical jihadist groups is: 'Are they really Islamic?' US President George W. Bush, in the aftermath of 9/11, called the attackers 'barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name', a view echoed in 2015 by Barack Obama, who referred to 'the warped ideologies espoused by … al-Qaeda and ISIL, especially their attempt to use Islam to justify their violence'.

Robert Manne (Emeritus Professor of Politics at La Trobe University, Melbourne), in *The Mind of the Islamic State* (2016), describes how radical Islamists are keen to find justifications for their actions in the teachings of Islam. Manne identified the Egyptian thinker Sayyid Qutb (1906–66) as a key influence on Islamic State, particularly his idea that violent jihad is fundamental to the mission of Islam to combat *Jahiliyyah* – 'ignorance and barbarism'.

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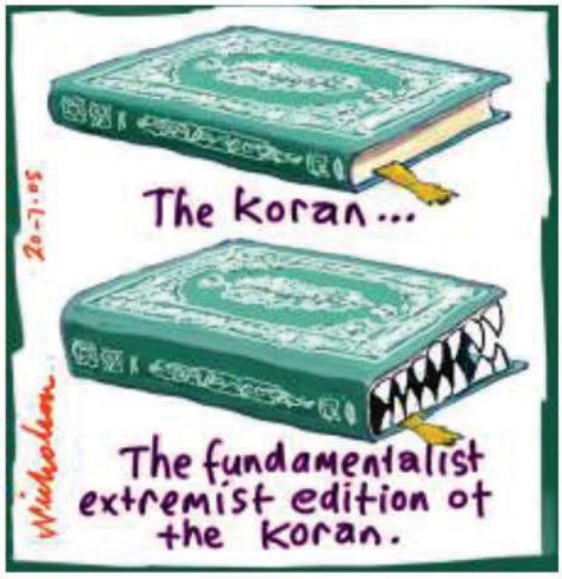
Qutb's ideas were taken up by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, members of the Salafist sect of Islam. Trevor Stanley (contributor to the Jamestown Foundation) says that Salafism 'rejected traditional teachings on Islam in favor of direct, "fundamentalist" reinterpretation' (2005). In his cartoon in Source 16.31, Peter Nicholson alludes to the above ideas.

Salafism became strong in Saudi Arabia (former home of Osama bin Laden) and its idea of violent jihad emerged again in Iraq in 2003. A book by the Islamist strategist Abu Bakr Naji, *The Management of Savagery* (2006), aimed to provide a strategy that would enable al-Qaeda and other extremists to create a new Islamic caliphate. The work influenced Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the acknowledged founder of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), later known as Islamic State. Robert Manne states that 'it is Zarqawi's brutal spirit and worldview that shape the ideology of Islamic State' (2016). Thus, a line is traced through the decades from Qutb to ISIS.

The determination of ISIS leaders to justify their actions in Islamic terms is seen in their debate about the morality of suicide terrorism. However, what is less clear is what drives individual members of ISIS, including those **lone wolf** terrorists who claim allegiance to ISIS when carrying out random attacks in cities around the world. Does genuine Islamic faith lie behind their cries of *Allahu Akba* – 'God is most great'?



SOURCE 16.31 Peter Nicholson cartoon *The Koran*, 2005. Nicholson is commenting on the way Muslims can interpret their holy book, the Koran, or Quran.

Given this cartoon, what messages do you think fundamentalists and extremists can find in the Quran? If so, might the phrases used by Bush and Obama at the start of this section not be wholly accurate? Stephen Pinker in *The Better Angels of Our Nature* claimed that people could also interpret in a fundamentalist way the Bible's Old Testament, which he labelled 'one long celebration of violence' (2011:7).

Islamic State: defeated but dangerous?

The tragedy of Mosul alone would seem cause enough to welcome the military defeat of Islamic State. Indeed, by mid-2018, ISIS seemed in retreat on all fronts. And yet dangers lurked within that victory. Some reasons why are outlined below.

lone wolf in the context of terrorism, a person who prefers to conduct acts of terrorism alone

1. Whenever ISIS suffers military setbacks, it sends urgent messages over the internet to its global followers, urging them to wreak havoc in their own societies with lone wolf attacks.
2. The online radicalisation of young people as 'cyber-jihadists' is likely to increase as ISIS turns its attention away from battlefields and towards online recruitment.
3. ISIS fighters are returning to their original countries. In 2017, Robin Wright's alarming article in *The New Yorker* was titled 'ISIS Jihadis Have Returned Home by the Thousands'.
4. Radical jihadist groups are strong globally, including Abu-Sayyaf in the Philippines, Al-Shabab in Somalia, Jemaah Islamiyah in Indonesia, Boko Haram in Nigeria and the Taliban in Afghanistan.

For these reasons, some experts warned that the military defeat of ISIS would not end the threat of radical Islam. Rather, as David Kilcullen (author, strategist and counterinsurgency expert) had prophesied, 'we may be nowhere close to the end of the War on Terror' (2015:227).

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You can view an interactive timeline/map of the rise and fall of Islamic State on the Al Jazeera website (available here: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/11078), and a detailed timeline with useful links at the website for US think tank the Wilson Center (available here: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/11081).

The rise and fall of the ISIS caliphate: Summing up

Islamic State transformed its initial focus on terrorism in Iraq in 2013 to its more ambitious declaration and development of a caliphate from 2014. ISIS became a military force and, controlling significant areas of Syria and Iraq, went about the serious business of creating the apparatus of a state – government, economy, security forces, financial services, municipal infrastructure, schools, medical services, media and other cultural institutions. The seizure of oilfields and the black market sale of oil internationally financed this state-building. The darker side of the caliphate involved political and social repression and the persecution and killings of declared enemies, particularly Shia Muslims – an action justified by Islamic State's declared intention of waging an apocalyptic war against all who resisted its aims and actions. That vision also prompted ISIS's endorsement of targeted terrorist actions by supporters around the world, including lone wolf cyber-jihadists who, often with no direct link with ISIS, were radicalised online. Simultaneously, ISIS cultivated the allegiance of like-minded Islamist groups in Africa and Asia.

This coherent picture began to fracture by 2017, when ISIS suffered devastating defeats in Iraq and Syria. Its caliphate shrank dramatically, its armed forces were routed and its finances diminished. Defeated on the battlefield, ISIS intensified its calls for radical jihadists worldwide to carry out attacks on their own societies. By 2018, those attacks, and the larger-scale actions of ISIS's allied groups in Africa and Asia, were seen as greater threats than the previously powerful armed forces of ISIS in the Middle East. What remained unpredictable was whether ISIS could again become a potent military force, whether the intensity of cyber-jihad attacks would reduce and whether the like-minded organisations in Africa and Asia would be countered effectively.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

How effectively did ISIS pursue its aims between 2013 and 2018?

1. Using this section and possibly other sources, construct an infographic to explain the causes of Islamic State's formation and progress until today. View the links at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10550 and https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10551 for ideas. As you view the examples, look for and consider the following success criteria:
   a. informative, interesting and clear sequence of information
   b. graphic representation of information (use of images, graphs, icons and limited use of words to get your point across)
   c. inclusion and discerning use of statistics.

   You may like to use an online infographic generator like Canva or Piktochart.
2. Continue entering relevant details in your record of research. For example:

> POINT: ISIS used barbaric methods to control the cities of its caliphate. (Seek further detail on how these methods contravene international agreements, including international human rights law and international humanitarian law.)
> SOURCE: Daniel Byman – 'mass executions, public beheadings, rape, and symbolic crucifixion'
> EVALUATION: Brookings Institution source. Testimony to US Congress suggests credibility. (But was he in Raqqa?)

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SUB-QUESTION 4: Did radical Islamist terrorism survive the defeat of the caliphate?

The Islamic Caliphate was at its peak in 2015. By 2018 it was disintegrating under sustained attack by Syrian military, US air attacks and Kurdish fighters. As the caliphate crumbled over many months, some speculated that the 'war on terror' might finally be over.

Three years later, in 2021, Andrew Mumford gave his opinion.

Source **16.32** Andrew Mumford on the future of ISIS

SOURCE 16.32 Political scientist and military historian Andrew Mumford envisages an evolving Islamic State

ISIS has been degraded but not destroyed. The self-declared caliphate may have been rolled up, but the threat from the group will evolve, be it through inspiring affiliates to attack targets in the West or through territorial expansion of its *wilayets* (provinces) where it established a presence in at least nine countries since 2014 …

Future operations against new pockets of ISIS territory in areas farther afield than Syria and Iraq are highly likely … The West's war against the caliphate may be over, but the war against the *wilayets* will be a future round of the Forever War.

Andrew Mumford, *The West's War Against Islamic State*, 2021, pp. 4–5

Responding to the source

1. What are the two ways that Mumford predicts ISIS will 'evolve'?
2. Why might the *wilayets* become a greater terrorist threat than the caliphate was?
3. Research Joe Haldeman's 1974 novel *The Forever War.* In using the term in his book, is Mumford suggesting a positive or a negative outcome of the 'war against terror'?

The *wilayets* where ISIS already had influence existed on three continents: Asia, Africa and Europe. As the caliphate faded from world headlines, the actions of radical Islamist terrorists ramped up in those areas.

The following pages provide brief and far from complete descriptions of three examples of post-caliphate radical Islamist activity.

Asia: Indonesia

Many Australians well remember the horrific terrorist bombing of nightclubs on the Indonesian island of Bali in 2002. Blasts killed 202 people, including 88 Australians.

Sixteen years later, the radical Islamist terrorist group Jemaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) probably influenced a series of suicide bombings in the Indonesian city of Surabaya. On 13 May 2018, in an unprecedented and horrific action, three churches were attacked by a family of suicide bombers: the mother and two daughters aged nine and 12, two sons aged 15 and 17, and the father.

Radical Islamist terrorists had been active in Indonesia even before 9/11. The most prominent group, Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), formed in 1993. It was responsible for the Bali bombing in 2002, but became less active because of a massive crackdown by Indonesian security forces after the bombing. After ISIS emerged in Iraq in 2013, it created links with radical Islamists in Indonesia.

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ISIS-linked Indonesian groups developed a particularly effective strategy, termed 'shallow cells' by Quinton Temby (2020), an Australian expert on Indonesia. Eschewing centralised, large-scale planning, the groups recruited new members online, directing them to small, separate cells that – while planning local actions – were advised to have no contact with other cells.

As a terrorist organisational strategy, what would be the advantages of 1) organising local cells with relatively few members, and 2) limiting communication between different cells? Why might that strategy make them particularly dangerous?

SOURCE 16.33 Surabaya, Indonesia, 15 May 2018. Counter-terror police help a colleague into a 'blast suit'. He is preparing to enter the home of the family of six suicide bombers who set off three blasts at city churches two days earlier.

Why might the actions of suicide bombers in a society be hugely destructive, difficult to detect and prevent, and very unnerving for citizens? What could motivate a family of six to become suicide bombers in three synchronised actions?

In 2024, JI and JAD probably remained the most influential Islamist terrorist groups in Indonesia, even though both had been outlawed (in 2008 and 2018, respectively) and, in formal terms, do not exist. Since 2018, there have been continuing terrorist attacks, mainly targeting police stations, churches and tourist hotels.

Africa: Nigeria

In 2023, 14 of the 20 most deadly terrorist attacks globally occurred in Africa. All 14 were carried out by organisations identified as 'Islamist' or 'jihadist'. One of the most publicised terrorist groups in Africa is Nigeria's Boko Haram.

'Boko Haram' is the organisation's commonly used name, and roughly translates as 'Western education forbidden'. Its origins can be traced to university students around 2002, but it was 10 years later that it started making headlines as a powerful and effective force within Nigeria. While it embraced the radical Islamist ideas of al-Qaeda and, later, ISIS, Boko Haram always had a broader agenda. Its terrorist activities often involve savage attacks on Nigerian Government institutions and the Nigerian military, but its motives seem to be a mixture of Islamist vision, criticism of official corruption and loathing of Western culture and practices. It's unclear how many of its adherents are motivated mainly by their Islamic faith, as distinct from secular concerns about poverty, unemployment and injustice.

A notable Boko Haram tactic is to kidnap large groups of people, then demand payment for their release. Schools are a prime target. The photo in Source 16.34 is a reminder of the most infamous case, when 276 schoolgirls were abducted from a government boarding school in Chibok, Borno state, on 14 April 2014. Some escaped; others were released. Each desk in the photo bears the name of one of the 112 girls still missing on 14 April 2019, the fifth anniversary of the abduction. In April 2024, around 82 girls were still missing.

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The Chibok abduction sparked worldwide concern for the girls. Michelle Obama, wife of US President Barack Obama, joined the 'Bring our girls home' campaign, along with other celebrities and politicians.

Kidnapping remains a key Boko Haram tactic. When this chapter was being written, in March 2024, Nigeria's northern provinces were struck by a series of five kidnappings within 12 days, as described in the infographic in Source 16.35. At the time, it was not clear whether Boko Haram was responsible for all five kidnappings, given that local bandits have sometimes copied the tactic.

SOURCE 16.34 Marking the fifth anniversary of the Chibok schoolgirls' abduction

Why would the kidnapping: 1) attract global attention; 2) be a powerful extortion tactic; 3) disrupt a community; 4) be difficult to resolve; 5) make a government unpopular; and 6) create ongoing fear?

SOURCE 16.35 Infographic of kidnappings in Nigeria, March 2024: 'Bandits kidnapped 87 more people in Nigeria's volatile northwest Kaduna State'

How many people were abducted in these five events? How many were school pupils?

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While kidnappings create headlines, Boko Haram employs a range of terrorist tactics. The report in Source 16.36 is from a major research and advocacy agency endorsed by the UN.

Source **16.36** Boko Haram activity and government responses

SOURCE 16.36 Global Centre for Responsibility to Protect reports on Boko Haram

More than 35,000 people are estimated to have been killed as a result of Boko Haram attacks between 2009 and 2020. Their tactics include suicide bombings, abductions, torture, rape, forced marriages and the recruitment of child soldiers, as well as attacks that are directed against government infrastructure, traditional and religious leaders and civilians.

During counterterrorism operations, Nigerian security forces have reportedly committed human rights violations and used excessive force, including extrajudicial killings, rape, torture and arbitrary detentions against suspected Boko Haram and ISWA members, as well as civilians. ... In attempts to curb the activities of armed bandits, the government has intensified its military operations in affected areas since late 2021, including through indiscriminate airstrikes where such groups operate that have resulted in hundreds of civilian casualties.

On 11 December 2020 the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) announced the completion of a preliminary examination into the situation in Nigeria, concluding that there is reasonable basis to believe that Boko Haram and Nigerian security forces have committed war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Populations At Risk: Nigeria, Global Centre for Responsibility to Protect, https://www.globalr2p.org/countries/nigeria, 29 February 2024

Responding to the source

1. What picture does this source create of the impact of Boko Haram's terrorism on the people of Nigeria?
2. How might Nigeria's security forces try to justify committing human rights violations in their conflict with Boko Haram?
3. How might that military approach affect the attitude of the civilian population?
4. Why could the ICC report undermine the moral authority of Nigeria's 'war on terror'?
5. Does the source indicate that Boko Haram is promoting ISIS's aims? Explain.

For a more extensive analysis of the impact of terrorism in Nigeria and neighbouring countries, go to the PDF available via https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10552.

Boko Haram's actions in Nigeria are only one part of the picture of Islamist terrorism in Africa today. For comparison, you can explore the prominent al-Shabaab group in Somalia, using the Global Terrorism Index, available online via https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10553.

Europe: ISIS-K

The radical Islamist group ISIS-K emerged late in the 'war on terror'. In 2021, it was implicated in one of the many human tragedies of the war in Afghanistan. ISIS-K claimed responsibility for a massive suicide bombing outside Kabul airport on 26 August that killed 13 US military personnel and 170 Afghan civilians. In response, the United States launched a missile four days later, purportedly targeting ISIS-K militants. Instead, 10 members of an Afghan family perished, including seven children.

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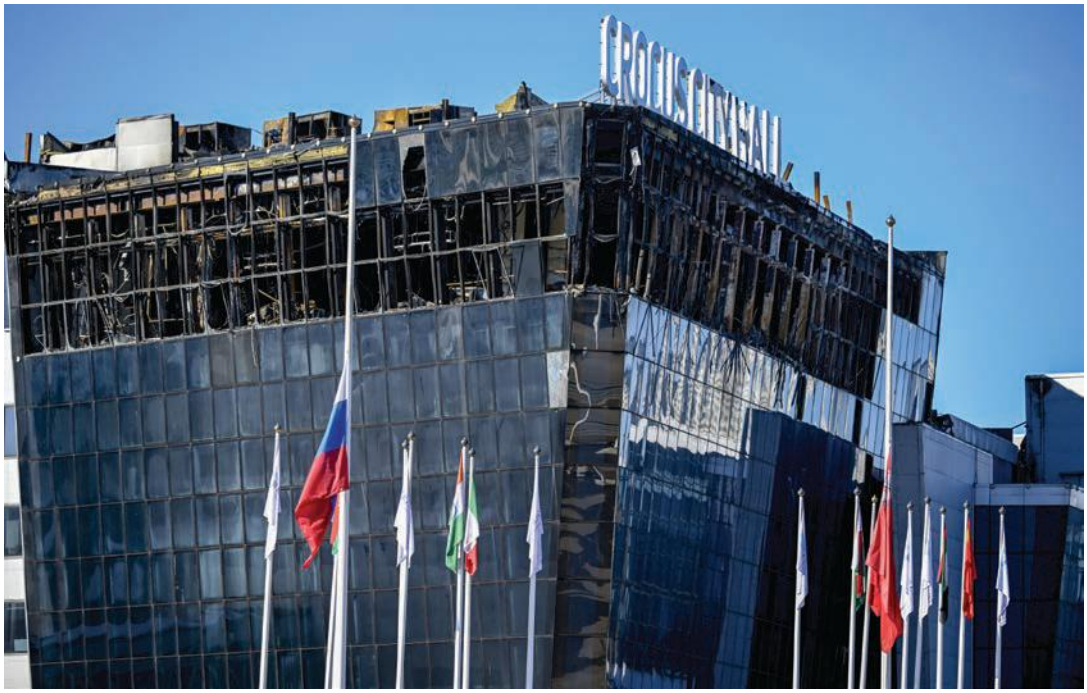
ISIS-K was formed in 2015, taking its name from the historical 'Khorasan' region of western Asia. At a time when the Islamic Caliphate was being declared in Syria and Iraq, ISIS-K adopted the specific goal of creating a caliphate based around Afghanistan – a goal endorsed by the Islamic 'caliph' Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. ISIS-K's development was complex. It was initiated by al-Qaeda–affiliated Afghan fighters involved in the Syrian conflict, eventually allying with the ISIS caliphate and, ultimately, absorbing Islamist groups in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan.

Between 2015 and 2024, ISIS-K carried out numerous bombings and other attacks in Afghanistan and the surrounding region. The Kabul airport bombing was its most damaging until 2024. On 22 March 2024, ISIS-K made headlines globally with an attack on the Crocus City Hall in Moscow. Not only was this its most deadly attack, but it was also its first attack on a European capital.

SOURCE 16.37 Family members and neighbours of the Ahmadi family examine the wreckage caused by a hellfire missile launched from a US drone that killed 10 family members. Kabul, Afghanistan, 30 August 2021.

What does this incident indicate about the risks involved in anti-terrorist action in urban areas, particularly those using drone and similar technologies? What moral questions arise from such incidents?



SOURCE 16.38 The Crocus City Hall, Moscow, following the terrorist attack in March 2024. The ISIS-K attack killed 140 people and injured 360.

When selecting crowded targets, why might radical Islamists choose theatres, in particular (as in Paris in 2015 and Manchester in 2017)?

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

Did radical Islamist terrorism survive the defeat of the Caliphate?

1. Go to the list of the 10 countries most affected by terrorism in 2023, available online via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10554. Read the brief summaries. In how many of the 10 countries were radical Islamists involved?
2. Do the sections on JI/JAD, Boko Haram and ISIS-K support Andrew Mumford's statement that 'ISIS has been degraded but not destroyed'?
3. Do all three examples suggest that, in terrorist attacks, the 'innocent are the main victims'?
4. Do JI/JAD, Boko Haram and ISIS-K seem to be promoting the post-caliphate aims of ISIS? If so, discuss in what ways. In terms of 'effectiveness', how would you rank the organisations? Explain.
5. Continue entering relevant details in your record of research.

SUB-QUESTION 5: What have historians and commentators said about ISIS's ongoing impact?

In this chapter, you have already been introduced to a large number of historians, public intellectuals and commentators who have provided insights into the phenomenon of 'terrorism'. In this section, you'll be focusing on just one of the many questions that arise from a study of radical Islamist terrorism: 'What have historians and commentators said about ISIS's ongoing impact?'

The importance of this question was emphasised while this chapter was being written. As mentioned in the preceding section, on 22 March 2024 terrorists from an ISIS-K cell based in Tajikistan attacked a concert hall in Moscow, killing at least 140 people. On 15 April 2024, a teenage boy, influenced by radical Islamist ideas online, attacked a bishop and several worshippers at the Assyrian Christ the Good Shepherd church in Sydney.

Those two attacks represent the two extremes of terrorist action. ISIS-K has emerged as a serious large-scale terrorist threat in parts of Europe and Asia, aiming to create an Islamic caliphate in an arc from Afghanistan across to Syria. The Sydney teenager, by contrast, is an example of a local 'lone wolf' or 'copy-cat' terrorist – radicalised online, possibly part of a small 'cell', but not attracting any suspicion until his knife-wielding attack in the Sydney church.

The attacks in Moscow and Sydney can be interpreted as evidence that, in 2024, ISIS continued to have an influence in the world, in two different forms, in Tajikistan and Australia. The following pages explore three aspects of this question of 'impact'.

What is ISIS's ambition?

In 2023, the Australian Government described ISIS's ambition in this way.

Source **16.39** Defining ISIS's ambition

SOURCE 16.39 The Australian Government on ISIS's ambition

> **Seeking to emulate the expansive success of Islamic conquests during the 7th to 10th centuries, Islamic State seeks to subjugate through terror and establish a pan-Islamic imperialist theocracy, with a view of ultimately dominating the globe.**

Australian National Security website, 'Islamic State', 3 July 2023

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Responding to the source

1. What is meant by a 'pan-Islamic imperialist theocracy … dominating the globe'?
2. If achieved, how would that transform the current state of the world?
3. Does ISIS's ambition seem at all realistic to you? Discuss.

As described earlier, ISIS had explained its ambition in *Dabiq*, its own magazine.

Source **16.40** ISIS describes its reasons for fighting the West, 2016

SOURCE 16.40 Extract from *Dabiq*, 2016

> We fight you in order to bring you out from the darkness of disbelief and into the light of Islam, and to liberate you from the constraints of living for the sake of the worldly life alone so that you may enjoy both the blessings of the worldly life and the bliss of the Hereafter. … We will never stop hating you until you embrace Islam.

Dabiq magazine, Islamic State, 2016, Issue 15

Responding to the source

1. According to this source, what would Westerners need to do to end ISIS's hatred?
2. How does this statement match the Australian Government's statement about ISIS's goals?
3. What two things does ISIS say that Westerners could 'enjoy'?
4. Do you think this message would be attractive to many Westerners? Discuss.

After ISIS-K attacked the Moscow theatre in 2024, Australian expert on Islamic politics, Greg Barton, made the following points in an interview.

Source **16.41** Greg Barton comments on ISIS and ISIS-K, 2024

SOURCE 16.41 Greg Barton, 2024

> The group ISIS generally wants a confrontation at the end of history. It wants an Armageddon … it wants attacks so outrageous that they provoke responses that are perhaps over-reactions … and a spiralling up of violence that plays into their view of history – that we need to have this final cleansing confrontation, this great battle that's always been the apocalyptic vision of ISIS.

ABC Radio National, 'Breakfast', 27 March 2024

Responding to Greg Barton

1. What phrase in this source could refer to the Moscow attack?
2. What does Barton say about ISIS's ambition that goes beyond what the previous sources said?
3. What type of 'end of history' is implied by the term 'Armageddon'?
4. Do the above sources indicate that ISIS-K is keeping alive the ambition of ISIS?

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Barton's reference to ISIS's 'apocalyptic vision' echoes the idea of 'cosmic war' proposed by Reza Aslan in 2009.

Source **16.42** 'Cosmic war'

SOURCE 16.42 Reza Aslan's concept of 'cosmic war'

A cosmic war is a religious war. It's a war in which God is believed to be directly engaged on one side against another. It's different than a holy war. A holy war is a war between two rival religions fighting for some kind of land or territory or something material, some material gain.

A cosmic war is a, it's sort of an imaginary moral encounter. The bloodshed is real. The violence is real. But it's believed that the war itself is actually taking place in the heavens. It's not between armies and soldiers but between the forces of good and evil and that we human beings are nothing more than just simply pawns in this great game.

...

A war of the imagination, a war between the forces you know of good and evil, the angels of light and the demons of darkness.

...

The usual ways in which one defines who's winning a war by body count or territory gain – these are totally irrelevant to cosmic warriors. They know that they have no hope of victory on this earth. Their only hope for victory is on the other plane.

So moral issues, ethical guidance – these things get thrown out the window. What does it matter whether you know the enemy is a combatant or a non-combatant when it's really God who's controlling my gun; when it's God who's compelling my actions?

'War on Terror Redefined as a Cosmic War' Reza Aslan interview with Mark Colvin, *PM*, ABC Radio, 18 May 2010.

Responding to the source

1. According to Aslan, how does a 'cosmic war' exist on two levels?
2. According to Aslan, on which level will the most important victory be won?
3. Why, according to Aslan, would 'cosmic' warriors not be concerned about moral and ethical issues?
4. How could that make 'cosmic' warriors particularly dangerous, including to 'innocent' non-combatants?
5. Some commentators have proposed that a belief in 'cosmic war' motivated the hijackers who struck the twin towers on 9/11. What details in the source support that proposal?
6. In this chapter, have you encountered other examples of radical terrorist activity that seem to fit the 'cosmic war' thesis? Explain.
7. Aslan indicated that only a small minority of Muslims embrace a belief in 'cosmic war'. Does that mean it does not need to be treated as a serious threat? Explain.

Is ISIS-K an international terrorist threat?

Earlier in this chapter, you read historian Andrew Mumford's 2021 declaration that 'ISIS has been degraded but not destroyed'. The Moscow attack suggests that ISIS-K has become a powerful radical Islamist force following the collapse of the ISIS 'caliphate' in Syria.

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US-based academics Amira Jadoon and Sara Harmouch (2024) have highlighted how the Moscow attack 'signals ISIS-K's growing influence and its determination to make its presence felt on the global stage'. They identify a strategy of 'internationalising ISIS-K's agenda', noting that 'this latest atrocity serves to reinforce ISIS-K's stated commitment to the broader global jihadist agenda of the Islamic State group, and helps broaden the appeal of its ideology and recruitment campaign'.

This analysis suggests that ISIS-K can be seen as carrying on the original ISIS agenda, but perhaps also becoming a rival or even a successor to the 'parent' ISIS organisation. As Jadoon and Harmouch state, ISIS-K 'has the potential to strike fear in capitals far beyond ISIS-K's traditional base'.

SOURCE 16.43 Tributes and a sign 'No terrorism' at the site of the ISIS-K attack on the Crocus City Hall concert in Moscow on 22 March 2024

Given the Russian invasion of Ukraine and the ongoing war there, might some people outside Russia have had mixed feelings about this emotive display of sorrow? Can sympathy extend to citizens of an aggressor nation?

ISIS-K had already been on the minds of US leaders. Jennifer Kavanagh, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, reported that, on the day before the Moscow bombing, 'General Michael Erik Kurilla … leader of U.S. Central Command told the House Armed Services Committee that ISIS-K, an affiliate of the Islamic State, "retains the capability and the will to attack U.S. and Western interests abroad in as little as six months with little to no warning"' (2024). Kavanagh added that, after the bombing, US Senator Lindsey Graham 'argued for massive airstrikes on the group inside Afghanistan'.

In a CBS interview about the Moscow bombing, Michael Kugelman, director of the South Asia Institute at the Wilson Center in Washington, stated that ISIS-K had an ideological commitment to acting on the global stage. The Moscow bombing, he claimed, suggested that ISIS-K now had not just the commitment but also the capability (in Mukhtar, 2024).

ISIS-K became notorious for major attacks in Kabul and Moscow, but its most common tactics are mostly smaller-scale. CBS quoted a UN report saying that in 2022–23, 'ISIS-K had claimed responsibility for more than 190 suicide bombings in major cities, resulting in some 1,300 casualties' (in Mukhtar, 2024).

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While ISIS-K is based in Afghanistan, it is also in conflict with the Taliban rulers of that country. In September 2023, a Washington Institute analysis noted that the number of ISIS-K attacks within Afghanistan had decreased from 314 in 2021–22 to 69 in 2022–23, while ISIS-K targets in other countries had increased. The Washington Institute analysis postulated that the shift could reflect an increased Taliban anti-terrorist campaign and/or a change in ISIS-K policy (Zelin, 2023).

Either way, ISIS-K's external action has focused on propaganda campaigns and targeted attacks.

In December 2023, the US Deputy Special Envoy to the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS, Ian J. McCary, stated that ISIS-K was 'a clear external threat' (US Department of State, 2023).

? Given the above analyses, do you think that ISIS-K poses a growing international terrorist threat? To access detailed information on ISIS-K and multiple links to relevant sources, search for 'Islamic State – Khorasan Province' on Wikipedia.

Are 'lone wolf' terrorists doing the work of ISIS?

On Tuesday, 16 April 2024, social media in Australia was alive with breaking news of a 'lone wolf' terrorist attack in a Sydney church. A 16-year-old boy had stabbed a bishop of the Assyrian Orthodox Church during a live-streamed sermon. The following day, Associated Press published a story that highlighted a worrying aspect of the event.

SOURCE 16.44 Associated Press report on the Sydney church attack, 2024

Father of boy accused of stabbing 2 Sydney clerics saw no signs of extremism, Muslim leader says

SYDNEY (AP) – The father of a boy accused of stabbing two Christian clerics in Australia saw no signs of his son's extremism, a Muslim community leader said on Wednesday as police began arresting suspected rioters who besieged a Sydney church demanding revenge.

The 16-year-old boy spoke in Arabic about the Prophet Muhammad after he stabbed Bishop Mar Mari Emmanuel and the Rev. Isaac Royel during a church service on Monday night that was being streamed online. Neither cleric sustained life-threatening injuries.

Lebanese Muslim Association secretary Gamel Kheir, an advocate for Sydney's largest Muslim community, said he spent two hours with the boy's distraught father at the family home soon after the attack. The family has since left their home for fear of retaliation.

'He was in shock,' Kheir said of the father, who has not been identified.

'He was not aware of any signs of becoming more extreme other than the fact that he was becoming more disobedient to his father. But that was about it. He didn't see any tell-tale signs, so to speak,' Kheir added.

Mark Baker and Rod McGuirk, 'Father of Boy Accused of Stabbing 2 Sydney Clerics Saw No Signs of Extremism, Muslim Leader Says', 17 April 2024, *AP World News*

The attacker was an example of a 'lone wolf' terrorist. What is the 'worrying aspect' of this attack, reflected in the father's words?

That lack of 'tell-tale signs' is mentioned in a description of 'lone wolf' terrorism by two academics from the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (ICCT), Dr Edwin Bakker and Dr Beatrice de Graaf.

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Source **16.45** Two academics describe lone wolf terrorists

SOURCE 16.45 Why lone wolf terrorists are particularly dangerous

Perhaps one of the most puzzling and unpredictable forms of terrorism is provided by violent acts committed by a single individual. These so-called lone wolves are a nightmare for the police and intelligence community as they are extremely difficult to detect and to defend against. Compared to group terrorism or network-sponsored terrorists, lone operators have a critical advantage in avoiding identification and detection before and after their attacks, since most of them do not communicate with others with regard to their intentions. Although lone wolves might have the disadvantage of lacking the means, skills, and 'professional' support of terrorist groups, some of them nonetheless have proven to be very lethal.

Edwin Bakker and Beatrice de Graaf, *Lone Wolves: How to Prevent This Phenomenon?*, 2010, International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (ICCT)

Responding to the source

1. What features of a lone wolf terrorist make them hard to counteract?
2. What phrase in this source reflects the father's comment in the previous source?

In April 2024, again in the shadow of the Moscow bombing, Australia's *ABC Radio National* interviewed two US terrorism experts, Michael S. Smith and Michael Pregent. They emphasised that the 'lone wolf' phenomenon was a logical consequence of the collapse of the ISIS 'caliphate' in Syria and Iraq (ABC Radio National, 2024). They stated that, while ISIS had lost its territorial base, it now had a presence around the globe in two ways – in small 'cells' of supporters, and in radicalised individuals who usually had no direct contact with ISIS. As Pregent pointed out, 'ISIS built a brand that anyone can join'. Through individual or small-scale terrorist actions, both types of terrorists create what Smith called 'a perceptibility that ISIS is a strong, durable, credible threat'.

Ominously, Pregent described how simply attacks could be organised: 'these attacks are not necessarily sophisticated or expensive'. He said that, if he wanted to respond to an ISIS call for an attack, he would 'look for a lesser protected venue to conduct a simple crude drone attack … drop something over a stadium … it doesn't have to be a sophisticated explosive, it just has to cause panic. It could be a powder that basically panics a whole stadium'. When asked about whether stadium crowds at the 2024 Paris Olympics could be targets, Smith was emphatic that he didn't believe 'that it's possible to achieve a power of deterrence' that could protect Paris from attack.

How could 'lone wolf' terrorist attacks serve ISIS interests in more than one way?

Bakker and de Graaf (Source 16.45) referred to a Canadian Government report that highlighted how important the internet was for a lone wolf terrorist, providing 'ideological motivation, encouragement, justification, all within an anonymous environment' (2010). In terms of predicting lone wolf terrorist attacks, the authors noted that 'all terrorists are radical but that most radicals are not terrorists' and how that makes it 'extremely difficult to single out potential lone wolves before they strike, even with the help of the most sophisticated intelligence gathering tools'. The authors described how lone wolves 'inspire copycat behaviour, become role models for other alienated youngsters, and often invite band wagon attacks'.

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In 2022, the India-based Observer Research Foundation emphasised the role played by social media in the radicalisation of lone wolf terrorists, highlighting the significance of 'encrypted chat rooms', 'the dark web' and 'anonymity'.

In understanding how terrorists use social media, why are the terms 'encrypted', 'dark web' and 'anonymity' significant?

On 15 December 2014, Sydney was rocked by an hours-long siege at the Lindt Café in the heart of the city. Two hostages and the hostage-taker, Man Haron Mons, were killed. In the aftermath, there were debates about whether this was a radical Islamist attack and whether the attacker was really a 'lone wolf terrorist'. You can read about this event online, including the difficulty of interpreting the perpetrator's motives, at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10555.

The question, 'Was this radical Islamist terrorism?', arose three years later in the United States, when on 1 October 2017 a lone gunman fired into a crowd at an outdoor concert in Las Vegas, killing 58 and wounding about 500 others. A year-long FBI investigation failed to identify the motives of the gunman, Stephen Paddock. However, the day after the shooting, ISIS had claimed that Paddock converted to Islam months earlier.

SOURCE 16.46 Las Vegas, 1 October 2022. People display photos of victims of the United States' deadliest mass shooting, at a memorial concert five years after the attack by a lone wolf gunman. A day after the attack in 2017, ISIS claimed responsibility, despite no evidence of the gunman's links to ISIS.

What would ISIS hope to gain from claiming responsibility?

Lone wolf attacks generate a lot of publicity and can prompt much discussion, debate and anxiety among the public. Uncertainty about the motives of killers like Mons and Paddock makes it difficult to assess the global impact of radical Islamist terrorism.

Discuss: What makes lone wolf terrorism such an effective terrorist tactic?

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

What have historians and commentators said about ISIS's ongoing impact?

1. Construct a simple paragraph response for each of the three questions that frame this section, referring to historical sources and narrative text from the section.
   - **a.** What is ISIS's ambition?
   - **b.** Is ISIS-K an international terrorist threat?
   - **c.** Are 'lone wolf' terrorists doing the work of ISIS?
2. Bring the above sections up to date by brief internet searches of the following. What have historians and commentators said about:
   - **a.** recent activities of ISIS-K
   - **b.** recent examples of 'lone wolf' radical Islamist terrorism?
3. Participate in this 'attitude scale' activity. Read the statement. Decide where you position yourself on the scale, and why. Find a classmate who is positioned differently from you. Share and compare your explanations. Decide whether your classmate's explanation has shifted your position.

Radical Islamist terrorism is a serious threat to global peace and security.				Radical Islamist terrorism is no longer a serious threat to global peace and security.
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree	strongly agree

SOURCE 16.47
Lone wolf attacks (with questions)

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: What have been the causes and consequences of the rise of radical Islamist terrorism in the modern world?

Your teacher will explain whether you will use the Syllabus IA3 assessment instrument – historical essay. The syllabus states:

> **Internal assessment 3: Investigation**
>
> A historical essay based on research has the following features:
>
> - a key inquiry question which is included at the beginning of the response
> - an introduction (which sets the context and includes the hypothesis and an outline of the historical argument)
> - body paragraph with topic sentences
> - a conclusion (which draws together the main ideas and historical argument)
> - ethical scholarship in the form of a recognised system of referencing and a reference list.

Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority, *Modern History 2025 v1.0 General senior syllabus*, January 2024, p. 11

You should read the syllabus sections that describe the characteristics of the IA3 task and the qualities required at different levels of achievement. In the 2025 syllabus, these details are on pages 12 and 34–7.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Significance and legacy

'Terrorism' is an historical issue in which the 'significance at the time' merges with the 'significance for today'. Many of the immediate consequences of the 9/11 attacks of 2001, when 'terrorism' entered the popular consciousness with such dramatic force, have continued to be issues for today's world.

Significance at the time

A wake-up call!

SOURCE 16.48 On 11 September 2001 (9/11), these two soaring towers of the World Trade Center disappeared from the skyline. People around the world were shocked.

Considering what you learned in the contextual study about terrorist targets, do you think the threat of terrorism will change the way people design, build, organise or even enjoy significant places and events in the future?

The attack on the Twin Towers in New York on 11 September 2001 (9/11) sent shockwaves around the world. In Australia, parliamentarians resorted to extraordinary language to describe the extraordinary event.

Opposition leader Kim Beazley declared that '11 September … is a date that we should never forget. It was a monstrous act, a premeditated and calculated mass murder aimed at ordinary people … an attack on decent people everywhere'. Julie Bishop MP predicted that 9/11 was 'a turning point in human history', while future PM Kevin Rudd agreed that it was 'a world-changing experience'. Member of Parliament Anna Burke said: 'A mood has descended over the civilised world: a complexion of grief, anger, resolve and unity' (all quotes from Brew, 2021).

That 'grief' produced outpourings of sympathy from around the world. The 'anger' drove calls for retaliation. The 'resolve' and the 'unity' developed into a US-led 'war on terror'. But these responses were not universal.

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In some countries traditionally hostile to the United States, there were jubilant scenes of celebration at the massive blow al-Qaeda had dealt to the US targets, its people and the Americans' renowned sense of national pride.

One sentiment that Anna Burke didn't mention was fear. In the United States, all flights were cancelled, signalling fears of further attacks. Far from the devastation, workers in Brisbane's central business district expressed anxiety about entering their high-rise office blocks. Musicians including Madonna and Janet Jackson cancelled concert tours in the United States and Europe, and large sporting events were postponed. One confused and devastating impact was that people of 'Middle Eastern appearance' became subjects of suspicion, fear, abuse and sometimes violence. The immediate emotional reactions translated quickly into national security strategies in most countries of the world.

The search for security

The 9/11 attack was 'world-changing' in one way in particular. Worldwide, nations put in place security measures designed to protect citizens from terrorist attacks. Daily lives were disrupted, particularly when travelling on public transport, as travellers and luggage alike were checked, screened and restricted to secure departure halls. Security at large public gatherings was increased dramatically. Rubbish bins were removed from train platforms due to fear of planted bombs.

Other strategies were aimed at detecting terrorist plans and actions. Intelligence services were increased, and CCTV coverage reached saturation point in key locations such as tourist attractions and shopping malls.

Many of these strategies remain in place today, although not always as fully. Populations have become less anxious about gathering and travelling. But, as this chapter has described, terrorist attacks are still occurring in many countries.

Governments, including in Australia, also implemented anti-radicalisation programs in schools and communities, responding to the challenge of young people in particular being attracted to radical causes, as well as de-radicalisation programs for those within the community who had already become radicalised.

The 'war against terror'

An immediate impact of 9/11 was the declaration of a 'war on terror'. The Australian Government responded enthusiastically to US President Bush's invitation to 'defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world'. At first, the goal seemed easily within reach. Within a month, US air strikes pounded Afghanistan, whose Taliban government was accused of harbouring the 9/11 mastermind Osama bin Laden. Two weeks later, the Afghan capital, Kabul, fell and the government was routed. But, as described earlier, the 'war on terror' dragged on for 20 years, with no satisfactory outcome.

In similar fashion, the United States and its allies bombarded and invaded Iraq in 2003. A tenuous link was claimed between the Iraqi Government and 'terrorism'. Again, the national capital fell quickly, but the 'war on terror' dragged on, actually giving fresh impetus to radical Islamist groups, with devastating consequences for Iraq and neighbouring Syria.

SOURCE 16.49 13 November 2001. Thousands of Northern Alliance fighters and refugees wait to return to the capital Kabul, after the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance had captured the city and routed the Taliban government. The combined power of US air strikes and Northern Alliance forces on the ground had fulfilled a basic goal of the US-led 'Operation Enduring Freedom' – toppling the Taliban government. But, as it turned out, 'Enduring Freedom' would prove an elusive ambition over the next 20 years.

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Significance at the time: Summing up

Within weeks of the 9/11 attacks, there were 'world-changing' consequences. 9/11 was a wake-up call for the world about the reach and intensity of radical Islamist terrorism. It sparked the international US-led 'war on terror' – an unprecedented declaration of military action against a concept or phenomenon, 'terror' – rather than against a state or nation. Terrorist targets were declared, and attacks initiated against Islamist-based governments in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003). The devastation in both countries was severe.

Domestically, the wake-up call prompted fear, anxiety and suspicion among the populations, particularly in the West. It led to extreme security responses, with restrictions on and intrusions into the everyday life of citizens.

For some individuals, groups and societies embracing significant anti-US or anti-Western sentiment, the 9/11 attacks were cause for celebration and encouragement. The United States had been exposed as vulnerable, and an Islamic organisation had demonstrated its ability to damage the world's leading power.

The significance of all of this would last well beyond 2001.

SOURCE 16.50 After the ISIS-K suicide bombing in Kerman, Iran, 3 January 2024. ISIS-K claimed responsibility for a suicide bombing at the funeral procession for former Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps Quds Force Commander Qassem Soleiman. Over 100 people were killed. People are lighting candles in memory of victims.

Find out why ISIS-K would bomb a prominent event in Iran, an Islamic state.

Legacy - significance for today

ISIS lives on!

The sections of this chapter traced the emergence of radical Islamist terrorism, its strengthening through al-Qaeda and ISIS, its culmination in the Syria/Iraq-based caliphate, and the collapse of that caliphate around 2018. Sub-question 4 provided a sobering reminder that the vision and actions of ISIS live on in different forms in various parts of the world.

As this chapter was being written, there was a stark reminder of ISIS's enduring existence, described in sub-question 4 – the bombing by ISIS-K of a Moscow theatre. But two months earlier, two ISIS-K suicide bombers had struck in Iran, bombing the funeral of a military leader, killing more than 100 people. You might think about why that January attack attracted much less media attention than the Moscow attack.

You can gauge how ISIS 'lives on' by studying the Wikipedia lists of Islamist attacks at the webpage available via https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10556.

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Fear and security

Since 9/11, the security landscape has changed. Aidan Kirby explained how in 2009.

SOURCE 16.51 Aidan Kirby on the security landscape

> **The emergence of increasingly sophisticated communication technology; mounting instances of amateur, homegrown terror cells; the prospect of the global diffusion of low-cost yet lethal tactics; and suicide attacks and the use of improvised explosives have combined to make domestic security more complicated.**

Aidan Kirby, in Brian Jackson (ed.), *Considering the Creation of a Domestic Intelligence Agency in the United States: Lessons from the Experiences of Australia, Canada, France, Germany and the United Kingdom*, 2009

SOURCE 16.52 An NYPD officer checks a reveller entering the famous Times Square precinct for New Year's Eve celebrations

What is the date? What does the photo suggest about security concerns in New York, so many years after 9/11? Find out what event in Paris six weeks earlier probably heightened fears in New York.

Select one of the changes Kirby mentions. Explain to a classmate why that change would create a serious challenge for a nation's security forces.

What security strategies have you encountered personally? Have they affected your life in terms of convenience and efficiency? Are you supportive of such strategies?

The tragedy of Afghanistan

In 2001, Afghanistan became the first battleground of the 'war on terror'. As you read earlier in this chapter, the conflict continued for two decades, until the Taliban re-entered Kabul, reclaiming power that they'd lost in the first months of the war.

You read earlier in the chapter about the main features of postwar Afghanistan: the increasingly repressive Taliban government's imposing severe restrictions on the everyday lives of people; the failings of the Afghan economy; and the resurgence of radical Islamist groups within Afghanistan.

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One poignant tragedy is the fate of women and girls under Taliban rule. Despite Taliban assurances, females have been excluded from educational opportunities, work opportunities outside the home and any meaningful role in civil society. The shock of such restrictions, after two decades of comparative freedom and opportunity, has been great.

SOURCE 16.53 Berlin, Germany, 25 September 2021. Members of the feminist activist group Femen wear burqas in solidarity with Afghan women as they protest against the Taliban.

Are there any reasons why the Taliban might be swayed in its policies by protests in major countries like Germany?

One everyday symbol of women's repression is the burqa, which women must wear when outside the home.

War crimes in Afghanistan

During the war in Afghanistan, the United States and its allies struggled to win the 'battle for the hearts and minds' of the Afghan people. Their cause was damaged by allegations that Allied soldiers had committed war crimes, specifically the deliberate killings of innocent villagers and captured enemy fighters. These allegations have persisted in the years since the Taliban recaptured Kabul. Some Australian soldiers have been accused. The Australian Government set up an Office of the Special Investigator (OSI) in 2021, focusing on Afghanistan. In 2005, the UN appointed a Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms while Countering Terrorism, not focusing on any single conflict specifically.

Activity **16.8**

Consider war crimes in Afghanistan

1. Search the internet to find out about the investigations into alleged war crimes by Australian soldiers in Afghanistan, and any consequences of those investigations.
2. Use the attitude scale activity below as a starting point for a class discussion on the issue of war crimes.

When engaged in warfare, soldiers must always act in accordance with internationally agreed laws and rules related to war crimes.				When engaged in warfare, soldiers can sometimes be given some leeway and allowance for acts – committed in the heat of battle – that would be classed as war crimes.
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree	strongly agree

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Rewriting history

In 1992, with the end of the Cold War, historian Francis Fukuyama declared 'the end of history'. His thesis was that if history is a dialectical struggle, then the Cold War ideological competition and conflict between state-based communism and free-market democracy was finished, with 'the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government'.

Since 1992, Fukuyama has faced criticisms: that the 'clash of civilisations' is more powerful historically than the 'clash of political systems'; that the economic power of totalitarian states China and Russia poses a new dialectic; and that there has been a retreat from liberal democracy in the emergence of 'strongman' leaders like Jair Bolsanaro (Brazil), Rodrigo Duterte (Philippines), Alexander Lukashenko (Belarus) and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Türkiye).

In 2014, at the establishment of the Islamic caliphate, the ISIS magazine *Dabiq* published this declaration.

Source **16.54** ISIS magazine declaration

SOURCE 16.54 The doorstep for a new era

> **Today we are upon the doorstep for a new era, a turning point for the map of the region, rather the world. Today we witness the end of the lie called Western civilization and the rise of the Islamic giant.**

Islamic State, *Dabiq*, No. 4, 2014

Responding to the source

1. Does this prediction challenge Fukuyama's 'end of history' thesis?
2. What does your study of 'terrorism' suggest about the validity of the *Dabiq* prediction?
3. Other than terrorism, do you think any other current historical development or force could create a new historical dialectic, challenging global stability?

Significance for today: Summing up

Today, reverberations of 9/11 continue. The 'war on terror' did not succeed in obliterating radical Islamist terrorism. Instead, ISIS and al-Qaeda remain powerful and influential. They have influenced other Islamist terrorist organisations around the world, notably ISIS-K, Boko Haram, Jemaah Islamiyah and Al-Shabab. The established terrorist groups have inspired the phenomena of 'lone wolf' and 'copy-cat' terrorist attacks – often small-scale, isolated attacks on everyday targets (e.g. shopping malls) by individuals and small groups radicalised, in many cases, by terrorist publications and social media, without any direct contact with the larger groups. They present police and other authorities with huge challenges in detecting and monitoring their activities, and preventing their attacks.

While fear of terrorist attacks has generally reduced in recent years, unexpected terrorist acts, such as the Moscow attack in 2024, can reawaken a public sense of insecurity and vulnerability.

The unfinished 'war on terror' has left some countries damaged and their populations devastated: Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, in particular.

Unfortunately, what you've learned means that this chapter ends on a less-than-optimistic note. It's important to remember that terrorism attracts publicity – and creates fear and insecurity – far beyond its actual impact on most global societies. In Australia and most countries with advanced economies, the number of deaths attributable to terrorist activity is infinitesimal compared with deaths in road accidents, criminal homocide and deaths by misadventure. At this point in history, the oft-quoted advice about terrorism to be 'alert but not alarmed' seems appropriate.

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GLOSSARY

7RAR 7th Battalion (a military unit of 550 to 1000 soldiers) Royal Australian Regiment, which served two tours in Vietnam in 1967 and 1971

abdicate when a monarch resigns as leader of their country

aborigine this Latin-derived English word was originally used to refer to any native people of any part of the world, and then more specifically to Indigenous people of Australia. The phrase 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' or 'First Nations' is now preferred as the collective term. In this book, the adjective 'Aboriginal' is used appropriately to describe, for example, 'Aboriginal person' and 'Aboriginal land'. 'Aboriginal' is not used as a noun. The word 'Aborigine' is used only when it forms part of historical documentation.

absolute monarchy system of government where the monarch has complete power unrestricted by a constitution

Afgantsy Afghanistan War veterans, many of whom belonged to non-Russian nationalities

agricultural collectivisation where individual privately owned farms are combined to create large state-controlled collective farms

All-India Muslim League Indian political party formed in 1906 with an emphasis on defining Muslim identity, protecting Muslim rights within India and developing understanding between the Muslim and other Indian communities. It supported education for Muslims and opposed violence as a means of achieving goals. Initially, the Muslim League had very little influence and was not always viewed as representative of the Muslim community. However, by the 1930s Jinnah and the Muslim League had become the driving force behind the 1947 Partition of India and creation of an independent Muslim state, Pakistan.

anarchism the political belief that state authority is usually repressive, and that society should be organised around smaller self-managed communities. Some extreme anarchists attempt to damage the state through violence.

Ancien Régime French term for an old or former order – the system of government before 1789

antisemitism hostility to or prejudice against Jewish people, which is often the basis for persecution and oppression

apartheid literally translates to 'apartness'. A system of racial inequality, segregation and discrimination in South Africa, imposed by a white minority on a black majority, from 1948 to 1994.

apocalyptic catastrophic; producing the apocalypse, often associated with the end of the world

apostate someone who abandons or renounces their religious beliefs, principles or allegiance

appeasement a British and French policy in the late 1930s that aimed to limit further German expansionism by agreeing to certain German demands, most notably the German occupation of the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia

April Theses a series of 10 major objectives proposed by Lenin upon his return from exile that inspired the Bolsheviks to further action

armistice an agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting. It is not permanent, but it suggests that both sides are seeking peace.

Aryan originally a name given to an Indo-European people group from Iran and Northern India, the term was used as a designation of racial superiority by National Socialists, who equated the term with the 'white race' of whom the Nordic and Germanic peoples were thought to be the purest expression

autocratic a political system such as a monarchy or dictatorship where the ruler is not restricted in any way by a parliament, constitution or elections

bicameral a legislative body that has two chambers (houses of parliament)

big-character poster propaganda posters written in large Chinese characters, they directed revolutionary action and communication throughout the Cultural Revolution

Bolsheviks the more radical majority wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, led by Lenin

bourgeoisie (French Revolution) a member of the middle class, part of the Third Estate

bourgeoisie (Russian Revolution) the wealthy middle class that emerged in the cities and towns after the Industrial Revolution; seen by Marx and Lenin as oppressors of the workers

Caledon Bay crisis (1932–34) involved a series of killings of non-Aboriginals by Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory. It was the last major incident of violence on the frontier and its successful resolution marked a decisive moment in the history of Aboriginal–European relations.

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caliphate an area under Islamic control and headed by a caliph who claims to be the commander of the faithful and the successor to the Prophet Mohammed

capital wealth in the form of money or other assets owned by a person or organisation or available for a purpose such as starting a company or investing

capitalism an economic system that promotes the unrestricted growth of wealth in the hands of private individuals and companies based on market forces of supply and demand. Government intervention in the economy is disapproved of and extremes of wealth and poverty can occur.

caste the ancient Indian system of organising Hindu society into strict hierarchical groups (*jati*), ranked according to status. The highest caste is the *Brahmin* (priests and teachers), followed by the *Kshatriyas* (warriors and rulers), *Vaishyas* (farmers, traders and merchants) and *Shudras* (labourers), and the lowest caste is the *Dalits* (or outcasts – street sweepers and latrine cleaners).

chargé d'affaires a subordinate diplomat who substitutes for an absent ambassador

château a manor house or residence of the lord of the manor, or a country house of the nobility

Chauri Chaura a village in north-eastern India where, in February 1922, Indian protestors clashed with local police and set fire to the police station, killing 22 Indian policemen. Gandhi denounced the violence, calling off the civil disobedience campaign as a result.

Cheka the Bolsheviks' secret police, used to eliminate opposition

civil war a war fought between the citizens of the same country

class consciousness a social awareness of an individual's position within broader society specifically in relation to class struggle

collectives large-scale amalgamations of cooperatives into groups of several hundred families to collectivise labour

collectivisation the forced amalgamation of the Soviet Union's many small farms, mostly privately owned by peasants, into larger, more efficient state-owned collective enterprises using mechanised production methods

colonialism where one country physically exerts complete control over another country

Comintern an organisation aimed at the international overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the spread of communist doctrine

command economy style of economy where decisions are initiated and controlled centrally by the government

Committee of Public Safety a committee of the National Convention established to protect the nation against its enemies, both foreign and domestic

communism a political and economic system in which land, industry and other means of production are owned and controlled by the society as a whole and the total wealth of the society is distributed according to need

communist a believer in the philosophy of Karl Marx, having the goal of a classless society where the means of production (all property and industry) are owned by the community, and each person contributes according to their ability and receives according to their needs

Communist Manifesto the 1848 book by Marx and Engels that outlined the basic ideas of how class struggle would lead to a communist society

company a military unit containing 100 to 225 soldiers

concentration camps internment or prison camp for members of a specific minority or political group, often accompanied by exploitation and/or punishment

Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (ACAC) an industrial relations tribunal, established to hear and settle industrial disputes. From 1988 to 2009 it was the Australian Industrial Relations Commission (AIRC). Some of the functions of this commission are now part of the Fair Work Commission.

Confucianism an ancient Chinese belief system concerned with inner virtue, morality and respect for the community and its values

conglomerate a large corporation run as a single business, but made up of several firms (acquired through mergers or takeovers) supplying diverse goods and/or services

Congress the two houses of US government, consisting of the House of Representatives and the Senate

constitutional monarchy the rule of a kingdom by a monarch who must rule according to the laws and practices of the constitution. The monarch's role is mostly ceremonial.

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cooperatives larger groups of families that shared their individual land allocations in addition to farming equipment and labour

corvée the requirement to work unpaid on the upkeep of public roads

Cripps Mission British Labour Party Senior Minister and member of the War Cabinet, Stafford Cripps, was sent to India in late March 1942 to negotiate with Indian leaders to secure Indian cooperation and support for the British war effort by promising elections and dominion status to India at the end of the war

cult of personality the presentation of a political leader or otherwise notable individual with a focus on substantial personal charisma and the use of mass media to promote adulation of them by the public

demilitarised the reduction of state armed forces, usually as a result of a peace treaty negotiated at the end of a conflict. It can be general in nature or applied to a specific area, known as a demilitarised zone.

diaspora a people that has scattered or dispersed from their original homeland

divine right common belief among European monarchs that they were born to rule under God's will

Duma Russian parliament

East India Company (EIC) a private British company that was established and began trading with India in the early 1600s. By the mid-1850s, it controlled a significant tract of the subcontinent.

enlightenment a European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasising reason and individualism rather than tradition. It was heavily influenced by seventeenth-century philosophers such as Descartes, Locke and Newton, and its prominent figures included Kant, Goethe, Voltaire, Rousseau and Smith.

environmentalism of the dispossessed social movements that emerge when Indigenous peoples' access to the resources of their traditional lands are blocked or threatened by government or business interests

environmentalism of the poor social movements that emerge from environmental conflicts when poor people have their livelihoods, health or culture threatened by government or business interests

ethnic cleansing defined by the United Nations as 'a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas' (United Nations, 2024)

eugenics the idea that it is possible to improve humanity by allowing only some people to produce children

faction a subgroup, usually with slightly different views from the main group

feudal registers documents that recorded feudal relationships: which peasant 'belonged' to which lord and where they lived

feudal system a hierarchical social, political and economic system in which people were given land and protection by people of higher rank in exchange for labour and/or military services

Fireside Chats a series of evening radio broadcasts between 1933 and 1934, in which Roosevelt spoke informally about a number of matters, explaining his policies to the American people, and quelling rumours

First Nations peoples refers to the Indigenous inhabitants of the Australian continent, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are diverse and comprise hundreds of groups that have their own distinct sets of languages, histories and cultural traditions. In this book, 'First Nations people/s', 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people/s' and 'Indigenous people/s' are used interchangeably.

first wave feminism feminist activism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Western countries that focused on gaining the vote for women

fiscal refers to government revenue; in particular, taxes

five-year plans state plans that set targets for agricultural output in a given period, based on prescribed quotas

float a decorated platform, either built on a vehicle like a truck or towed behind one, which is a component of many festive parades

fourth wave feminism feminist activism, emerging in the early 2010s, which expanded the goals of the third wave to embrace diversity in feminism, including oppression experienced by trans and non-binary people. Activists use the internet to build solidarity, highlight injustice and call for change.

freehold literally 'free from hold' – the owner of such property enjoys free ownership of the land for perpetuity and can use the land for any purpose as long as it is within local regulations

Führer originally a German word meaning 'leader' or 'guide', it has become synonymous with the political title given to Adolf Hitler when the roles of both Chancellor and President were combined in 1933 to make him sole leader of Germany

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fundamentalist having beliefs and behaviours that are based on the strict, literal interpretation of a religious text

Gang of Four a radical group formed to initiate and carry out aggressive cultural change, led by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing

genocide acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group

ghetto a segregated section of a city set apart for habitation and residence by a specific group

Girondins National Convention deputies who were more moderate during the French Revolution

glasnost openness and transparency in government institutions and activities in the Soviet Union

global North the nations of the world that have a high level of economic and industrial development. They are typically located in the Northern Hemisphere, although nations located in the Southern Hemisphere, such as Australia and New Zealand, are also included.

global South the regions of the world outside of Europe and North America that have historically been low-income and less industrially developed. The global South has also been referred to as the 'developing world', or the 'Third World', although the latter term is rarely used, if ever, anymore.

Great Depression a severe worldwide economic depression that took place mostly during the 1930s, beginning in the United States and spreading throughout most of the world. Its impacts were only fully stopped by military expenditure for World War II.

Great Famine a famine that affected China from 1959 to 1961, resulting in millions of deaths

Group of Five a conservative group in favour of moderate cultural change in support of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, led by Peng Zhen

guerilla warfare a form of unconventional warfare in which small armed groups use ambushes, sabotage, raids or hit-and-run tactics in a violent conflict

guillotine a machine for beheading, invented by Dr Joseph-Ignace Guillotin as a means to eliminate unnecessary suffering during execution. During the Reign of Terror, a skilled guillotine team could execute one person every two to three minutes.

gulags prison camps set up in remote areas of Siberia to detain political prisoners

Hamas the Islamic Resistance Movement, a political and military organisation that has governed the Gaza Strip section of the Palestinian territories since 2007, and is a listed terrorist organisation by many countries, including Australia

hartal a form of civil disobedience; mass protest similar to a labour strike, usually involving the shutdown of schools, shops, offices and law courts

historiography the study or analysis of the different approaches taken by historians towards a topic of historical inquiry

Holocaust the deliberate persecution and **genocide** of European Jews between 1933 and 1945 by the German Nazi state in which between six and eight million individuals died

Holodomor (death by hunger in Ukraine) a human-made famine that affected the Soviet republic of Ukraine from 1932 to 1933 as a result of Soviet policies

home base the place where someone or something lives or operates; in this instance, Nui Dat in Phuoc Tuy province

human rights the rights you have simply because you are human

hyperinflation an economic situation in which monetary inflation is occurring at an exceptionally high rate, reducing the value of currency and usually resulting in economic hardship and depression

imperialism formal or informal economic and political domination of one country over the other

Indian National Congress (INC) founded in 1885 by a Scotsman, Alan Hume, supported by the Viceroy, and made up of Western-educated Indians. The INC was India's first independence party and had Hindu, Sikh and Muslim members who supported reform in favour of all Indians regardless of religion. The INC would later come to support the ideas and policies of Gandhi through the 1920s and early 1930s and was instrumental in the struggle for Indian independence.

infidel a word used to label someone who has no religious beliefs, or whose beliefs are different from those of another religion

intelligentsia the educated writers, artists and thinkers who were often responsible for new and progressive ideas

Intifada an Arabic word for shaking off, or an uprising against oppression

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Iron Curtain term used in the West to refer to the boundary line that divided Europe during the Cold War into two separate areas of political influence: the Eastern Communist Bloc and its Western capitalist counterpart (Western Bloc)

itinerant travelling from place to place

Jacobins the more radical and ruthless of the political groups during the French Revolution, associated with Robespierre

jihad traditionally a 'struggle' to live a good life in line with Islamic ideals; today, the word is used more often to describe radical, armed conflict against perceived enemies of Islam

junta a military or political group that rules a country after taking power by force

Kaiser the title of the Emperor of Imperial Germany from 1871 to 1918

Karl Marx German philosopher and political theorist (1818–83) who is known as the Father of Communism. His best-known works are *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Das Kapital* (1867).

Keynesian economics economist John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946) argued that governments should intervene where necessary to ensure consumer demand is maintained as the basis of a healthy economy. In times of financial or economic crisis, this can involve significant 'deficit budgeting' – government going into debt to fund, for example, 'stimulus packages' for citizens or job-retention payments to businesses.

kolkhoz a type of large collective farm

Kulaks wealthier peasants who benefited from the New Economic Policy; they were later persecuted by Stalin as they resisted collectivisation

Kuomintang (KMT) Chinese nationalist political party formed in 1912 out of prior revolutionary groups

liberal internationalism a foreign policy doctrine that argues that liberal states should intervene in other sovereign states in order to pursue liberal objectives. Such intervention can include both military invasion and humanitarian aid. It is a contrasting political philosophy to offensive realism.

liberalism a political view based on liberty and equality. Liberals generally support civil rights, democracy, secularism, gender equality, internationalism, and the freedoms of speech, the press, religion and markets.

lone wolf in the context of terrorism, a person who prefers to conduct acts of terrorism alone

Mao Zedong Thought the official interpretations of Marxism-Leninism according to Mao Zedong, specifically deviating from the Soviet-led interpretations

market economy an economy that is regulated by the forces of supply and demand, rather than state intervention

martyr a person who suffers very much or is killed because of their religious or political beliefs, and is often admired because of it

martyrdom the death or self-sacrifice of a person for a particular cause, usually political or religious

Marxist-Leninism Lenin's adaptation of Marx's theories to suit what he believed was necessary to complete the revolution in the Soviet Union

Mensheviks the more conservative minority wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Party

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

missions reserves of land to which Aboriginal people were forcibly relocated. Missions were usually on land granted by the government, but in the control of churches and missionaries. Similar areas managed by government officials were generally known as 'stations' or 'managed reserves'.

Montagnards the more radical Jacobins who occupied the higher benches in both the Jacobin Club and the National Legislature

Mujahideen Islamist guerrilla fighters combating non-Muslim forces; they were instrumental in defeating Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s

Munich Pact an agreement concluded on 30 September 1938 involving Germany, Britain, France and Italy that permitted German annexation of the Sudetenland in exchange for Germany making no further territorial demands in Europe

mutual-aid teams teams that allowed for the collaboration of several families to share farming equipment and labour as a basic economic unit of collectivisation

NAIDOC stands for National Aborigines and Islanders Day Observance Committee. This committee was responsible for organising national NAIDOC Week activities, and over time the acronym has become the name of the entire festival, which aims to celebrate the history, culture and achievements of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

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National Assembly formed on 17 June and was recognised on 27 June 1789. After July 1789, it became known as the National Constituent Assembly, often referred to as the Assembly.

national identity the sense of belonging to one state or one nation, represented by distinctive traditions, culture, language and politics

National Socialism the political ideology of the NSDAP consisting of intense nationalism, dictatorial rule and totalitarianism, a prejudicial hatred of perceived national enemies (such as Jews and Slavs) and the desire to establish a people's community to dominate German political and civic life

nationalised transferred from private to state ownership and control

nationalism advocacy of or support for the political independence of a nation or people and their support for the nation's interests

nationalists individuals who seek to exalt one nation above others and place primary emphasis on promoting that country's culture and interests

New Deal a group of government programs and policies established under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s; the New Deal was designed to improve conditions for persons suffering in the Great Depression

New Economic Policy (NEP) a policy that allowed reintroduction of private enterprise after the civil war

NKVD Stalin's secret police, successor to the Okhrana and the Cheka

October Manifesto a series of reforms reluctantly proposed by Nicholas II in October 1905 in order to end unrest and opposition to his rule

offensive realism the belief that the international system is anarchic by nature (free of a policing body) and nation-states are disposed to competition and conflict because they are self-interested, power maximising and fearful of other states. Therefore, this environment promotes aggressive behaviour in international politics out of the need for survival.

Okhrana the tsar's secret police; used by the tsar to identify, surveil and eliminate opposition

oligarchy a country or organisation controlled by a small group of people

Operation Barbarossa the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941; at the time the largest invasion force in history

parlements regional assemblies. In 1789, France had 13 *parlements*. Each *parlement* was led by magistrates who were members of the Second Estate. They were the court of final appeal for the judicial system in pre-revolutionary France.

partition a division of a country into separate parts

Partition of India the division of British India into two separate countries, Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan, both of which would be independent of Britain

pastoral lease crown (or state) land that is leased or rented by the government generally for the purpose of grazing livestock (e.g. sheep and cattle)

pastoralist a sheep or cattle farmer

People's Liberation Army (PLA) the name given to the military forces of the CCP from 1945. It was the official army of the PRC and was heavily guided by the Party itself.

Polish Corridor a territory located in the region of Pomerania that provided the Second Republic of Poland (1920–39) with access to the Baltic Sea, dividing much of Germany from the province of East Prussia

Politburo the Communist Party executive, comprising the senior members of the party

posse a body of armed men summoned to enforce the 'law'

private a military rank; the lowest grade of enlisted personnel

proletariat urban working class mainly consisting of factory and industrial workers

Protection Acts legislation passed in all Australian states, except Tasmania, which gave governments extensive powers over the lives of Indigenous peoples, including regulation of residence, employment and marriage

Provisional Government the new government of Russia formed after the tsar abdicated in March 1917

proxy war a war instigated by, or fought on behalf of, a major power that is not directly involved

purges official campaigns organised by Stalin to eliminate perceived opponents by expulsion from the Party, imprisonment or execution, usually without the need for evidence

Question Time time in parliament set aside for the opposition to ask the government questions

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Raj a Hindi word meaning king or ruler. It is also used to describe the period of British rule of India from 1858 to 1947.

Rape of Nanjing the rape of many Chinese women, the killing of civilians and surrendering Chinese soldiers, and the looting of the city of Nanjing by invading Japanese forces from December 1937 to January 1938. Estimated deaths range from tens to hundreds of thousands.

realpolitik a political philosophy or theory that attempts to explain, model and prescribe how nation-states (countries) interact with one another – international relations. It takes as its assumption that power is (or ought to be) the primary end of political action, whether in the domestic or international arena. In other words, internationally a nation that wields power doesn't have to consider the needs (in a moral sense) of a 'weaker' nation when interacting politically within the international system.

rectification use of public 'struggle sessions' and confessions of politically incorrect thoughts and actions to 'correct' the individual

Red Guard radicalised workers and students, often identified by red armbands, who carried out the most aggressive elements of the Cultural Revolution, including destruction of property, struggle sessions, beatings and executions

Reich Party Congress also known as the Nuremberg Rallies after their location in central Germany, these massive National Socialist rallies were held regularly from 1923 to 1938. They were carefully choreographed propaganda events designed to reinforce party ideals and enthusiasm for Nazi ideology.

Reichstag the meeting place of Germany's parliament or 'Imperial Diet' until 1933, when a fire in the building led to the political events that enabled Hitler to become dictator

reparations the action of making amends by providing payment or rendering assistance to those who have been wronged

republic a state in which there is no hereditary monarch and the head of state is elected

Revolutionary Tribunal a court instituted by the National Convention during the French Revolution for the trial of political offenders

Ruhr Crisis a period of military occupation of the German Ruhr valley by France and Belgium between 1923 and 1925 in response to the failure of Germany to meet its second reparation payment of the £6.6 billion that was dictated in the Treaty of Versailles

sakoku literally 'lock up of country' or 'closed country'. The foreign policy of Japan between 1633 and 1868 under which no foreigner or Japanese could enter or leave the country on penalty of death.

sanctions political or trade penalties imposed on countries for breaching international norms

sans-culottes a group who were a major force in shaping the French Revolution

satyagraha 'holding firmly to truth', A form of non-violent civil resistance and a philosophical platform adopted by Gandhi that would come to shape the Indian independence campaign. *Satyagraha* was heavily influenced by a key principle of Jainism, Hinduism and Buddhism called *ahimsa*, which means a dedication to not injure another living being.

sawyer someone who saws wood

***Schutzstaffel* (SS)** originally founded as personal bodyguards for Hitler, they became the elite corps of the NSDAP and participated in many of the worst excesses of the Nazi era, including the mass murder of political opponents, Jews and prisoners of war

secession formal withdrawal of a group from a political entity (e.g. a country)

secessionist favouring formal withdrawal from membership of a federation or body, especially a political state

sepoy a professional Indian soldier hired by the EIC (and later by the Raj) to protect its interests. Sepoys were volunteers, and generally signed up seeking steady income and regular meals.

sesquicentenary the 150th anniversary of a significant event

sharia an Islamic system of law based on the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed

Shinto (literally 'the way of the gods') a polytheistic belief system that is native to Japan and predates historical records. Its practices, attitudes and institutions revolve around the Japanese land and seasons and their divine relationship with the human inhabitants.

show trials trials of Stalin's opponents where their guilty verdict was in place before the trial had started; even if innocent, victims often confessed their guilt due to psychological pressure or torture

Slavic members of the Slavs, an Indo-European ethnic group traditionally distributed throughout Eastern and Central Europe, including Russia and the Balkans

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Social Darwinism the theory (since discredited) that human groups and races can be subject to the same laws of natural selection as put forward and applied to animals in nature by Charles Darwin in the late nineteenth century

socialism a political and economic theory that proposes that the means of producing, distributing and exchanging goods and services should be owned and regulated by the community or state

soft power a persuasive approach to international relations, typically involving the use of economic or cultural influence rather than 'hard' military intervention

sonno joi literally 'revere the emperor, expel the barbarians', a Japanese and Chinese political philosophy and a social movement derived from Neo-Confucianism. It became a political slogan in the 1850s and 1860s in the movement to overthrow the Tokugawa shogunate.

sovereignty a political concept that refers to the dominant power of supreme authority

Soviets revolutionary workers' councils formed by the Bolsheviks in cities and towns all over Russia, the largest of which was the Petrograd Soviet

stalemate situation in a conflict where neither side can make progress

Stalinism a system of totalitarian political and social control, along with state-owned, large-scale agricultural and industrial production. Based on leader Josef Stalin's reinterpretation of Marxism and Leninism as 'Socialism in one country', it focused on domestic growth and protection against foreign threats.

Sturmabteilung a paramilitary organisation within the NSDAP in Germany. Also known as the brownshirts, their use of violence and intimidation played a vital role in the rise of Adolf Hitler to power.

suffrage the right to vote in political elections

suffragettes women associated with the Women's Social and Political Union, seeking the right to vote. Their campaign methods included more militant, and sometimes violent and illegal actions.

suffragists people advocating for the extension of the right to vote, particularly for women. Suffragists worked used constitutional means to achieve their goals; they worked within the political system.

Sun Yat-sen revolutionary, and founder and leader of the Kuomintang

swadeshi economic self-sufficiency and not relying on imported goods. Gandhi promoted Indian industries with the aim of becoming less dependent on British products.

taille a direct land tax imposed on each household

third wave feminism feminist activism beginning in the 1990s; it differentiated itself from second wave feminism by embracing individuality, pluralism and diversity

tithe a tax payment to the church of one-tenth of annual produce or earnings

totalitarianism a system of government that does not allow any opposition to the state; a dictatorship

tsars autocratic hereditary rulers of Russia prior to the February 1917 revolution

vassal in feudal society, a man who gave military service to a lord, in return for which he was protected by the lord and received land to live on

Versailles the Palace of Versailles, the royal residence that was commissioned by Louis XIV to be transformed into an extravagant construction to glorify the status of the king

veto literally 'I forbid'; an official power or right to refuse to accept or allow something

war climate geopolitical situation in which the potential for armed conflict between two or more states is created due to tensions that build through provocative actions

War Communism policy that directed all economic production towards serving the revolution's survival during the civil war

White Paper a government report that outlines policy options on an important issue

Women's Liberation Movement or **second wave feminism** feminist activism that began in America in the 1960s and intensified in the 1970s across the Western world. It aimed to achieve equality and equal opportunity for women in every aspect of their lives, including revolutionising the way society thought about women and how women thought about themselves.

xenophobic having or showing a dislike of or prejudice against people from other countries

yellow peril an offensive phrase referring to the perception that Asian populations would expand and Western culture would be overpowered; 'yellow' was a racist term for people from East Asia

Yuan Shikai former imperial general and statesman; an increasingly monarchical President of the Republic of China from 1913 until his death in 1916

Zionists supporters of Zionism, a movement that seeks the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state

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Chapter 3

FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789–1799

Aspect: The survival of revolutionary ideals

SUSAN DU RAND

SOURCE 3.1 *Tennis Court Oath*, 20 June 1789, by Jacques-Louis David

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Robert Picoult* is nervous. This is unusual for him, but today he's away from home.

Usually, at home in Paris, he takes his morning walk with the calm assurance and confidence of a successful businessman. En route to his large warehouse, he is greeted by friends and acquaintances with a mix of familiarity and respect. Entering his oak-panelled office, he takes a seat behind his desk and, briefly, sighs with satisfaction.

But today is different. It's 20 June 1789. He's gathered with hundreds of other men in an indoor 'royal tennis' court in the Palace of Versailles. The palace is the home of the French king Louis XVI, his family and countless courtiers. Robert is only 16 kilometres from home, but he might as well be in a different world.

For almost six weeks previously, since 5 May, Robert has been attending an extraordinary gathering. Called the *États Généraux*, it's an assembly that provides advice to the king and his ministers. What a gathering! The members – all men – come from the three classes of French society: the clergy, the aristocrats and the common people. They are called the First, Second and Third Estates. The numbers are significant, muses Robert, as they make it clear where the real power lies in France.

The *États Généraux* had not met since 1614! Then, it met at a time of political upheaval. Now, it is meeting at another moment of urgency in French history. But the weeks since 5 May have achieved nothing. The meetings have been full of rancorous debate.

Robert has a clear sense of the problem. Put simply … everyone knows that their beloved France is in deep trouble. Financial trouble, particularly. But those with real power are making it clear that they will not give up anything – money, status, privileges, whatever – to rescue the nation. Worse still, the clergy and aristocrats make it clear that they can outvote the Third Estate (as each estate has just one vote), making change virtually impossible. Frustrated, the members of the Third Estate have been meeting separately. On 17 June, they declared themselves the 'National Assembly' of France.

Today, 20 June, takes an unexpected turn. The Third Estate members arrive to find their meeting hall locked and guarded, by order of the king. So now, a mixture of frustration and anger propels Robert and his fellow members of the Third Estate – joined, surprisingly, by some members of the clergy and the aristocracy – to the unlocked indoor tennis court.

Now, gathered in this space, they vote – by 576 votes to one – to continue meeting, and to refuse to disperse until they are guaranteed a new Constitution that will transform the political and financial structures of the French nation.

Robert sits quietly, reflectively, with mixed feelings of hope and foreboding …

* Robert Picoult is a fictional character devised for this opening story.

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The path to revolution

Robert Picoult might have been surprised, but delighted, to learn that two centuries later a famous painting of the gathering in the tennis court hall would take pride of place in the Musée national du château de Versailles. And that the 'Tennis Court Oath' he had taken would reverberate from Versailles, helping to produce a landmark event in modern history: the French Revolution.

Many people in France during 1789 had significant social, political and economic grievances. French society was based on privilege, hierarchy and tradition. In this contextual study, you will investigate whether 'privilege' was a powerful cause of the French Revolution.

What were the political, social and economic problems of the time?

During pre-revolutionary France, the king, Louis XVI, was an **absolute monarch**, meaning that he was sovereign and answerable to no one. The traditional ideas behind the status of monarchy stemmed from the 'divine right of kings', the accepted idea that God chose the monarch and their family to rule. This political and social system is what the revolutionaries would soon call the ***Ancien Régime***. Under the regime, everyone was a subject of the king of France, and was a member of one of the estates or orders of society. The population of France in 1789, estimated at 28 million, was divided into three social classes.

The First Estate was made up of the clergy, who served the church. This group was wealthy, owned a great deal of land and enjoyed various privileges, such as exemption from taxation and the ability to levy **tithes** on landowners.

absolute monarchy system of government where the monarch has complete power unrestricted by a constitution

Ancien Régime French term for an old or former order – the system of government before 1789

tithe a tax payment to the church of one-tenth of annual produce or earnings

taille a direct land tax imposed on each household

corvée the requirement to work unpaid on the upkeep of public roads

bourgeoisie a member of the middle class, part of the Third Estate

The Second Estate consisted of the nobility, who derived their status by birth. Owning approximately 25% of all the land in France, they benefited from a number of sources of wealth and power. They were exempt from paying the taxes known as the ***taille*** and the ***corvée***.

The Third Estate – the commoners – made up the majority of the French population. This diverse group of people included wealthy merchants, urban workers and peasants. Professionals (the educated middle class or **bourgeoisie**) lived mostly in the towns, and the peasants, who survived largely by subsistence farming, resided in the countryside. The Third Estate was heavily taxed and resentful of this burden. The inequality of taxation was prominent as the Third Estate carried the burden of taxation and also had no say in how the taxation was spent.

The 1789 historical cartoon in Source 3.2 signals reasons for discontent in France. In this engraving, the artist is commenting on French society before the revolution.

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Source **3.2** Engraving, 1789

SOURCE 3.2 Engraving from 1789: 'We must hope that this game will soon be over'

Responding to the engraving

1. Who do the two characters being carried represent? What impression has the artist conveyed of them?
2. How has the artist tried to represent the diversity of peoples in the Third Estate?
3. Whose 'voice' do you think the caption conveys – one or more of the characters? The artist's? Explain.
4. What message do you think the artist intended; for what audience; and with what hoped-for effect?

The social hierarchy, based on the hereditary principle of privilege, restricted the social mobility of the enterprising middle class, who resented being ranked along with rural peasants at the bottom of the social order.

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Source **3.3** Engraving, 1789

SOURCE 3.3 Engraving from 1789: 'The most important persons would always be walked all over'. The large stone bears the names of taxes paid almost exclusively by the Third Estate.

Responding to the engraving

1. Identify the three figures in the cartoon and explain how the issue of privilege is highlighted.
2. What do the two images you've now studied suggest about freedom of political expression in pre-revolutionary France?

fiscal refers to government revenue; in particular, taxes

Versailles refers to the Palace of Versailles, the royal residence that was commissioned by Louis XIV to be transformed into an extravagant construction to glorify the status of the king

In the late eighteenth century, an inefficient and overly bureaucratic French Government struggled to reform France's **fiscal** system. Historians have suggested many reasons for this financial crisis. Years of excessive spending by former kings and the extravagance of **Versailles**, the unfair system of taxation and the French support for the colonists in the American War of Independence all resulted in a national debt. The divide created between the privileged nobility and clergy and the majority of the French people caused resentment towards the monarchy. This is reflected by Louis-Sébastien Mercier, who wrote the following in *Tableau de Paris* about the nobility.

Source **3.4** A description of the nobility

SOURCE 3.4 Louis-Sébastien Mercier describes the nobility

> **The castles, which bristle in our provinces and swallow up large estates, possess misused rights of hunting, fishing and cutting wood; and these castles still conceal those haughty gentlemen who separate themselves effectively from the human race, who add their own taxes to those of the monarch, and who oppress all too easily the poor, despondent peasant … They want everything for themselves – dignities, employments and exclusive preferences; they will not allow the common people to have either promotion or reward.**

Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris* (12 vols, 1783–89), VIII, p. 154

Responding to the source

1. What class do you think Mercier belonged to, and what social and political beliefs might he have held? Explain.
2. What effect did the privileges of the nobility have on the common people?
3. Why might the situation described in this extract help lay the foundations for revolution?

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A succession of finance ministers appointed by the king attempted to introduce economic reforms to save France from bankruptcy. Turgot was appointed in 1774 not long after Louis XVI took the throne. He aimed to restore the state's finances by replacing the complex system of privileges and taxes with economic freedom. He introduced free trade and competition and replaced the *corvée* system of compulsory labour with a tax on property owners. These measures were unpopular with the First and Second Estates and, at the instigation of Queen Marie Antoinette, Turgot was forced to resign. Necker became Director of Finance in 1777 and, despite his cautious reforms, he was forced to resign in 1781. Necker was followed by Calonne in 1783, who aimed to achieve a plan of fiscal reform that involved a uniform land tax and the removal of tax exemptions for the clergy and nobility. In 1787, at Calonne's request, Louis XVI decided to gain support for Calonne's proposals by summoning the Assembly of Notables, which was made up of nobles, higher clergymen and magistrates form the ***parlements***. Calonne's plan for a fairer tax system caused him to be dismissed from office and replaced with Brienne, who was also unable to negotiate any agreement with the king and his advisers. All efforts by finance ministers to increase the royal revenue by introducing tax reforms encountered opposition from the Notables and the *parlements*. They rejected these reforms as their own fiscal exemptions were threatened. Louis XVI soon returned to Necker, reinstating him as finance minister in 1788. France was not only bankrupt but was also experiencing a bitter winter and a harvest crisis, resulting in an increase in bread prices.

parlements regional assemblies. In 1789, France had 13 *parlements*. Each *parlement* was led by magistrates who were members of the Second Estate. They were the court of final appeal for the judicial system in pre-revolutionary France.

The disagreements between the king and the nobility over proposed tax reforms in 1787–88 soon transformed into a public debate that went beyond the issue of fiscal reforms. Not all the Notables challenged Calonne's plans and there were some members of the nobility and the clergy who were willing to end their own privileges. People such as Abbé Sieyès (who we will explore further in this contextual study) started to ask questions about the authority of the king and who, ultimately, should have the power to make the laws for the kingdom. These revolutionary ideas were gleaned from their readings of the *philosophes*, the French writers of the Enlightenment.

How significant was intellectual thought in the process of change?

The **Enlightenment** was a movement in Europe in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that featured a group of philosophers and intellectuals who promoted new ideas based on reason. The growth of modern political ideologies, such as liberalism and republicanism, and ideas including independence of thought, led to a decline in the power of absolute monarchies in Europe and a reduction in the status of the church. Ideas played an important role in giving shape and substance to the discontent experienced by many, particularly among the middle class. Intellectuals had a range of ideas regarding the inherent freedom and moral equality of people and expressed various new visions of society. This shift in thinking represented a clear challenge to the existing state of affairs in France during the late eighteenth century.

Enlightenment a European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, emphasising reason and individualism rather than tradition. It was heavily influenced by seventeenth-century philosophers such as Descartes, Locke and Newton, and its prominent figures included Kant, Goethe, Voltaire, Rousseau and Smith.

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Critical thinkers of the Enlightenment

The ideas of the following thinkers circulated within France before the revolution.

Montesquieu

Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu was a political philosopher, judge and writer. Believing in a theory of the separation of powers, Montesquieu advocated that a limited monarchy would be the most appropriate system of rule for France. Using satire, his work poked fun at the church, court and French society. Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* (1748) proposed a three-way division of powers between the king, parliament and judiciary. This was a major contribution to political theory at the time.

Source **3.5** Montesquieu on constitutional government

SOURCE 3.5 Montesquieu proposes a three-way division of powers

Political liberty is to be found only in moderate governments; and even in these it is not always found. It is there only when there is no abuse of power: but constant experience shows us that every man invested with power is apt to abuse it, and to carry his authority as far as it will go. To prevent this abuse, it is necessary, from the very nature of things, that power should be a check to power ... In order to have this liberty, it is requisite [required] the government be so constituted [created] as one man need not be afraid of another. When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates [government employees], there can be no liberty. ... Again, there is no liberty if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive ...

Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, 1748

Responding to the Baron de Montesquieu

1. What basic belief about 'power' does Montesquieu express?
2. According to Montesquieu, how can the abuse of power be prevented in a government?
3. Why could Montesquieu's proposal be labelled 'reformist' rather than 'revolutionary'?
4. How is the 'separation of powers' structured into the Australian system of government today?

Rousseau

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was a political philosopher and writer extensively known for his work *The Social Contract* (1762). He was very critical of moral decadence, inequality and absolutism and sought to promote a more egalitarian form of government by consent. His thinking formed the basis of modern republicanism. He advocated that the only hope of security was to establish a civil society to provide peace and the right to property for everyone.

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Source **3.6** Rousseau on the theory of the social contract

SOURCE 3.6 Political philosopher Rousseau writes about the social contract

I ... regard the establishment of the political body as a real contract between the people and the chiefs chosen by them: a contract by which both parties bind themselves to observe the laws therein expressed, which form the ties of their union. From whatever side we approach our principle, we reach the same conclusion, that the social contract sets up among the citizens an equality of such a kind, that they all bind themselves to observe the same conditions and should therefore all enjoy the same rights.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract & Discourses*, 1762 (in J.M. Dent & Sons, 1920)

Responding to Rousseau

1. According to Rousseau, what is one advantage of the social contract?
2. Note Rousseau's mention of 'chiefs'. What would you want to know about the 'chiefs' when evaluating Rousseau's commitment to 'equality'?

Voltaire

Voltaire, born François-Marie Arouet, was a liberal political theorist, philosopher, playwright and poet who criticised social convention and rejected the ideas of the Roman Catholic Church. He argued that the church was corrupt and guilty of oppression. He believed in an enlightened monarchy, or a republic dominated by the middle class, and was instrumental in promoting republican ideas.

Source **3.7** Voltaire on ecclesiastical law

SOURCE 3.7 Extract from Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary*

No ecclesiastical law should have any force except it have the express sanction of the government ... Magistrates alone should have power to allow or prohibit work on feast days, because it is not the business of priests to forbid men to cultivate their fields ... All ecclesiastics should be subject in all cases to the government, because they are subject to the state. No priest should ever have the power to take from a citizen the least prerogative under the pretext that the citizen is a sinner ... Magistrates, laborers, and priests should bear the expenses of the state equally, because they belong to the state equally.

Voltaire, 'Philosophical Dictionary: On the Relation of Church and State', 1764, in J.H. Robinson, *Readings in European History: From the Opening of the Protestant Revolt to the Present Day*, 1901, pp. 380–1

Responding to Voltaire

1. What does Voltaire suggest about the influence of church authority on French society?
2. Why might Voltaire have been supportive of an enlightened monarchy *and* a republic dominated by the middle class?
3. In 1950s Australia, 'ecclesiastical' influences had significant effects on what citizens could do on Sundays. Research those effects.

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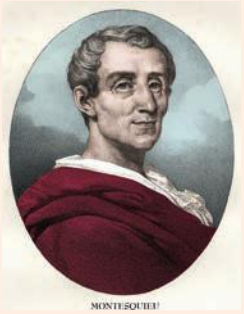
Activity **3.1**

Summarise ideas

Create and complete a table like the one below, summarising the ideas of individual freedom and forms of government that emerged from the Enlightenment thinkers Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire.

Enlightenment thinker	Quote	Most famous writing	Key ideas	How might these ideas have challenged the political system in pre-revolutionary France?
Montesquieu (1689–1755) 	'When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty.'			
Rousseau (1712–78)	'The consent of the people is the sole basis of a government's authority.'			
Voltaire (1694–1778)	'What does it mean to be free? To reason correctly and know the rights of man. When they are well known they are well defended.'			

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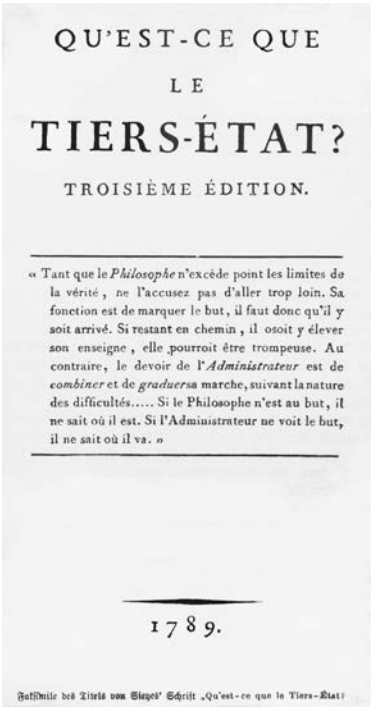
How did the changing political role of the Third Estate contribute to the revolutionary situation?

Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, commonly known as Abbé Sieyès, was a Roman Catholic abbot, clergyman and political writer. He studied political philosophy and challenged traditional ideas of government. Sieyès produced a famous pamphlet in January 1789 entitled 'What Is the Third Estate?' He argued that sovereignty should come from those who produce and create the goods and services that benefit society.

Sources **3.8** and **3.9** Abbé Sieyès: pamphlet 'What Is the Third Estate?'



QU'EST-CE QUE

LE

TIERS-ÉTAT?

TROISIÈME ÉDITION.

« Tant que le *Philosophe* n'excède point les limites de la vérité, ne l'accusez pas d'aller trop loin. Sa fonction est de marquer le but, il faut donc qu'il y soit arrivé. Si restant en chemin, il osoit y élever son enseigne, elle pourroit être trompeuse. Au contraire, le devoir de l'*Administrateur* est de *combiner* et de *graduer* sa marche, suivant la nature des difficultés..... Si le Philosophe n'est au but, il ne sait où il est. Si l'Administrateur ne voit le but, il ne sait où il va. »

1789.

Fac-similé des Titels von Sieyes' Schrift „Qu'est-ce que le Tiers-Etat?

SOURCE 3.8 Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès (1748–1836) and the first page of his pamphlet *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers-Etat?* ('What is the Third Estate?')

SOURCE 3.9 Translation of an extract from the pamphlet

> Who then shall dare to say that the Third Estate has not within itself all that is necessary for the formation of a complete nation?
>
> What is the Third Estate? Everything.
>
> What has it been heretofore in the political order? Nothing.
>
> What does it desire to be? To become something.

Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, 'What is the Third Estate?', 1789

Responding to the pamphlet and the preceding text

1. What is Sieyès suggesting by his statement that the Third Estate has all that is necessary for the formation of a complete nation?
2. Note, in the preceding text, the comment about 'sovereignty'. Which people within the Third Estate might have been most attracted to Sieyès's ideas? Why?
3. At the time, why might this pamphlet have been considered a very significant one?

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Leading the revolution

It can be argued that the formulation of grievances was driven by the Third Estate, particularly the educated and unprivileged bourgeoisie. Even though they did not suffer the same hardships as the peasants and workers, they were against the privileges of the first two estates and deeply resented the abuses of the *Ancien Régime*. They started to demand political and constitutional change and asked for extra representation. They wanted voting by head and not by estate, which had been the political tradition (see below). It was the bourgeoisie who focused on this inequality and ultimately led the French Revolution.

Was the meeting of the Estates General the trigger for the revolution?

In May 1789, Louis XVI gathered the Estates General (an ancient parliament), which had not met for over a century and a half. It seemed to be the only way of solving France's increasing problems. According to tradition, each estate voted as a bloc so that only three votes would be cast on any issue. As the two 'privileged' estates could always form a majority against the Third Estate, they were guaranteed to retain their privileges. But by 1789, the Third Estate had gained confidence and was not willing to tolerate that arrangement. Its leaders demanded that the three orders sit together and vote as individuals and they insisted that the representatives of the Third Estate should be double the number of the First and Second Estates. Necker encouraged the king to order a doubling of the Third Estate by December 1788, but the question of how they should vote was unresolved.

The first months of 1789 were devoted to electoral assemblies organised by each estate, at which representatives were chosen. The assemblies were authorised to draw up the *Cahiers de doléances* (lists of grievances of the three estates) to be considered by the Estates General. These documents challenged the established traditions and, although they are not representative of all views, they are useful in understanding the thoughts of individuals and groups who put forward their concerns on the eve of the calling of the estates. The First Estate focused on the interests of the clergy and was divided on some issues regarding clerical hierarchy; however, they were willing to surrender their fiscal privilege of self-taxation. The noble deputies, who were mostly socially conservative, stated in the Second Estate *cahiers* that they insisted on voting by order; however, the majority agreed to the loss of fiscal privileges. In the *cahier* of the Third Estate, they asked that all financial privileges be abolished, and taxation be extended to the clergy and nobility. The election of the Estates General created an expectation of change.

? **Given these demands by the three estates, what change do you think would be more likely to occur: revolution or reform? Discuss.**

Tennis Court Oath

As described in the introductory story, the Estates General met at Versailles, the site of the royal palace and government. Confrontation over voting and the representation of different estates started immediately. The Third Estate demanded 'one man, one vote', which would give them the majority when it joined with sympathisers from other estates. When the two other estates refused, the representatives of the Third Estate took a revolutionary step and declared themselves the **National Assembly**. Locked out of their meeting hall, they moved to a nearby indoor tennis court.

National Assembly formed on 17 June and was recognised on 27 June 1789. After July 1789, it became known as the National Constituent Assembly, often referred to as the Assembly.

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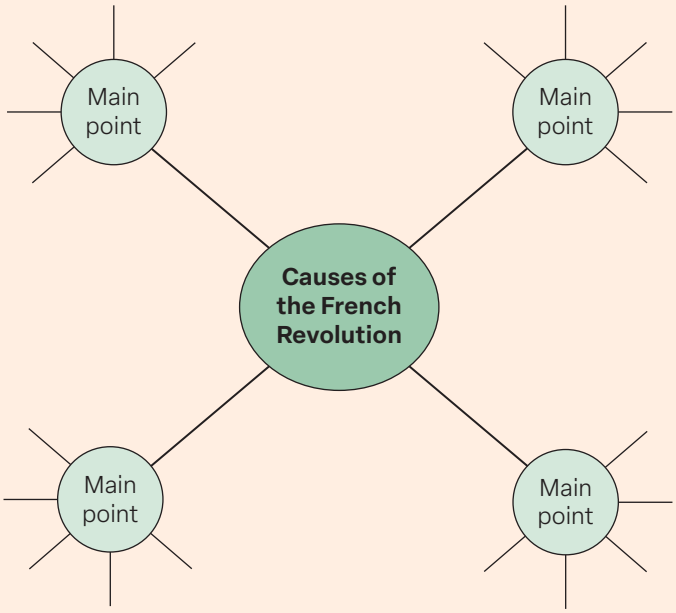
On 20 June 1789, they took an oath not to separate until they had drafted a constitution for France. This Tennis Court Oath was the real beginning of the French Revolution, as it set the scene for the revolutionary climate of the rest of the year. This courageous action, claiming to remake a government in the name of the people, threatened the old order and signalled the possibility that the absolute monarchy could end.

Activity **3.2**

Create a mind map

Create a mind map to summarise and make meaning of the information you have learned in this contextual study. Use the template below or make your own. Think of the main points relating to the causes of the French Revolution and aim to use historical terms, key events and key individuals to elaborate on each point. Draw lines between connected ideas and describe the connection. Share your thinking with your peers and look for similarities and differences in your interpretation of the content. As a class, discuss which cause was the most significant.



Contextual study: Summing up

In this contextual study, you've learned about the causes of the French Revolution. A long-standing system of privilege and inequality, worsened by an inefficient and bankrupt government, created an environment possibly ripe for revolution.

You've discovered that individuals and groups contributed to revolutionary thinking and how the social, economic and political grievances led to the meeting of the Estates General and the Tennis Court Oath in 1789. This sets the scene for the following depth study, which focuses on the events from 1789 to 1794 and the period known as the Reign of Terror.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: How did the Reign of Terror affect the direction of the French Revolution?

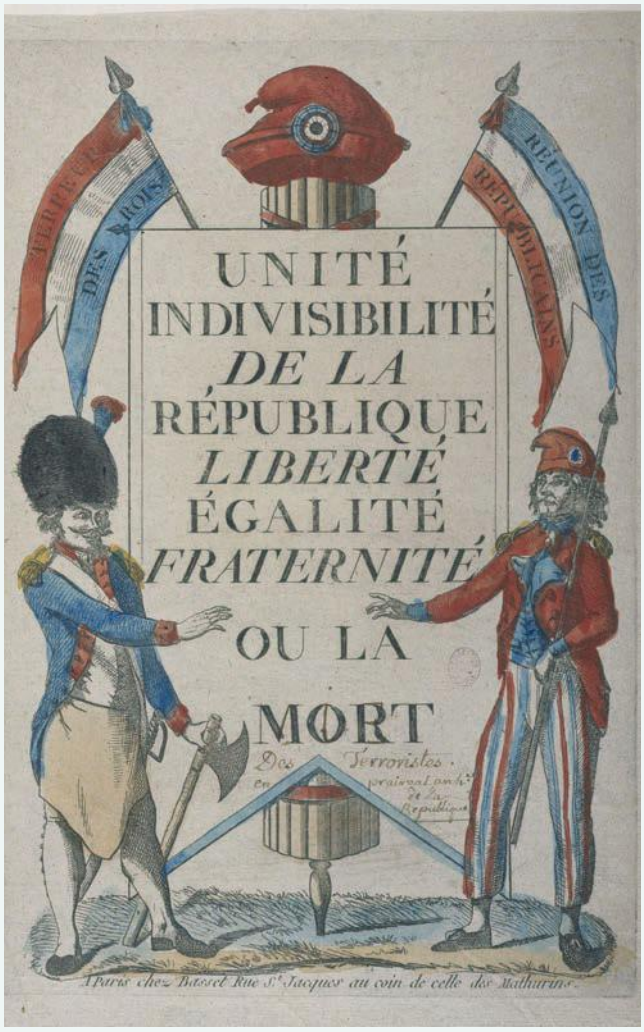
The grievances of so many French people came to a head in 1789. The Tennis Court Oath set the scene for change, and the storming of the Bastille prison on 14 July was the first rebellious act of what we now call the French Revolution. In this depth study, you will investigate these developments, beginning with the key events of 1789 and the rising of the revolutionaries that culminated in the Reign of Terror.

Revolutionary Tribunal a court instituted by the National Convention during the French Revolution for the trial of political offenders

Committee of Public Safety a committee of the National Convention established to protect the nation against its enemies, both foreign and domestic

Historians' opinions differ regarding the exact dates of the start of the Reign of Terror. Some believe it began after the execution of Louis XVI; others see the creation of the **Revolutionary Tribunal** or the consolidation of the **Committee of Public Safety** as the starting point. However, the end of the Reign of Terror is clearly identified by the fall of the key revolutionary figure Robespierre. During this period, between 1793 and 1794, reliable estimates show that approximately 40 000 people were killed in France.

This depth study unfolds through a series of five sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.



The five sub-questions are:

1. How and why did the rising of the masses radicalise the revolution?
2. Who were the key revolutionary groups responsible for implementing the Reign of Terror, and what were their motivations?
3. How significant was the role played by key individuals in the organisation of the Reign of Terror?
4. How did the Reign of Terror deviate from the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen?
5. What have historians said about the role of the Reign of Terror in influencing the direction of the French Revolution?

SOURCE 3.10 The slogan 'Liberty, equality and fraternity' was changed to 'Unity, indivisibility of the Republic; liberty, equality, fraternity or death' by a resolution of the Paris Commune in 1793.

Explain how this slogan foreshadowed the justification of violence during the Reign of Terror. What revolutionary symbol of liberty is at the top of the image? How does the image claim that the army that once belonged to the king was now a friend of the people? This copy of a poster advertising a meeting has been graffitied with the words 'Des Terroristes' to make the phrase read '... or Death of the Terrorists'. What does this suggest about some people's views of the leaders of the Terror?

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SUB-QUESTION 1: How and why did the rising of the masses radicalise the revolution?

The National Assembly (the national representative body of the French people) became the National Constituent Assembly on 9 July 1789. This was the first real legislature in France.

Economic issues, such as increased bread prices and unemployment, caused riots and demonstrations in Paris. On 11 July, Louis XVI dismissed the popular finance minister Necker, who had been advising concessions to the Third Estate. The streets of Paris erupted with outbreaks of violence in response to the king's actions. The rising in Paris soon spread to disturbances in the countryside. As the king lost control of his armed forces, the spontaneous riots turned into a general rising. The National Constituent Assembly ended the feudal system and adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, which was responsible for drafting a new constitution for France. During this time of protest and reforms, Louis XVI attempted to flee the country.

The fall of the Bastille

The Bastille, which was used as a state prison, was seen by the people as a symbol of despotism. On 14 July, a Paris mob stormed the fortress to obtain weapons and gunpowder, killing its governor and demolishing the building. The fall of the Bastille confirmed the commitment of the common people to revolutionary change. It was a pivotal event, signalling that the masses were going to assert themselves as a powerful force in the events of the revolution. This was the spark that forced the king to grant concessions, and it invigorated the people's movement to overthrow him. It became a symbol of the revolutionary movement and of the triumph of liberty over autocracy.

Source **3.11** Newspaper report of the storming of the Bastille

SOURCE 3.11 Report in *Les Révolutions de Paris* of the storming of the Bastille, Paris, July 1789

First, the people tried to enter this fortress by the Rue St.-Antoine, this fortress, which no one has ever penetrated against the wishes of this frightful despotism and where the monster still resided. ... It was a terrible scene. ... the citizens had become hardened to the fire, from all directions they clambered onto the roofs or broke into the rooms ... people bravely faced death and every danger; women, in their eagerness, helped us to the utmost; even the children, after the discharge of fire from the fortress, ran here and there picking up the bullets and shot ...

... all this created a frightening and splendid spectacle. On arriving at the square, the people, anxious to avenge themselves, allowed neither [the captured governor of the fortress] De Launey nor the other officers to reach the place of trial; they seized them from the hands of their conquerors, and trampled them underfoot one after the other. De Launey was struck by a thousand blows, his head was cut off and hoisted on the end of a pike with blood streaming down all sides ... This glorious day must amaze our enemies, and finally usher in for us the triumph of justice and liberty. In the evening, there were celebrations.

Les Révolutions de Paris, No. 1, 12–18 July 1789

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Responding to the source

1. How does the article depict the Bastille as a symbol of the *Ancien Régime*?
2. Who does the writer say joined the attack on the fortress?
3. According to the article, how were the governor and officers of the Bastille treated?
4. The writer refers to the crowd who stormed the Bastille as 'citizens' and 'the people'. What is the significance of that language?
5. Considering the origin and purpose of the article, how reliable is it as a source of facts about the storming of the Bastille? How useful is it as source of perspectives about the event?

The Great Fear and abolition of feudal privileges

After the storming of the Bastille, the unity of the Third Estate against the clergy and aristocracy extended from Paris to villages. Peasants in the countryside joined the revolution, spurred on by rumours of an aristocratic conspiracy to thwart the aspirations of the Third Estate. A period of conflict between the Third Estate and the aristocracy, known as the Great Fear, involved a wave of peasant insurrections to end all seigneurial (feudal) rights. Peasants attacked the property of their landlords, burning manor houses and **châteaux** and destroying **feudal registers** that detailed the peasants' duties and obligations. Many nobles and clergy were killed, and others attempted to flee the countryside. The belief that the nobility was plotting to destroy the revolution increased the peasant revolt. French historian George Lefebvre explains that the significance of the Great Fear was the arming of the peasants and the pressure placed on the nobility for reform. Lefebvre states: 'It allowed the peasantry to achieve full realisation of its strength and … played its part in the preparations for the night of 4 August [Abolition of feudalism]. On these grounds alone, it must count as one of the most important episodes in the history of the French nation' (Lefebvre, 1973:211).

château a manor house or residence of the lord of the manor, or a country house of the nobility

feudal registers documents that recorded feudal relationships: which peasant 'belonged' to which lord and where they lived

feudal system a social and political system in which people were given land and protection by people of higher rank and worked and/or fought for them in return

The second half of 1789 saw an increased 'awakening' of the Third Estate and the instigation of a period of turmoil and bloodshed. And, as predicted by an artist from the time (see the engraving in Source 3.12), the Third Estate did begin to throw off the chains of bondage, and the nobility and the church did indeed have much to fear. Propaganda, using visual symbols and narratives about the revolution, was an important mode of communication, particularly for illiterate and semi-literate groups. Pro-revolutionary artists propagated the ideas of equality, liberty and fraternity that aimed at a regeneration of the French people.

Despite the importance of political engravings for historians from this time, a study of this revolutionary movement must not be limited to an analysis of caricature. It was a story about real people, ruled by a **feudal** elite of king, nobility and clergy, who sought to better their social, economic and political conditions. Challenging absolutism, attacking unfair privileges and striving for a liberal democracy involved the efforts of many people and thinkers from different walks of life. As might be expected, they agreed on much but also had significant differences in aspirations and strategies. Regardless of these differences, those who clamoured for change were largely united over the common grievances of famine, high prices and the scarcity of bread in July 1789.

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Source **3.12** Engraving, 1789

SOURCE 3.12 Engraving, 'The Third Estate waking up', 1789, Paris

Responding to the engraving

1. Identify the following elements of the cartoon: a member of the Third Estate, a priest, a nobleman, the Bastille prison and severed heads on poles.
2. What is the significance of:
   - **a.** the member of the Third Estate being on the ground?
   - **b.** what he is discarding with his right hand?
   - **c.** what he is reaching for with his left hand?
3. Do the reactions of the two other figures seem understandable? Explain. How is the background detail both descriptive and prophetic? Do the cartoonist's sympathies seem to lie with either 'side' in this scene? Explain.

The August Decrees

The increase of pressure for social reform from the common people led the National Constituent Assembly to officially abolish feudalism on 4 August 1789. This was known as the August Decrees. All the old rights of the feudal lords were to be removed, ending the legal privileges of the church (the First Estate) and the nobility (the Second Estate) across France. A new society based on liberty, equality and popular sovereignty was envisaged. The abolition of feudal privileges helped the Great Fear to dissipate as a movement, but the peasant unrest remained. Although the peasants had been freed from the feudal system, they did not all benefit equally from their new freedom. Politically, a key question was whether the king would accept the new principles or become a barrier to progress.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

On 26 August 1789, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The document was influenced by the ideals of the Enlightenment, the American Declaration of Independence and the English Bill of Rights.

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The Marquis de Lafayette, who did the initial work on the declaration, followed the concept of a social contract, as championed by Rousseau. It announced the principles of a new society, with popular sovereignty to replace the divine right that had existed for centuries. The goal of the declaration was to grant individuals 'natural, inalienable and sacred human rights', including 'freedom, property, safety and the right to resist oppression'. Initially, when the document was presented to the king, he refused to sign it. After a month of political stand-off and an increase in bread prices, the people in Paris became even more restless.

Source **3.13** Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

SOURCE 3.13 Extract from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.
2. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.
4. Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.

   ...

6. Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its foundation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents.

   ...

17. Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, approved by the National Constituent Assembly of France, 26 August 1789 (includes 6 of the 17 Articles)

Responding to the source

1. What does the Declaration say that people are born with? How does this relate to the ideas of the Enlightenment?
2. In Article 2, what does the Declaration state are people's natural rights? How does this statement make the document an act of revolution?
3. The Declaration did not refer specifically to the role of the king, but how did it change the status of the king and other people with privileges? Refer to examples.
4. If the Declaration were to be used to guide the development of the French Republic, how would life change for ordinary people (the Third Estate)?

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The October Days

Dissatisfied with food shortages and the high cost of bread, a crowd of working-class women marched on the royal palace at Versailles on 5 October 1789. National Guardsmen, who were sympathetic to the marchers, accompanied them. The crowd, which increased to approximately 60 000, forced Louis XVI and his family to take up residence in Paris. The women believed that returning the king to the French capital would make him answerable to the people. In Paris, Louis XVI was obliged to sign both the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and the decrees adopted on 4 August 1789. This event, ending on 7 October, was a major turning point in the revolution as the monarchy was subjected to the will of the people and, as a result, Louis XVI was forced to declare support for the reforms.

SOURCE 3.14 'To Versailles, To Versailles', 5 October 1789 (a contemporary print)

How have the women armed themselves? What does this show about the role of Third Estate women in the revolution? To the left is a well-dressed woman – is she participating? The women's march demanded 'bread and justice', and members ultimately broke into the palace, threatening the lives of the king and queen. What does this show about the role of violence in the revolution?

Clergy

It was not only the authority of the monarchy that concerned many people; they were also unhappy with the power and privilege of the Roman Catholic Church, which was the largest landowner in France. On 12 July 1790, the Constituent Assembly passed a law, the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, which made the Roman Catholic Church in France subordinate to the state. There was widespread opposition to the measure, particularly from the clergy, who believed that the appointment of clerics belonged to the church and not to the state. It also caused division, meaning that Catholics had to choose whether to support the government or the church. When the Constituent Assembly ordered the clergy to take an oath in support of the Civil Constitution, many refused. Louis XVI was troubled by the Civil Constitution and its implications for the church in France, and only reluctantly signed it into law in December 1790. Church land was confiscated and became public property, and the state took responsibility for paying clerical salaries.

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The widespread resistance to the attempts to bring the church under state control meant that the Constituent Assembly had to compromise. There were constitutional churches representing those who had chosen to reform to the new law, and refractory churches where the traditional beliefs and practices remained.

The flight to Varennes, June 1791

Fearing the growing radicalism of the revolution and the actions against the church, Louis XVI attempted to flee France with his family. It is believed that he wanted to organise counter-revolutionary activities and gain protection from monarchists. It was not long before Louis XVI and his family were recognised at Varennes and arrested. Forced to return to Paris in disgrace, and having attempted to flee the revolution, Louis XVI was no longer trusted. At this time, propaganda that ridiculed the royals and their failed escape attempt became widespread. They were portrayed by anti-royalist cartoonists as runaways and barnyard animals, humiliated and dehumanised, in an attempt to destroy the reputation of the monarchy. The flight to Varennes opened up new political discussions. There had been hardly any advocacy of republicanism in 1789. However, with the king's flight, any support for a **constitutional monarchy** diminished and many people now spoke about a **republic**. After Varennes, the mistrust built up and a number of radical publicists demanded that the king be dethroned.

constitutional monarchy the rule of a kingdom by a monarch who must rule according to the laws and practices of the constitution. The monarch's role is mostly ceremonial.

republic a state in which there is no hereditary monarch and the head of state is elected

The cartoons in Sources 3.15 and 3.16 are related to the king's flight and its consequences.

Sources **3.15** and **3.16** Depictions of the arrest of the royal family

SOURCE 3.15 'French Democrats surprising the royal runaways', etching by James Gillray, 27 June 1791

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SOURCE 3.16 Anonymous drawing, *La Famille des Cochons Ramenée dans l'étable* (The family of pigs is taken back to the stable)

Responding to the images

1. Source 3.15 includes text that explains the attempt by the royal family to escape from France in disguise, and their arrest. How does it depict the royal family?
2. What message do you think the cartoonist wanted to convey with the image in Source 3.15?
3. Source 3.16 is a political cartoon that uses satire to convey a message. How does it depict the royal family?
4. What message do you think the cartoonist wanted to convey with the image in Source 3.16?
5. Compare the two cartoons. Both were created at the time of the event, but they communicate their ideas differently. What do they suggest about the significance of the arrest for:
   a. the king?
   b. the Parisian populace?

Planning a new political system

From July 1789, the Constituent Assembly drafted and debated the structure of a new political system for France and eventually concluded that it should be a constitutional monarchy. The Constitution of 1791 was passed in September, and the government was converted into a limited monarchy and Louis XVI's title changed from 'King of France' to 'King of the French', suggesting his power would now come from the people and the law. There was brief hope for peace and stability, but this did not last as the revolutionaries did not trust that Louis XVI genuinely believed in the reforms. The king's attempted escape to Varennes encouraged anti-royalist feelings, which rendered the constitutional monarchy unworkable. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved and replaced with the Legislative Assembly in October 1791. This body focused on the political debate and revolutionary law making. There was division between the moderates, who wanted a constitutional monarchy, and the radicals, who demanded a republic be instated. The majority demanded that the king be deposed and that France become a republic.

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France's declaration of war against Austria in April 1792 and with Prussia in June 1792 also contributed to the atmosphere of uncertainty as there was further division between those who supported and those who opposed this conflict. A National Convention was established on 20 September 1792 to draw up a new constitution with no monarchy. The formal abolition of the monarchy on 21 September was followed by the establishment of the Republic on 22 September. This was the first step towards establishing a democratic republic, but it was set up amid internal and external tensions. From 1789 to 1792, significant changes occurred, but the stage was now set for even more fundamental developments.

The rising of the masses with events such as the fall of the Bastille and the Great Fear placed new pressures upon the Constituent Assembly, which played a significant role in limiting the king's options and protected the revolution. Its reforms involved the transformation of local government, a new system of law courts, the abolition of the nobility, the confiscation of ecclesiastical lands and the reorganisation of the French church. Louis XVI could not dictate to the Assembly as he could no longer rely on his army for support. This was crucial for the success of the revolution.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How and why did the rising of the masses radicalise the revolution?

Using the example below, create an annotated timeline to illustrate the changes that occurred from 9 July 1789 to 22 September 1792.

Provide your timeline with the heading: *From absolute monarchy to democratic republicanism.*

1789 1792

SUB-QUESTION 2: Who were the key revolutionary groups responsible for implementing the Reign of Terror, and what were their motivations?

Historians note a radicalisation of the French Revolution from the second half of 1792. The main reason for this change in direction was the disillusion of the lower classes. At this time, France was at war and by August 1792 the allied armies of Austria and Prussia had crossed the border and were threatening to capture Paris. The belief that the military disasters were the result of treasonable dealings between the king and the enemy led to radical action and brought extremists to the fore.

The *sans-culottes*

A group of revolutionary people known as the ***sans-culottes*** (translated as 'without knee breeches') played a key role. They obtained this name as they dressed in long trousers instead of the knee breeches worn by the aristocracy. Their trousers were a way of identifying them, but the most distinctive part of their costume was the *bonnet rouge* (red hat). Tricolour cockades (ornamental ribbons) were also worn by revolutionaries from July 1789. The red and blue represented Paris and the white was the colour of the monarchy.

sans-culottes a group who were a major force in shaping the French Revolution

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SOURCE 3.17 *Man of the People, Armed with a Pike, 1793*, an 1825 Italian copy of an image of a *sans-culotte* by Hippolyte Lecomte. He wears a red Phrygian cap with tricolour cockade.

The design of the cap was inspired by the *pileus*, a cap worn in ancient Rome by freed slaves, to show that they were no longer slaves. What is the significance of this historical inspiration? Why is he shown carrying a pike?

Who were the sans-culottes?

The image of the *sans-culottes* has changed over the years as historians have provided different interpretations. This group has often been stereotyped as the mob, or the rabble. In actuality, the purpose and meaning of this group might be more complex than that.

Sources 3.18–3.24 provide insights into history's views of the *sans-culottes*.

Sources **3.18–3.23** Views of the *sans-culottes*

SOURCE 3.18 Extract from an anonymous document 'What Is a Sans-culotte?', April 1793

A Sans-culotte is a man who goes everywhere on his own two feet, who has none of the millions you are after, no mansion, no lackeys [servants] to wait on him, and who lives simply with his wife and children, if he has any, on the fourth or fifth storey. He is useful because he knows how to plough a field, to handle a forge, a saw and a file, to cover a roof, to make a pair of shoes, and to shed the last drop of his blood to save the Republic. And since he works, you are sure not to find him at the Café de Chartres [a favourite of the Duc d'Orléans and associates] ... In the evening, he goes to the meeting of his Section, not powdered and perfumed and dressed up in the hope of being noticed by all the citizenessess ... but in order to support the right sort of resolutions with all his power and to smash ... vile factions ...

For the rest, a Sans-culotte has always his sharp sabre ready to cut off the ears of a malevolent. Sometimes he marches with his pike. But at the first sound of a drum, he can be seen leaving for the Vendée, for the Army of the Alps of for the Army of the North.

J.B. Vintergnier, cited in L.W. Cowie, *Documents and Debates: The French Revolution*, 1987. The document is held in the Archives Nationales, Paris.

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SOURCE 3.19 Extract from a radical newspaper

It really gets under my skin to see a bunch of rascals build castles in the air, sacrifice honor and country, and risk the guillotine in order to become rich. Who is served by this wealth? He who has a lot of gold and houses, does he dine twice?

... What a damn difference there is between the fate of this pathetic character and that of the honest *sans-culotte*, who lives from day to day by the sweat of his brow. As long as he has a four-pound loaf in his bread box and a glass of red wine, he's content. As soon as he wakes up, he's as happy as a lark, and at the end of the day, he takes up his tools and sings his revolutionary song, 'La Carmagnole.'

... In the evening, when he enters his hovel, his wife rushes to greet him, his small children hug him, his dog bounds up and licks him. He recounts the news that he heard at the section. He's as happy as a clam when telling about a victory over the Prussians, the Austrians, or the English. He tells how a traitorous general, a follower of Brissot, was guillotined. While telling his children about these scoundrels, he makes them promise to always be good citizens and to love the Republic above all else.

Le Père Duchesne, no. 313, Paris, 1794. *Le Père Duchesne* was edited by Jacques Hébert.

SOURCE 3.20 Description by historian George Rudé, 1988

Basically (as both police and court records amply testify), they were drawn from the urban *menu peuple*[1] – from the small shopkeepers and craftsmen (both masters and journeymen), servants and day-labourers of the city, but they were not drawn from [the] social riff-raff or down-and-outs, nor substantially from the vagrants and *gens san aveu*[2] who flocked into Paris as the Revolution began. But that is not the whole story; for, as the Revolution developed, the *menu peuple*, from both their own and others' experience, acquired a political education and began to form a political movement and a political outlook of their own, often at variance with those of their mentors. So the word *sans-culottes*, used at first as a term of contempt for men and women of an 'inferior' life-style, began to take on a political connotation, from which the poorer elements – unemployed labourers and 'marginals' – became progressively excluded, while – *pari passu*[3] – it became extended ... to include political militants regardless of social *milieu*.[4] Thus the term *sans-culottes*, while social in origin, acquired political overtones which both enriched and obscured it.

George Rudé, *The French Revolution*, 1988, pp. 94–5

SOURCE 3.21 Description by historian Albert Soboul, 1964

The absence of social prejudice amongst the *sans-culotterie* helped to strengthen their social solidarity. The word itself does not do justice to all which this entailed, but there are numerous examples of this civic virtue which, according to the sans-culottes, was nothing but outward expression of their fraternity.

Albert Soboul, *The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution 1793–1794*, 1964

[1] *menu peuple* – the common people/wage-earners
[2] *gens san aveu* – blind people
[3] *pari passu* – step by step
[4] *milieu* – background

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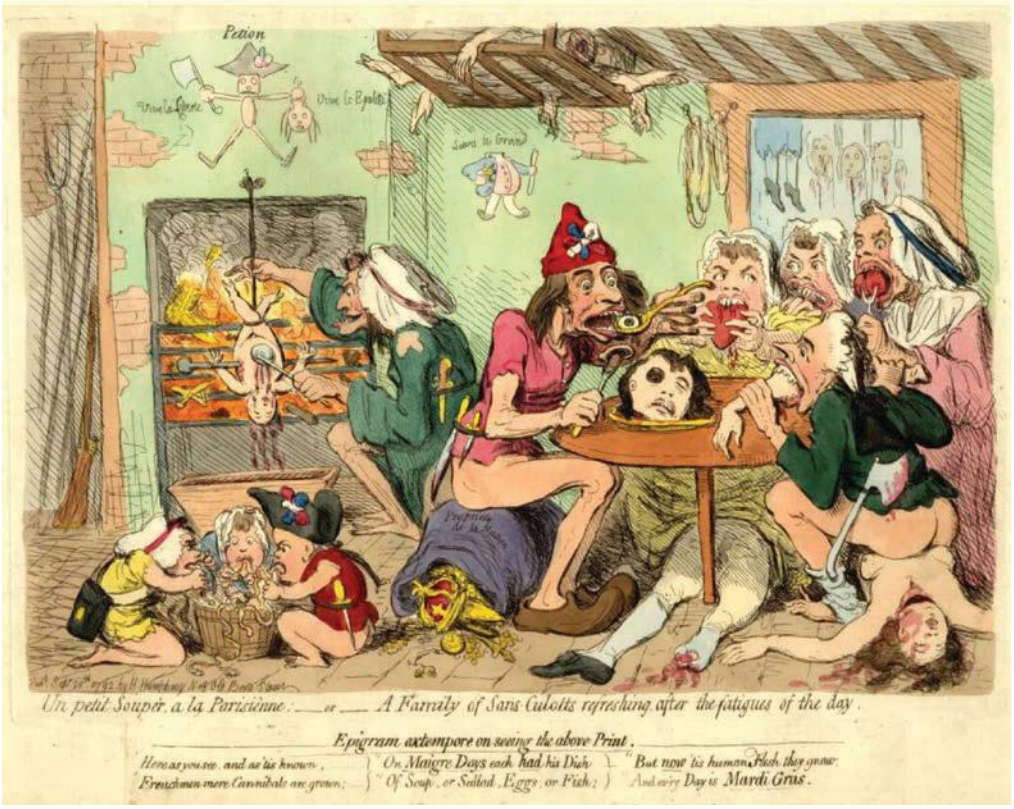
SOURCE 3.22 A pair of working-class French revolutionaries, or *sans-culottes*



SOURCE 3.23 A British cartoon, September 1792. James Gillray: *Un petit Soupèr, a la Parisiènne; – or – A Family of Sans-Culottes refreshing, after the fatigues of the day*.

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Responding to the sources

1. Carefully examine Sources 3.18–3.23. Decide whether each source provides a positive or a negative perspective of the *sans-culottes*. Create and complete a table like the one below and place the number of the source under the heading 'Negative' or 'Positive'. Provide an explanation for your choice. Source 3.20 has been used as an example.

Differing interpretations of the *sans-culottes*

Negative		Positive
	3.18	
	3.19	
	3.20	In part, Rudé is positive, describing how the *sans-culottes* took a strong interest in politics to inform their actions.
	3.21	
	3.22	
	3.23	

2. Based on this selection of evidence, how best would you sum up the *sans-culottes*?
3. To what extent do these sources endorse the view that the *sans-culottes* were the mob or rabble?

The September Massacres

On 10 August 1792, the National Guard and a mob of Parisians carrying weapons invaded the Tuileries, the residence of the royal family. Despite the palace being protected by the Swiss Guard, it was overthrown and more than two-thirds of the guards were slaughtered. Their heads were removed and displayed on pikes, and the mob demanded the suspension of the monarchy. The deposed king and his family were imprisoned in the Temple in northern Paris.

Armed *sans-culottes* stormed the various prisons, killing royal soldiers, clergymen, nobles and anyone suspected of counter-revolutionary activity. More than a thousand people were killed, but the vast majority of these were just ordinary criminals. The Paris Commune, the municipal government of Paris, championed the cause of the *sans-culottes*, showing themselves to be one of the more aggressive municipal councils in France. This new radical stage of the revolution saw the downfall of the more moderate middle-class leaders and the rise of radical republicans claiming to rule on behalf of the common people. The September Massacres widened the gap between two revolutionary groups, the **Girondins** and the **Jacobins**.

Girondins National Convention deputies who were more moderate during the French Revolution

Jacobins the more radical and ruthless of the political groups during the French Revolution, associated with Robespierre

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Sources **3.24** and **3.25** The September Massacres

SOURCE 3.24 The September 1792 violence of the *sans-culottes* and members of the Paris Commune is illustrated in this coloured engraving from the nineteenth century

SOURCE 3.25 A contemporary account by a member of the Assembly

Someone came to announce that the cannon filling the Place du Carrousel were aimed against the Tuileries Palace, which the people wanted to break down like the Bastille. After a short discussion, because time was pressing, the Assembly sent a deputation consisting of twenty of its members to speak to the people in the name of the law and to appease it by persuasion … but scarcely had we emerged from the riding-school [in which the Assembly met] when a mass of sabers, pikes, and bayonets rushed from all sides, with indescribable rage, on our brave guards …

[In the assembly hall,] brave *sans-culottes* had appeared at the rail and were promptly heard from. They explained to us that the sovereign people, making use of that sovereignty, had charged them to assure us of its respect, to affirm obedience to our decrees … they concluded by asking us to 'Swear in the Nation's name to maintain liberty and equality with all your power or to die at your post.' Seeing this declaration to be our only means of our salvation, all the deputies shouted eagerly and in a single voice: 'I so swear!' The roll was called at once, and on the rostrum each deputy in turn pronounced the words indicated by the *sans-culottes* and the proposal was considered to be adopted.

… In the interim, a great brawl had broken out in the palace, in the Tuileries [gardens], and on the Champs Élysées … corpses covered the ground.

Letter by Legislative Assembly deputy, Michel Azema, 10 August 1792

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Responding to the sources

1. Compare and contrast the depictions of the actions of the *sans-culottes* in Sources 3.24 and 3.25.
2. Evaluate how useful Sources 3.24 and 3.25 are for understanding the actions of the *sans-culottes* during the September Massacres.

Jacobins and Girondins

It was in this context of violence and division that the National Convention met for the first time. Power was divided between the Jacobins and the Girondins. The Girondins were more conservative land-owners and factory-owners who believed in free trade and represented commerce and industry. They lived in the countryside and provincial cities and wanted a stable federal system of government in which power was shared by all the provinces of France. The Jacobins, Parisian middle-class professionals, represented the common people and were supported by the *sans-culottes*, workers and urban poor. Jacobins became increasingly radical when Maximilien de Robespierre assumed control of their club in late 1791. They wanted a centralised government and believed that Paris was the centre of the revolution. After the National Convention announced the abolition of the monarchy and created the French Republic (September 1792), the Jacobins felt empowered. Historian Peter McPhee aptly states: 'the Revolution was now armed, democratic and republican' (2006:110).

Historian David P. Jordan assessed the Jacobins and the Girondins as follows.

SOURCE 3.26 Historian David P. Jordan's assessment

> We can see two identifiable factions in the Convention, holding two identifiable points of view, and struggling for control of the Revolution – Jacobins and Girondins ... In social and economic terms there was little difference between the two groups. Both were of the same generation and came from the same social class, the provincial, professional bourgeoisie. Both shared a common intellectual heritage, came from all over France, and were republicans. Both groups were blessed with leaders of remarkable capacity, even of genius, and both eventually died for what they believed.

David P. Jordan, *The King's Trial: Louis XVI vs. the French Revolution*, 2004, p. 49

Activity **3.3**

Compare and contrast the Jacobins and the Girondins

Read the text and Source 3.26, then create and complete a table like the one below to illustrate the similarities and the differences between the Jacobins and the Girondins.

Distinctive Jacobin aims, interests, policies and followers	Commonalities of Jacobins and Girondins	Distinctive Girondin aims, interests, policies and followers

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The end of the monarchy

The next challenge for the Convention was to decide on the future of Louis XVI. The king was placed on trial and was accused of violating the sovereignty of the people. The deputies of the Convention debated the fate of the king. The Jacobins sat on the 'left wing' of the room and demanded his immediate execution, whereas the Girondins sat on the 'right wing' and were more conservative, supporting an 'appeal to the people'.

The king was found guilty of conspiring against the state and, by a narrow margin of 361 to 360 votes, condemned to death. On 21 January 1793, Louis XVI – now merely called 'Citizen Capet' – was publicly executed by **guillotine**. His death deepened the rift between republicans and monarchists inside France, and it also brought other European countries into the war against the French Revolution.

Nine months after the execution of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette was presented for trial as a citizen with the title 'Widow Capet' before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The queen was blamed for plotting the flight to Varennes and for influencing the king to declare war in 1792 in the hope that the Austrian troops would defeat the revolutionary government. For these reasons, Marie Antoinette was perceived by many as a traitor, and was separated from her children and imprisoned. In prison she only wore black and was provided with one change of clothing. After a two-day trial she was convicted and sent to the guillotine on 16 October 1793. She was only 37 years old.

SOURCE 3.27 *Marie-Antoinette in the Temple*, Marquise de Brehan, showing the queen imprisoned

guillotine a machine for beheading, invented by Dr Joseph-Ignace Guillotin as a means to eliminate unnecessary suffering during execution. During the Reign of Terror, a skilled guillotine team could execute one person every two to three minutes.

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Sources **3.28** and **3.29** Execution of Louis XVI of France

SOURCE 3.28 Jordan describes the execution of Louis XVI, 2004

> The king's last words were spoken in a clear and strong voice, 'I die innocent. I pardon my enemies and I hope that my blood will be useful to the French'. The king appeared to say more but his last words were drowned by a drum roll. The executioners quickly strapped the king to the plank, slid him through the 'widow's window'. The king uttered a frightful cry as the blade fell.

David P. Jordan, *The King's Trial: Louis XVI vs. The French Revolution*, 2004, p. 220

SOURCE 3.29 *Execution of Louis XVI of France, Paris, 21 January 1793.* This is a colourised version of a black-and-white print by an unknown artist.

Responding to the sources

1. What impression of the king does the picture in Source 3.29 convey?
2. How does it compare with the description in Source 3.28?
3. How might news of the king's execution have been received in other European nations?
4. The author and date of this painting are unknown. Does that limit its usefulness as a source of evidence?

Revolutionary women

Women from different sections of society were engaged in a range of political actions during the revolution. Many women were confined to domestic service. However, some pushed the boundaries of their gender and participated politically. For decades, some wealthy women had hosted radical Enlightenment discussion clubs or salons.

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During the revolution, the market women's march on Versailles, the inclusive nature of political clubs and the role of prominent female political figures was the start of women's organised participation in politics in France. Women wanted political democracy and social equality, and started to ask for equal rights. One gain occurred in March 1790, when the tradition of only allowing firstborn sons to inherit property was ended.

Initially seen as heroines and the mainstay of popular demonstrations in the capital, women were later seen as a liability to the revolutionary government. The Constitution of 1791 made women passive citizens as they could not vote or stand for public office. Outraged by this, Olympe de Gouges, a playwright and activist, published a *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Citizeness*, which she began with, 'Woman is born free and remains equal to men in rights', and proposed to amend the Declaration of the Rights of Man to include women as equal voters and citizens. Ultimately, the revolution did not secure equal political rights for women. Indeed, de Gouges would be executed as an alleged counter-revolutionary during the Reign of Terror, in December 1793. The Jacobin Constitution of 1793 gave the vote to all men but to no women. The Constitution of 1795 took the vote away from some men and removed the earlier notion of passive citizenship, and women ceased to be citizens at all.

The Jacobin Knitters

Madame Therese Defarge, although a fictional character in the novel *A Tale of Two Cities* by Charles Dickens (1859), provides a useful depiction of the militant market women who played a role in the revolution. In the novel she is portrayed as a tough, unforgiving and ruthless woman seeking revenge for the injustice against her working-class family. Defarge and other female revolutionaries encoded the names of those who were to be executed into their knitting by using different sequences of stitches. These knitting women, known as the *tricoteuses*, sat by the guillotine during public executions as the enemies of the French Revolution were beheaded. Other writers have also made reference to these women. In her novel *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, Baroness Orczy writes that the *tricoteuses* 'sat there and knitted whilst head after head fell beneath the knife, and they themselves got quite bespattered with the blood of those cursed aristos' (1908). Dominique Godineau, in her book *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*, wrote that the knitting needles were 'weapons without names; tools for labour tinged with bloody tips' (1998).

Source **3.30** Advice offered to women

SOURCE 3.30 Jacobin journalist Prudhomme offers advice to women in 1793

Be honest and diligent girls, tender and modest wives, wise mothers, and you will be good patriots. True patriots consist of fulfilling one's duties and valuing only rights appropriate to each according to sex and age, and not wearing the [liberty] cap and pantaloons and not carrying a pike and pistol. Leave those to men who are born to protect you and make you happy.

Les Révolutions de Paris, No. 213, 1793, quoted in S.A. Spencer, *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, 1984, p. 75

Responding to the source

1. Would this view of women have been considered normal at the time?
2. Why might some women have expected the revolution to produce a different status, different expectations and different social roles for women? Why do you think this did not happen?

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Source **3.31** A painting of the Jacobin Knitters

SOURCE 3.31 A painting of the Jacobin Knitters by Jean Baptiste Lesueur, 1793. The caption reads: 'The Jacobin or Robespierre's knitters. There were a great number who were given 40 sol [money – centimes] a day to go into the Jacobin gallery to applaud revolutionary motions.'

Responding to the painting

1. Judging by both the painting itself and the caption, do you think the artist was simply documenting the existence of the knitters or was he expressing some judgement about them and their actions? Explain your response.
2. Do you think the women in this painting would have been satisfied with the advice of the Jacobin journalist in Source 3.30?
3. Why do you think the Jacobins paid women to sit in the National Convention gallery and applaud during meetings? (See the caption of the image.) Does this imply something about the political situation within the Convention?
4. In October 1793, following outbreaks of violence between women's groups, the Jacobins closed down all women's political clubs. In light of Source 3.31, what does that action show?

Revolutionary fervour had increased after France declared war on Austria in 1792, and the panic of treachery swept the country. Key revolutionary groups had a significant influence in driving this atmosphere. The Jacobins were increasingly supported by the powerful *sans-culottes* and the Girondins fell from power. The fact that the political situation in France had become more radical was clear from the decisions to execute Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette; however, in its treatment of the women of France, it was clear that the revolution was not likely to achieve true political equality.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

Who were the key revolutionary groups responsible for implementing the Reign of Terror, and what were their motivations?

Think–Puzzle–Explore

Reflect on what you have learned about the different revolutionary groups and their influence on the nature of the revolution.

Using the routine 'Think–Puzzle–Explore', discuss the following questions in small groups.

- What do you think you know about some of the key revolutionary groups?
- What questions or puzzles do you have about these revolutionary groups?
- How might you explore the puzzles you have about this topic?
- Provide feedback on your findings to the rest of the class.

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SUB-QUESTION 3: How significant was the role played by key individuals in the organisation of the Reign of Terror?

Although the Convention had set up a new democratic constitution, it deferred its introduction and focused on what it declared to be a wartime emergency. France was at war with most of Europe, and its leaders had to support, feed and clothe one million soldiers. Three key leaders emerged to lead this faction into a period known as the Reign of Terror: the lawyer and orator George-Jacques Danton, the doctor and journalist Jean-Paul Marat, and a lawyer who was so fanatically devoted to principles that he came to be known as 'The Incorruptible', Maximilien de Robespierre. In different ways, they promoted radical thought and violent reprisals against perceived enemies. At times, the three leaders cooperated, but often they were in conflict; none of them survived the Reign of Terror.

In the first half of 1793, the Convention created a Revolutionary Tribunal to place any suspected enemies of the revolution on trial, and delegated its governing responsibilities to a small group of leaders known as the Committee of Public Safety, which historian Simon Schama called 'the most concentrated state machine France had ever experienced' (1989:755). The Convention was forced by crowds of *sans-culottes* to expel moderate Girondin leaders. Complete power was in the hands of the Jacobins.

Jean-Paul Marat (1743–93)

Marat was known as a prominent political journalist. He founded a radical newspaper, *The Friend of the People*, in which he criticised both those who defended the *Ancien Régime* – the monarchy and the aristocracy – and those who promoted moderate reform, particularly the Girondins. He was associated with the Jacobins, but was beyond their control, because he appealed directly to the *sans-culottes* and advocated for the common people to take up arms and mete out swift and harsh treatment to anyone who opposed the revolution. Marat became a delegate to the Convention in 1792, and led fierce attacks on conservative Girondins, through speeches and newspaper articles, for their reluctance to put the king on trial. Schama concluded that Marat's 'verbal violence' incited some of the excessive acts of *sans-culottes*, including the September Massacres of 1792.

Source **3.32** Marat on the crimes of the king

SOURCE 3.32 Marat writes about the king's crimes

The crimes of Louis XVI are unhappily all too real; they are consistent; they are notorious. Do we even have to ask the question of whether a nation has the right to judge, and execute, its highest ranking public official ... when he turned the laws into an instrument of violence to crush the supporters of the Revolution? ... To even ask this question is an insult to reason, an outrage to justice, a perversion of nature. To doubt if a despot sullied with all possible crimes, or if a monster still covered with the blood of those friends of France whose slaughter he had commanded, can be brought to judgment and executed? To doubt this is to mock humanity and to abandon all sense of shame.

Jean-Paul Marat, *Journal of the Republic*, 3 December 1792, in M.J. Mavidal and M.E. Laurent (eds), *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860, première série (1787 à 1799),* 2nd edn, pp. 246–9

Responding to the source

1. What does this article demonstrate about Marat's political views?
2. Based on what you know about the political groups in the Convention, who other than the king was Marat accusing of betraying the revolution?

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SOURCE 3.33 Paul Baudry (1828–85), *The Assassination of Marat*, 1860

Can you decide whether the artist wanted to convey particular impressions (favourable or unfavourable) of Marat and Charlotte Corday? How do the following contribute to the story of the painting: the map, books, inkwell, pen, paper and newspaper; the hat, fan and overturned chair; Charlotte's demeanour and her clenched fist?

Marat suffered from chronic skin diseases and spent much of his time in a medicated bath to relieve his itching. It was in this bathtub that Marat was assassinated on 13 July 1793 by Charlotte Corday, a 24-year-old Girondin supporter. Corday visited Marat in his home on the pretence of providing him with the names of traitors to the Republic and used the opportunity to stab him. Corday was one of many who blamed the Jacobins for the dangerous excesses of the revolution, and she believed she was saving the Girondins and the revolution from the violence that Marat promoted. Because she was a woman, she was not suspected of being a threat, and she used that advantage to 'kill one man to save a hundred thousand'. Seen as a traitorous villain, she was arrested, convicted by the Revolutionary Tribunal and executed in Paris on 17 July 1793.

Marat was very popular among the working-class of Paris, and when he was assassinated he became one of the **martyrs** of the revolution. His body was placed on display at the church of the Cordeliers, and *sans-culottes* vowed to avenge him. Schama suggests that Marat became 'more useful' to the Jacobins dead than when he was alive (1989:745).

martyr a person who suffers very much or is killed because of their religious or political beliefs, and is often admired because of it

George-Jacques Danton (1759–94)

Danton was a lawyer who joined the National Guard in 1789 but initially struggled to gain entry into politics beyond local clubs. He was a skilled orator, and his fiery speeches in the Cordeliers Club helped build public support for ending the monarchy in 1792. Elected to the Convention, he became its most influential speaker and Minister for Justice. In March 1793, Danton helped to establish the Revolutionary Tribunals; he became the first president of the Committee of Public Safety, and in September 1793 he supported the formation of a civilian army that would use force against their own citizens to ensure compliance with new laws. In these ways, Danton made possible the Reign of Terror.

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Source **3.34** Danton's speech at the National Convention, 27 March 1793

SOURCE 3.34 Danton issues demands at the National Convention, 27 March 1793

I demand that the tribunal to punish the counterrevolutionaries be set in motion at once, without delay.

I demand that the Convention declare to the entire world, to the French people, that it is revolutionary body, that it will maintain liberty, that it is determined to stifle all the serpents that rend its bosom, to crush all the monsters with the aid of an extremely revolutionary law, if necessary. I demand that this declaration be made not an empty gesture, but a statement delivered by men who feel keenly the mission with which they have been charged by the people. You yourselves must declare war against all the aristocrats. State that the public welfare demands laws, aside from all ordinary measures.

Show that you can be terrible, show that you are the people, and you will save the people.

George-Jacques Danton, 'How Can France be Saved?', March 1793, in *Voices of Revolt: Speeches of Georges Jacques Danton*, 1928, International Publishers

Responding to Danton

1. Examine the source and explain what Danton believed the lawmakers should do to move the revolution forward.
2. To what extent could this source be used to support an argument that Danton encouraged the excesses of the Reign of Terror?

Danton developed concerns about the extreme measures taken to repress the people, and was voted off the Committee of Public Safety in July 1793. He was replaced by Robespierre, who radically increased the scale and severity of the Terror. Under the September 1793 *Law of Suspects*, suspected counter-revolutionaries could be instantly detained, including those whose actions or writings made them 'enemies of liberty'. This created what historian Donald Sutherland (2002) described as a 'murder machine', with which Robespierre had 22 Girondin leaders executed, under suspicion of failing to support the revolution. Danton was said to have wept for them, even though they were his political opponents. The same suspicion would eventually apply to Danton himself, who was executed by guillotine in April 1794, but not before he spoke defiantly in court against the Terror, condemning Robespierre, the Committee of Public Safety and the Revolutionary Tribunal for betraying the principles of the revolution.

Maximilien de Robespierre (1758–94)

The controversial individual Robespierre was fanatically devoted to his own interpretation of revolutionary virtue and purity, based on the philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and came to believe that he was the best person to head France's government. According to historian Christopher Hibbert (1980), Robespierre 'had to stay in power because he thought himself incorruptible, more virtuous than other men. He alone could save the Revolution'. Robespierre initially operated in the political background through the Jacobin Club, and was a loner who, unlike Danton, avoided crowds and the pleasures of life, choosing basic rented accommodation in Paris. He gave long speeches about the need for the common people to control the revolution, which earned him the support of the *sans-culottes*.

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Robespierre was elected to the National Convention in 1792 at the time of the September Massacres, which he endorsed as a legitimate expression of the will of the people.

By July 1793, when Robespierre replaced Danton as the key leader of the Committee of Public Safety, he had come to believe that dictatorship was necessary to achieve the goals of the revolution. Robespierre and his allies expanded their powers to arrest and silence their critics under the *Law of Suspects* of September 1793, suspended civil liberties under the Decree on Emergency Government in the next month, and centralised government in the hands of the Committee on Public Safety through the *Law of Frimaire* of December 1793. Robespierre wanted the revolution to sweep away all the past, and so he endorsed the creation of a new republican calendar, beginning with late 1792 as year one and renaming all the months, and a new Cult of the Supreme Being to replace Christian worship. In May 1794, Robespierre personally led a ceremony called the Festival of the Supreme Being in a failed attempt to generate public support for the Cult.

During the Reign of Terror, it is estimated that up to 17 000 suspected counter-revolutionaries, including Robespierre's critics and rivals, were executed by guillotine, which came to be known as 'the national razor'. The rate of executions increased in June 1794 when Robespierre's ally Georges Cuthon developed the *Law of 22 Prairial*, which removed the right of the accused to present evidence in their defence, and left Revolutionary Tribunals with only two options: set the accused free or sentence them to death. Eventually, the fear that Robespierre spread turned against him, and he was led to the guillotine on 28 July 1794. More than 80 of his followers, known as Robespierrists, were also guillotined.

Historians are divided over the extent to which Robespierre was responsible for the worst excesses of the revolution, as were those who lived alongside him. Germaine de Staël (1766–1817), for instance, the daughter of former finance minister Jacques Necker, said in her 1798 history of the revolution that while Danton was 'divisive', Robespierre was 'hypocritical': some of his victims were alleged 'counter-revolutionists', while others were 'ultra-revolutionists'; and he wore powder in his hair but claimed to speak for the common people. Sources 3.35 and 3.36 provide insights into his ideas and actions.

Sources **3.35** and **3.36** Robespierre on the principles of government

SOURCE 3.35 Robespierre on revolutionary government, 1793

Revolutionary government needs to operate in an extraordinary manner, precisely because it is at war. It is subject to less uniform and less rigorous regulations because the circumstances in which it finds itself are stormy and unstable, and, above all, because it is forced unceasingly to deploy new and swift resources against new and pressing dangers.

Constitutional government is principally concerned with civil liberty, and revolutionary government with public liberty. Under a constitutional regime, it almost suffices to protect individuals against the abuse of power by the state: under a revolutionary regime, it is the state which has to defend itself against all the factions which assail it.

Revolutionary government owes to all good citizens the fullest protection the state can afford; to the enemies of the people it owes nothing but death.

Extract from the *Report on the Principles of Revolutionary Government* delivered to the National Convention by Maximilien de Robespierre, 25 December 1793

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SOURCE 3.36 Robespierre on virtue and terror, 1794

If the spring of popular government in time of peace is virtue, the springs of popular government in revolution are at once virtue and terror. Virtue without terror is fatal; terror without virtue is powerless. Terror is nothing other than justice: prompt, severe, inflexible. It is therefore an emanation of virtue ...

It has been said that terror is the principle of despotic government. Does your government therefore resemble despotism? Yes, as the sword that gleams in the hands of the heroes of liberty resembles those in the hands of the henchmen of tyranny. ... The government of the revolution is liberty's despotism against tyranny.

Speech to the National Convention by Maximilien de Robespierre, February 1794

Responding to the sources

1. How does Robespierre explain the difference between revolutionary government and constitutional government?
2. How does Robespierre justify the use of extreme measures by the revolutionary government?
3. To what extent do these sources present evidence that Robespierre was willing to justify almost any action, provided it was done in the name of the revolution?

Sources **3.37** and **3.38** Robespierre remembered by former politicians

SOURCE 3.37 A memoir of a former member of the Committee of Public Safety

Let us ask, as already has been done, why we allowed Robespierre to go so far. Not one single fact has been established, nor one single proof given to justify the idea that that man's power was our work. Have we forgotten that, from the time of the Constituent Assembly, he already enjoyed an immense popularity, and that he obtained the title of Incorruptible? Have we forgotten that, during the Legislative Assembly his popularity only increased the help of a very widely-known journal of which he was the editor and through his frequent speeches to the Jacobins? Have we forgotten that, in the National Convention, Robespierre before long was the man who, fixing all regard upon his own person, gained so much confidence that it rendered him preponderant, to such an extent that when it came to the Committee of Public Safety, he was already the most important man in France? If someone asked me how he had succeeded in gaining so much ascendancy over public opinion, I would answer that it was by displaying the most austere virtues, the most absolute devotion and the purest principles.

Jean-Nicolas Billaud-Varenne, *Memoire Inédit*, unpublished memoirs (first made public in 1893), in L.W. Cowie, *Documents and Debates: The French Revolution*, 1987

SOURCE 3.38 A memoir of a former member of the National Convention

Whoever was to blame, the blood shed during this period covered our glorious revolution with an indelible stain. ... Danton recoiled from the bloodshed he had brought about. Even Robespierre had doubts. We supporters of the Mountain [the most radical faction] looked at the results of our measures and shuddered, but we consoled ourselves with the thought that we were serving the nation by ridding ourselves of feelings of pity and remedying the ills of France.

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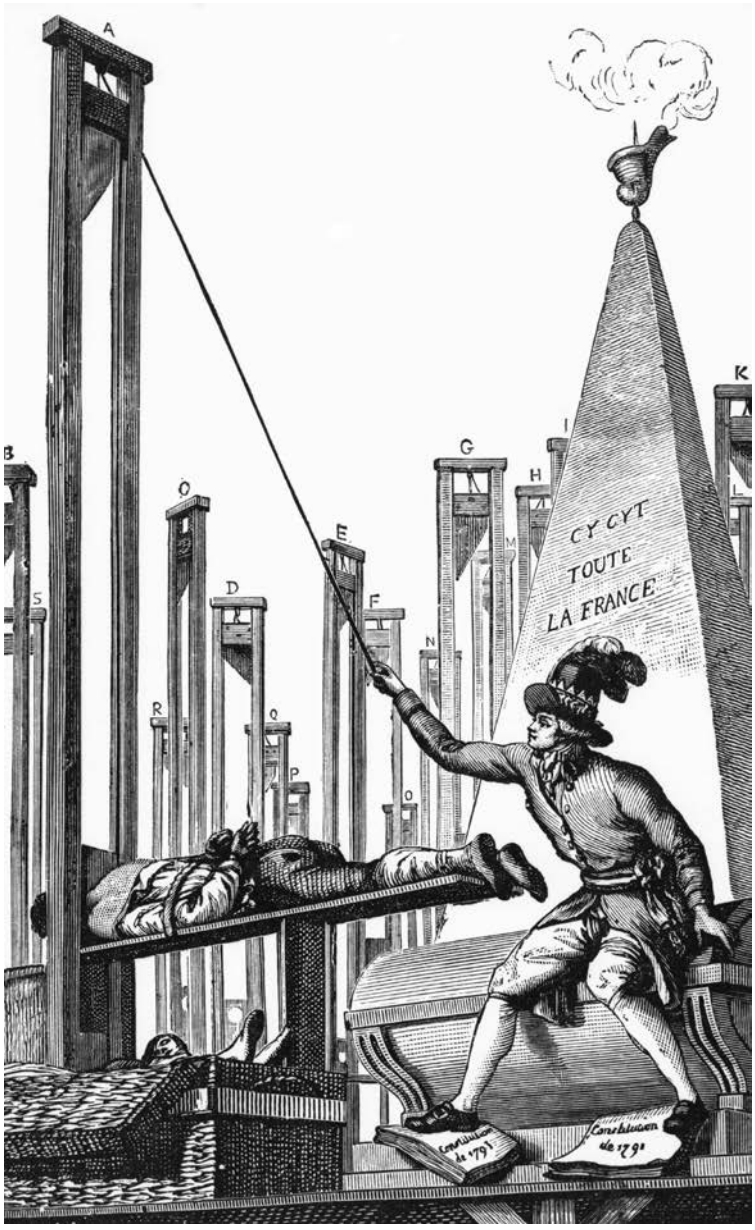
> Convinced that we were surrounded by treachery, we did not dare to stop the Terror because we feared we had nothing to put in its place. We could not end terror without losing our Revolutionary energy. The welfare of France was the goal which had to be attained.

René Levasseur, *Memories of a Former Member of the Convention*, 1831

Responding to the sources

1. What does Source 3.37 suggest about how Robespierre influenced those around him?
2. Consider the origin: Billaud-Varenne helped to design the Terror. What motive might he have had for emphasising Robespierre's influence?
3. What does Source 3.38 suggest about how radical politicians later viewed the Terror, and Robespierre's own views about its tactics?
4. Both sources are memoirs, written by participants in an event, many years later. How might this affect their usefulness and reliability as sources?



Historian David Wright noted that right-wing historians tend to see Robespierre as a self-serving tyrant who used the Terror to strengthen his dictatorship, while left-wing historians tend to see Robespierre either as a symptom of the errors of the Jacobins or a sincere social democrat. Wright concluded that Robespierre was a tragic figure.

SOURCE 3.39 *A comment on Robespierre after his death, 1794*. The original caption was: 'Robespierre, after having had all the French guillotined, beheads the executioner with his own hand.'

Robespierre is wearing his costume from the Festival of the Supreme Being. What tone does this suggest that the engraver has taken? The engraving on the stone behind Robespierre reads: 'Here lies all of France'. What might the upturned, smoking liberty cap on top of the stone represent?

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Source **3.40** A historian on Maximilien de Robespierre

SOURCE 3.40 Historian David G. Wright discusses Robespierre

To some degree certainly, Robespierre was the creature of circumstances, for whom Terror and 'the despotism of liberty' was a necessary response to war, treachery, internal rebellion and the dangers of a 'military plot'. But there was more to it than that. Robespierre was a visionary who stood for the creation of a new moral order in which service to the community would replace the *ancien regime* aristocratic frivolity and bourgeois greed, and where the government would be responsive and responsible to the nation. Hence the Revolutionary government of the Year II aimed at perpetuating the existence of democratic rule and the life of the French Republic, even if democracy hardly existed in practice ... France would become not merely a democratic republic, but a republic of virtue. The end justified the means; to bring about such a glorious future justified the Terror.

David G. Wright, *Revolution and Terror in France 1789–1795*, 1990

Responding to the source

Evaluate evidence from the extract to determine its usefulness for investigating the claim: *Robespierre was both a dictator and a democrat.*

During the Reign of Terror, revolutionary leaders Marat, Danton and Robespierre played pivotal but very different roles. Marat incited the masses with calls for action against perceived enemies of the revolution until he became a martyr, while Danton provided leadership in the Committee of Public Safety through a time of crisis, until he turned into a critic of the Jacobins. Robespierre, with his unwavering commitment to revolutionary ideals, emerged as the pre-eminent leader, advocating for the use of revolutionary terror to remove France of all counter-revolutionaries. The Committee of Public Safety wielded immense power, and the Revolutionary Tribunals dispensed swift and brutal justice. The complicated legacies of Marat, Danton and Robespierre continue to fascinate and divide historians of the French Revolution.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

How significant was the role played by key individuals in the organisation of the Reign of Terror?

Writing

1. Synthesise evidence from Sources 3.35–3.40 to form a historical argument in response to the question: *In what ways can Robespierre be seen as both furthering the progress of the French Revolution but also corrupting it in some ways?* Include a judgement about which types of sources are the most useful for the historical argument proposed.
2. List the key individuals, aside from Robespierre, mentioned in sub-question 3. For each, write several sentences explaining how and why they supported or opposed Robespierre or, in some cases, shifted between those two roles.

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Group work

Ian Kershaw, in *Personality and Power* (2022), put forward some propositions that he believed held true for a number of political leaders of the twentieth century. Evaluate Kershaw's propositions in the light of your study of a leader from the eighteenth century – Maximilien de Robespierre.

Here are three of the propositions:

1. The scope for individual impact is greatest during or immediately following huge political upheaval when existing structures of rule break down or are destroyed.
2. Single-minded pursuit of easily definable goals and ideological inflexibility combined with tactical acumen enable a specific individual to stand out and gain a following.
3. Concentration of power enhances the potential impact of the individual – often with negative, sometimes catastrophic, consequences.

Ian Kershaw, *Personality and Power*, 2022, pp.14–15

1. Form groups of three. Each group selects one of the three propositions.
2. Individually, reflect on what you have learned during your study of Robespierre.
3. Decide whether your selected proposition seems valid in relation to Robespierre.
4. Plan a brief presentation, stating your decision and providing supporting evidence based on your study.
5. Regroup and each present your evaluation and invite discussion.
6. Discuss whether one of the propositions seems most strongly valid when applied to Robespierre, and whether any seems to have little or no validity.
7. Be prepared for a whole-class discussion.

SUB-QUESTION 4: How did the Reign of Terror deviate from the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen?

During the revolution there was a radical shift from idealism to extremism. The ideals of 1789 – liberty, equality and fraternity – were tarnished by the brutality and violence of the Terror. To begin, you'll learn more about the revolutionary ideals that were articulated in the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

SOURCE 3.41 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, August 1789

Preamble

The representatives of the French people, formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect or scorn of the rights of man to be the only causes of national misfortunes and the corruption of governments, have resolved to set out, in a solemn Declaration, the natural, unalienable and sacred rights of man, so that this Declaration, always present to all members of society, reminds them constantly of their rights and their duties; so that the acts of the legislative power and those of the executive power, being able to be compared at every moment with the aim of the whole political institution, should have greater respect for that aim; so that the demands of the citizens, founded henceforth on simple and indisputable principles, are always oriented to conserving the Constitution and to the happiness of everybody.

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Consequently, the National Assembly acknowledges and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and of the citizen:

Article 1: Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can be based only upon benefit for the community.

Article 2: The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural rights of man, whose rights must not be prevented. These rights are freedom, property, security and resistance to oppression.

Article 3: The fundamentals of sovereignty has its origins essentially in the Nation. No organisation, nor individual, may exercise any authority that does not expressly come from there.

Article 4: Liberty consists in being able to do anything that does not harm other people. Thus, the exercise of the natural rights of each man has only those limits that ensure to the other members of society the enjoyment of these same rights. These limits may be determined only by the law.

Article 5: The law has only the right to forbid those actions that are detrimental to society. Anything that is not forbidden by law may not be prevented, and none may be compelled to do what the law does not require.

Article 6: The law is the expression of the collective wishes of the public. All citizens have the right to contribute, personally or through their representatives, to the forming of the law. The law must be the same for all, whether it protects or it punishes. All citizens, being equal in its eyes, shall be equally eligible for all important offices, positions and public employments, according to their ability and without other distinction than that of their qualities and talents.

Article 7: No man can be accused, arrested or detained except in the cases determined by the law, and according to the methods that the law has stipulated. Those who pursue, distribute, enforce, or cause to be enforced, arbitrary orders must be punished; but any citizen summoned, or apprehended in accordance with the law, must obey immediately: he makes himself guilty by resisting.

Article 8: The law must introduce only punishments that are strictly and indisputably necessary; and no one may be punished except in accordance with a law instituted and published before the offence is committed, and legally applied.

Article 9: Because every man is presumed innocent until he has been declared guilty, if it should be considered necessary to arrest him, any force beyond the minimum necessary to arrest and imprison the person will be treated severely.

Article 10: No one should be harassed for his opinions, even religious views, provided that the expression of such opinions does not cause a breach of the peace as established by law.

Article 11: The free communication of thought and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man. Any citizen can therefore speak, write and publish freely; however, they are answerable for abuse of this freedom as determined by law.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, August 1789
(includes 11 of the 17 Articles)

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Activity **3.4**

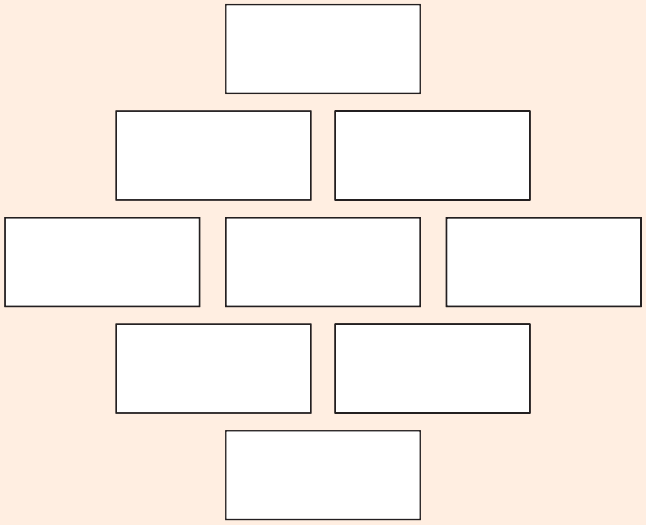
Choose nine key principles for a good society

If you had to choose nine of the ideas from the declaration upon which to base a good society, what would they be, and how would you rank them in importance? Use the pyramid ranking chart. Start at the top with your most important idea, and work your way down to the ninth.

Use a shorthand version of the declaration's ideas – for example, 'Article 11: freedom of expression'.

When finished, share your decisions with a classmate. Then engage in a class discussion about your choices. Think also about any important idea/principle that you think is missing from the declaration.

Planning a 'good society'



In the following pages, you will discover more about the Reign of Terror. After that, you will evaluate the ways in which the ideas and practices of the Terror contradicted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

Key laws that made the Terror possible

The Terror saw the suspension of many civil liberties when the revolutionary government set up the *Law of Suspects*, Revolutionary Tribunals, Committees of Surveillance and the *Law of 22 Prairial*. Anyone who was an object of suspicion risked being sent to the guillotine. It was a time of radical authoritarianism in response to circumstances of war and counter-revolution.

Source **3.42** *Law of Suspects*, 17 September 1793

SOURCE 3.42 *Law of Suspects*, 17 September 1793

Article 1: Immediately after the publication of the present decree, all suspected persons who are within the territory of the Republic and still at large shall be placed under arrest.

Article 2: The following are considered suspected persons: (1) those who, either by their conduct, relations, words or writings have shown themselves to be partisans of tyranny, federalism and enemies of liberty; (2) those who cannot justify in the manner prescribed by the law of 21 March last [establishing Committees of Surveillance] their means of existence and their discharge of their civic duties; (3) those who have been refused certificates of patriotism; (4) public officials suspended or removed from their offices by the National Convention or its commissaries, and not reinstated, especially those who have been or shall be removed by virtue of the law of 12 August last; (5) those former nobles, including husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons or daughters,

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brothers or sisters, and agents of Émigrés who have not constantly demonstrated their loyalty to the Revolution; (6) those who emigrated in the interval from 1 July 1789 to the publication of the law of 8 April 1792 [confiscating Émigré property], although they may have returned to France in the period determined by that law or previously.

Article 3: The Committee of Surveillance established according to the law of 21 March last, or those substituted for them either by order of the representatives of the people sent to the armies and the departments, or by virtue of special decrees of the National Convention, are charged with preparing, each in its own arrondissement, a list of suspected persons with issuing arrest warrants against them, and with affixing seals to their papers. Commanders of the public force to whom those arrest warrants shall be delivered shall be required to execute them at once, under penalty of dismissal.

Article 4: The Committee may not order the arrest of any person unless seven members are present, and only on an absolute majority of votes.

Article 5: Individuals arrested as suspects shall first be taken to jail in the place of their detention; in default of jails they shall be kept under surveillance in their respective places of residence.

Article 6: During the following week they shall be transferred into national buildings, which the departmental administrations shall be required, as soon as possible after receipt of the present decree, to designate and prepare for this purpose.

Article 7: The detainees may have their absolutely essential belongings taken into these buildings. They shall remain there under guard until the peace.

Article 8: The guard costs shall be borne by the detainees and divided among them equally. This guard duty shall be entrusted, preferably, to fathers of families and relatives of citizens who have gone or shall go to the frontiers. The salary is fixed, for each man of the guard, at the value of a day and a half of labour.

Article 9: Surveillance Committees shall forward without delay to the Committee of General Security of the National Convention the list of persons whom they have had arrested, with the reasons for their arrest, and the papers which they have seized with respect to them.

Article 10: The civil and criminal tribunals may, if there is occasion, hold under arrest as suspected persons, and send to the jails above mentioned, those accused of offences in respect of which it has been declared that there is no occasion for indictment, or who have been acquitted of charges brought against them.

Law of Suspects, 17 September 1793, in Philippe-Joseph-Benjamin Buchez and Prosper-Charles Roux, *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française*, Vol. 29, pp. 109–10

Responding to the document

1. To what extent are the criteria for 'suspected persons' in Article 2 objective or subjective? Explain the consequences.
2. What evidence in the document shows that the *Law of Suspects* broadened the power of the committees of surveillance that were established in March 1792?
3. Identify the dangers of the power given to civil and criminal tribunals mentioned in Article 10.
4. Explain the atmosphere and the form of government that could result from this type of legal document.

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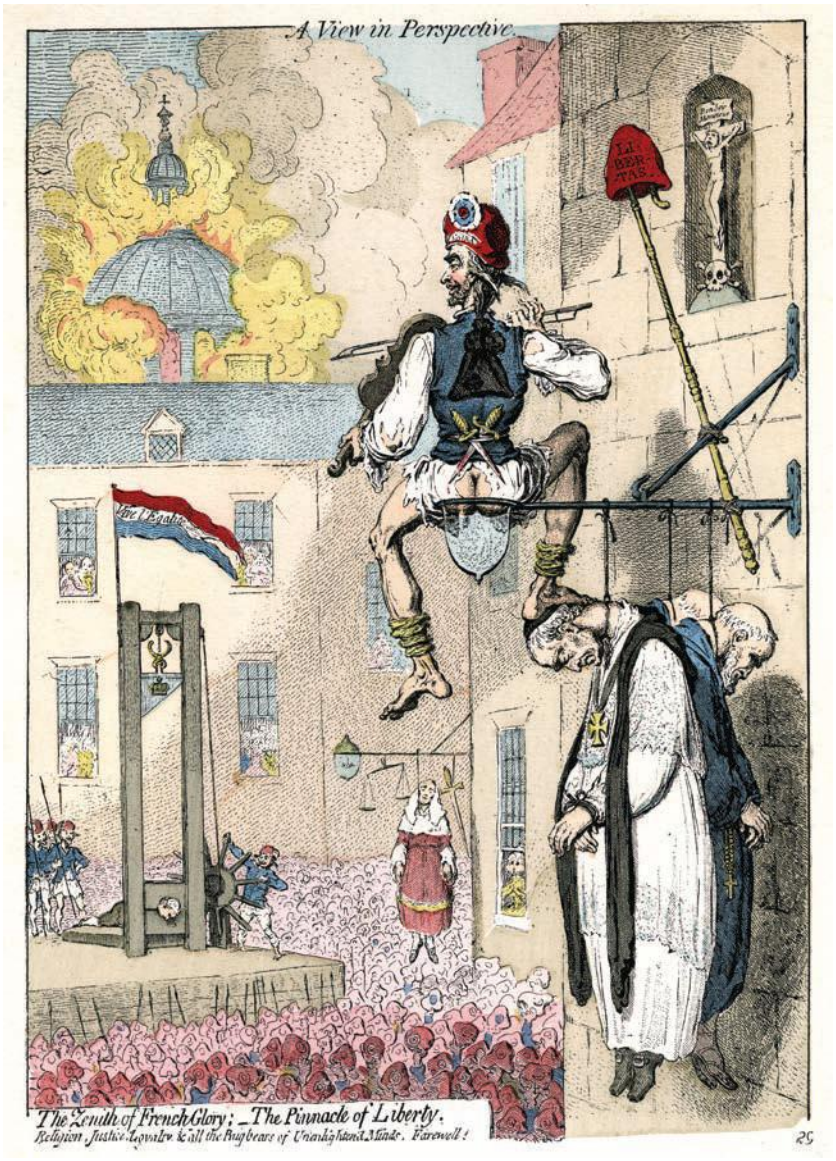
Source **3.43** British cartoon on the Reign of Terror, published in 1793



SOURCE 3.43 Colour etching by James Gillray. The top caption reads: 'A view in perspective', and the bottom caption reads: 'The zenith of French glory: the pinnacle of liberty, religion, justice, loyalty and all the bugbears of unenlightened minds farewell!'

Responding to the cartoon

1. What signs of turmoil has the artist included in the cartoon? What evidence is there that this turmoil is part of the Terror?
2. Comment on the use of satire and exaggeration in the cartoon.
3. Why do you think the cartoonist labelled his cartoon 'A view in perspective'?
4. Comment on the tone of the cartoonist's wording at the bottom of the cartoon: 'The zenith of French glory: the pinnacle of liberty, religion, justice, loyalty and all the bugbears of unenlightened minds farewell.'
5. Do you think the cartoonist was criticising the Terror, or poking fun at it? Explain your response.

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Louis Prunelle was arrested and accused of being part of an insurrection after chanting 'Long live religion and the Catholic army! Down with Clubs and the Jacobins!' in the name of religious liberty. This is his last letter written to his wife.

Source **3.44** Letter by a condemned prisoner, 2 March 1794

SOURCE 3.44 Condemned prisoner Louis Prunelle writes a final letter to his wife, 2 March 1794

To citizeness Prunelle, school teacher, La Ferté-Gaucher in Brie, at Meilleray Paris, 12 Ventôse, Year II of the Republic one and indivisible

My dear friend,

I have taken this moment to give you and your poor children some sad news. Of all that I ask you, the one thing is not to grieve. Put your confidence in the children and in the Supreme Being who must be your force and your support. It has already been two hours since I have suffered the news of my condemnation as a result of negligence on the part of a municipal officer from the commune of Meilleray, who did not send the documentation I asked him to.

Learn to console yourself, my dear friend, because I will never see you again. Look after the children and raise them well. I will suffer death as an innocent, accused of being one of the conspirators in the crowd from Meilleray when we were at La Ferte-Gaucher, which is not true, but then someone has to be punished. Throw yourself into the merciful arms of God. Show this letter to all my relatives and tell those from Champguion that they should look upon you and the children as if I were there, that they should not cause you any distress, and that they should always take care of you, as well as my poor children.

Goodbye, my friend, my dear heart, I leave you, reduced to tears, with kisses, as well as for my children, my father and mother and all my relatives whom I ask you to kiss goodbye for me. Pray to the Supreme Being for me; from the one leaving you for ever.

Your dear friend,

Prunelle

Olivier Blanc, *La dernière lettre. Prisons et condamnés de la Révolution, 1793–1794*, 1984, pp. 209–10

Responding to the letter

1. Comment on the statement in the letter by Prunelle, 'but then someone has to be punished'.
2. What does this statement and the tone of the letter tell you about the beliefs and values of the time?

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Source **3.45** The *Law of 22 Prairial*, 10 June 1794

SOURCE 3.45 Extract from the *Law of 22 Prairial*, 10 June 1794

The National Convention, having heard the report of the Committee of Public Safety, decrees:

Article 4: The Revolutionary Tribunal is established to punish the enemies of the people.

Article 5: The enemies of the people are those who seek to abolish public liberty, whether by force or by guile.

Article 6: Considered enemies of the people are:

- those who have sought the reestablishment of royalty or sought to degrade or dissolve the National Convention and the revolutionary republican government of which it is the centre
- those who have betrayed the Republic in the command of posts and armies, or in any other military function, maintained a secret correspondence with enemies of the Republic, or toiled to disrupt the provisioning or the service of the army; those who have sought to prevent the provising of Paris or to cause dearth in the Republic
- those who have assisted the plans of the enemies of France, whether by promoting the sheltering and impunity of conspirators and aristocracy, by persecuting and slandering patriotism, by corrupting the representatives of the people, by abusing the principles of the Revolution, or the laws or measures of the government by false and treacherous applications
- those who have deceived the people or the representatives of the people, to induce them into actions contrary to the interests of liberty
- those who have sought to spread despondency in order to promote the enterprises of tyrants leagued against the Republic
- those who have spread false news to divide or disturb the people
- those who have sought to mislead opinion and to prevent the instruction of the people, to deprave morals and corrupt the public conscience, to impair the energy and purity of revolutionary and republican principles, or to stop their progress, whether by counter-revolutionary or insidious writings, or by any other machination untrustworthy suppliers who compromise the security of the Republic, and peculators of the public wealth, other than those included under the provisions of the *Law of 7 Frimaire* dealing with embezzlement
- those who, being charged with public office, misuse it to serve the enemies of the Revolution, to harass patriots, or to oppress the people
- finally, all those who are designated in preceding laws relating to the punishment of conspirators and counter-revolutionaries and who, by whatever means or by whatever outward appearances they assume, have attacked the liberty, unity and security of the Republic, or toiled to prevent the enhancement of its strength.

Article 7: The penalty for all offences within the cognisance of the Revolutionary Tribunal is death.

Responding to the extract

1. According to the *Law of 22 Prairial*, who was considered an enemy of the people? Make a list of transgressions mentioned in the document.
2. Provide clear definitions of the following terms used in the document: *slandering*, *corrupt*, *tyrant* and *conspirators*. Why would some of the French population have been alarmed by the use of this radical and emotive terminology?
3. According to Article 7, what was the penalty for breaking this law?

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The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, created in 1789, set out to be a human rights document to focus on human liberties. Some historians argue that the Terror represented a departure from the initial ideals of the revolution, such as liberty, equality and fraternity. Historian William Doyle states: 'The government of the Republic was … centralised, arbitrary, and armed with emergency powers, all the very opposite of the constitutional conduct of affairs to which the Revolution had committed itself from the outset' (1989).

Revolutionary justice in the form of the *Law of Suspects* and *Law of 22 Prairial* empowered revolutionaries to carry out stringent measures against persons suspected of opposing the revolution and denied the accused of any right to self-defence. In this context, the Terror escalated and the change from idealism to extremism became more and more apparent as the revolution progressed.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

How did the Reign of Terror deviate from the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen?

1. Organise yourselves into pairs or into groups of four. Study the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and the four primary source documents in Sources 3.42–3.45. Discuss anything that you find particularly interesting, surprising or unfair.
2. Create and complete a table like the one below, using Source 3.41 to add detailed information to the left-hand column and Sources 3.42–3.45 to complete the right-hand side of the table.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen	The Reign of Terror
1. Man is born free and remains free and equal in rights	1. People's individual rights are not respected. The interests of the revolution are put first.
2. Rights of property, liberty and resistance to oppression are to be preserved	2. People's right to liberty are ignored as …
3. Nobody may exercise authority if she/he does not have authority from the nation	3. The Committee for Public Safety acted …
4. Liberty consists of the freedom to do anything which harms no one else	4.
5. No one may be forced to do anything not provided for by the law	5. The law was ignored and trials abolished during this period.
6. The law is the expression of the collective wishes of the public	6.
7. No person shall be accused, arrested or imprisoned except when it is lawful	7. The *Law of Suspects* allows …
8. No one should be punished except in accordance with the law	8.
9. All persons are held to be innocent until they have been declared guilty	9. The *Law of 22 Prairial* states …
10. No person should be harassed for their opinions	10.
11. Every citizen may speak, write or print with freedom	11.

3. Discuss the extent to which the sources indicate that the Terror represented an attack on some aspects of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

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SUB-QUESTION 5: What have historians said about the role of the Reign of Terror in influencing the direction of the French Revolution?

Historians have different interpretations about historical events, and it is these varying perspectives that create debates among historians. There are a range of perspectives on how the Terror influenced the direction of the revolution that focus on social, political, economic and cultural factors. Historians writing on the French Revolution can be loosely grouped into categories: Marxist, revisionist and post-revisionist historians.

Marxist historians have viewed the French Revolution as a class struggle between the rising bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. They argue that the bourgeoisie advocated for a society where their rights and freedoms would be protected and contend that the Reign of Terror was a necessary response to counter-revolutionaries. Georges Lefebvre, a well-known Marxist historian and expert on the French Revolution, argued that the Terror was a reaction to an aristocratic plot and an inevitable response to both internal and external threats. Lefebvre (1973) stated that without the Terror, 'the Committee of Public Safety would not have been able to immediately restrain the spirit of speculation or win out against passive resistance'.

Lefebvre's views were supported by historian Albert Soboul in his book *A Short History of the French Revolution* (1977). Soboul also saw the revolution as a consequence of class grievances. He suggests that the Terror was a desperate response to war and dire economic conditions. He also argues that the arrest of Robespierre and the end of the Terror facilitated the return of the bourgeoisie to political power. His view is that the murderous violence of the Terror disappeared only when the aristocratic conspiracy and the counter-revolution were finally broken. In another work, *The Sans-Culottes: The Popular Movement and Revolutionary Government, 1793–1794* (1981), Soboul highlighted the radical nature of the *sans-culottes* and their influence in driving the Terror.

Revisionist historians emerged to challenge the Marxist historiography. They saw the transition as a political revolution with social consequences rather than one of class-based motives. Historian Simon Schama, in *Citizens* (1989), argues that the revolution was too disorganised, leaderless and reliant on violence to bring about political change. He criticises leaders such as Robespierre and Marat, who he describes as radical and totalitarian in approach. Schama explores the fears and revolutionary passion that drove the Terror and argues that it was violence that drove the revolution.

Historian William Doyle, who also offers a revisionist perspective, believes the French Revolution must be considered in its broader historical context (Doyle, 1989). He suggests that the collapse of the royal government created a power vacuum that allowed for a complex political landscape. He argues that the Terror was a deviation from the original goals of the revolution, and was driven by a combination of internal and external threats.

Post-revisionist historian Gwynne Lewis identifies with the role of the *sans-culottes* in exerting an influence on the direction of the revolution and views the events from both a social and political context. Although Lewis has differed with Marxist historians, he acknowledges Soboul's sympathetic portrayal of the *sans-culottes* and sees popular mobilisation as an important factor. In *The French Revolution: Rethinking the Debate* (1993), Lewis highlights multiple factors, including political, social and cultural, in understanding the complexities of the Terror.

Peter McPhee discusses the 'myths' of the Terror and has explored the ideological motivations of leaders such as Robespierre in the unfolding of the Terror. In *Robespierre: A Revolutionary Life* (2012), McPhee examines Robespierre's political ideology, his role in the Committee of Public Safety, and the development of the Reign of Terror. McPhee concludes that, 'The Terror cannot be understood simply as an expression of revolutionary paranoia' (2012:150).

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In *The Coming of the Terror in the French Revolution* (2017), Timothy Tackett agrees with McPhee and argues that the Terror was not simply an outburst of violence. Tackett also corroborates with Doyle, as he argues that the Terror came about due to a complex combination of both internal and external factors. Tackett explains that the Terror was not an inevitable result of the revolution, but, rather, was a reaction to the circumstances and fear prevalent at the time. He highlights the political polarisation, external military threats and radicalisation of revolutionary ideas.

Sources 3.46–3.47, and the text above, contain some extracts from historians stating their views on the Reign of Terror.

Sources **3.46–3.47** Historians' views on the Reign of Terror

SOURCE 3.46 Historian William Doyle, 1989

It was resistance that made the revolution become violent. It was naïve of the men of 1789 to think that they could regenerate the nation without opposition and imagine that the honesty and benevolence of their intentions would be as obvious to others as to themselves. But the Enlightenment had never been afraid to impute ignorance, superstition, and selfishness to its opponents, and its disciples entirely shared this cast of mind ... It was true that in 1789 royal resistance to the formation of a National Assembly could probably not have been overcome without the threat of bloodshed; but the very success of patriotic defiance set an example of how to deal with future challenges. Even after the nation had been sickened with public carnage, politicians still found it impossible to accept the legitimacy and good faith of their opponents.

William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 1989, p. 394

SOURCE 3.47 Historian Gwynne Lewis, 1993

From the summer of 1793 to the summer of 1974, the period known to history as 'The Terror', the Revolution was saved from its internal and external enemies, at considerable cost to human life and the infant political democracy of the early 1790s symbolised by the famous Constitution of 1793. Published on 24 June, it was not only founded upon universal suffrage but included the right to public assistance and to education, as well as the 'right to insurrection'. It was, of course never implemented, since, formalised by the decree of 10 October 1793, the government of France was declared to be 'revolutionary until peace'. The fact that the Constitution of 1793 was stillborn underlines the immense gap – central to an understanding of the Revolution – which separated the political idealism of 1789 from the harsh socio-economic and military facts of life that summer of 1793 when Jacobins and sans-culottes began to dominate the political scene in most towns and villages of France, a sword in one hand, a social policy in the other.

Gwynne Lewis, *The French Revolution: Rethinking the Debate*, 1993, p. 42

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Responding to historical interpretations

Create and complete a table like the one below to document the different points of view of historians on the role of the Terror in influencing the direction of the French Revolution.

Historian and publications	Interpretation
Text on page 638, Simon Schama, *Citizens* (1989)	
Source 3.46, William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (1989)	
Source 3.47, Gwynne Lewis, *The French Revolution: Rethinking the Debate* (1993)	
Text on page 639, Timothy Tackett, *The Coming of the Terror in the French Revolution* (2017)	

Historians' views may not neatly fit into one category, and their works often incorporate elements from multiple perspectives. The historiography of the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror is rich and complex, with ongoing debates and interpretations.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

What have historians said about the role of the Reign of Terror in influencing the direction of the French Revolution?

Take a position in a debate related to the Reign of Terror

Historian Peter McPhee has posed the following question: *The Terror: Revolutionary Defence or Paranoia?*

Take a position on whether you believe the Terror was 'Revolutionary Defence' or 'Paranoia'. Collaborate with members of the class that have a similar view, find evidence to support your position and provide feedback to the class.

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Depth study: Summing up

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: How did the Reign of Terror affect the direction of the French Revolution?

Examine the role of groups and individuals in the Reign of Terror, and the impact they had in any deviation it had from the ideals of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. In your research, you will need to select and analyse a range of historical sources (up to 12) from various sections of this chapter, and in an essay of up to 1000 words evaluate and synthesise the evidence from these sources to develop a historical argument and justify your perspective.

SOURCE 3.48 *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* by Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier

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CONCLUDING STUDY

The significance of the French Revolution

The study of the French Revolution reveals that when societies change and new ideas develop, events can produce far-reaching consequences. The shift from idealism to extremism highlights the dilemma of hypocrisy and contradictions that society still grapples with today. Nevertheless, positive outcomes of this period, including human rights, citizenship, free speech, secular government and democracy, are hallmarks of many modern-day societies. These features are challenged and continually need to be defended in an evolving modern world.

Significance at the time

Was the price for liberty too high?

According to historian William Doyle, the '*cahiers* of 1789 [made it] overwhelmingly clear that most French people wanted less state interference in their lives, yet [the outcome of the Revolution] brought far more, and fiercer [intervention]' (1989:406).

Activity **3.5**

Reflect on the consequences of the French Revolution

SOURCE 3.49 Extract from *A Tale of Two Cities*

> It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to heaven, we were all going direct the other way – in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.

Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, 1859

Look through the chapter to identify both the benefits and the disadvantages experienced by all or some of the people of France from 1789 to 1799, and create and complete a table like the one below.

The impact of the revolution on the people of France	
Best of times	**Worst of times**

Activity **3.6**

Watch a film: *A Tale of Two Cities*

The film *A Tale of Two Cities* (1935), directed by Jack Conway, remains true to the book and was nominated for two Academy Awards.

The slogan 'liberty, equality, fraternity, or death' is repeated by the revolutionaries throughout the film. Look for examples in the film that contradict the meaning of this revolutionary slogan.

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Continuing the history: The Napoleonic era

It can be argued that Napoleon Bonaparte was a product of the French Revolution as, without the events of 1789, France would have kept the restrictive old order and social barriers that would have limited Napoleon's early career and success. Even though Napoleon institutionalised the core values of the revolution, his need for conquest and power led him to proclaim himself Emperor of France by 1804. The fall of the Directory regime was grieved by few and the rise of Napoleon as a dictator was welcomed by most in France. Even though there was a return to a system resembling that of the old order under Napoleon's rule, many of the revolutionary reforms continued. A new centralised administration system across the country brought about a modern nation and France rose to a dominant military position in Europe. Under his leadership, Napoleon succeeded in creating a strong feeling of French **nationalism**. Napoleon successfully fought against various coalitions of European nations and expanded the French empire.

nationalism advocacy of or support for the political independence of a nation or people and their support for the nation's interests

Napoleon worked to restore stability to post-revolutionary France by centralising the government and introducing reforms in banking and education. One of his significant contributions was the Civil Code, which streamlined the legal system and continues to be the foundation of French civil law today.

After a series of military campaigns, Napoleon was finally defeated by the English at Waterloo in 1815. He was permanently detained on the island of Saint Helena until he died in 1821.

Napoleon can be perceived as both a destroyer and a saviour of the French Revolution. The artist Antoine-Jean Gros was commissioned to paint the portrait in Source 3.50 to commemorate Napoleon's charge to battle at the Bridge of Arcole in 1796. The artist was selected by Napoleon to promote his public image and to depict him as a warrior and a hero.

SOURCE 3.50 *General Napoleon Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcole*, Antoine-Jean Gros (1771–1835). Napoleon is holding a flag with the emblem of the French nation, looking back at his troops as their saviour.

Discuss why Napoleon might have used paintings like this as propaganda during his reign as First Consul and Emperor of France.

Legacy – significance for today

Are *liberté*, *egalité* and *fraternité* still important concepts in modern France?

The French Revolution transitioned France from the feudal *Ancien Régime* to a new republic expressing a national identity. Interestingly, the motto '*liberté, egalité* and *fraternité*', which emerged from the Enlightenment during the revolution, was only officially adopted with the formation of the Third French Republic in 1870.

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SOURCE 3.51 Bastille Day Parade in Paris, 2023, on the Boulevard de Champs-Élysées coming from the Arc de Triomphe

Modern-day celebrations of the Bastille

The traditions associated with Bastille Day in France, known as *La Fête nationale* (The National Celebration), reflect a sense of national pride and the spirit of liberty that is integral to French identity. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen guaranteed freedom and equal rights for all citizens, regardless of social status. These concepts of liberty and equality remain fundamental in modern democracies.

The first Bastille Day celebration took place on 14 July 1790, one year after the storming of the Bastille. The celebration included a military parade, a festival and a ball. Bastille Day has been celebrated every year since then, and it is now one of the most important holidays in France. The storming of the Bastille was a major victory for the French people as it marked a significant moment in the revolution and the beginning of political and social change.

Macron's promotion of the key principles

Emmanuel Macron, the French President elected in 2017, brought a new energy to France's engagement with Europe and the wider world. Led by Macron, modern France continued to promote the key principles from the revolution. Discussing the future of Europe in a 2017 interview, Macron said that equality and liberty, combined with progress and the capital market, are Europe's genetic code.

SOURCE 3.52 Supporters of Emmanuel Macron outside the Louvre Museum in Paris, 7 May 2017

Source 3.52 is a photograph of Macron's supporters during the election in Paris on 7 May 2017. The enthusiastic crowd waving French national flags is reminiscent of the French crowds during the revolution. Macron's slogan '*ensemble la France*' (France together) reiterates the importance of unity and fraternity among the people of the nation.

However, in spite of Macron's endorsement, we can also see ways in which *liberté*, *egalité* and *fraternité* are being eroded in modern France.

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Are the principles of the revolution compromised in modern France?

Terror attacks in France

As you saw in your study of the Reign of Terror, there can be a clear link between revolution and violence. This can still be seen today, as peaceful protests may erupt into violence, and, in some cases, opposition to an existing regime may be expressed in acts of terrorism (although it should be noted that terrorism can also be employed in support of a particular status quo).

However, responses to terrorist acts can also test the right to liberty. Tragic examples of twenty-first-century terrorism in France include the mass shooting at the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* office in Paris in January 2015; shootings and suicide bombings targeting a music venue, sports stadium and several bars and restaurants in Paris in November 2015; and a cargo truck deliberately driven into crowds celebrating Bastille Day in Nice in July 2016. Terrorist attacks since this time have included a car bombing in Lyon in May 2019 and a shooting in Paris in December 2022. There was also a second incident involving *Charlie Hebdo* in 2020: following a republication of the inciting image from 2015, four people were stabbed outside the former magazine headquarters.

As a consequence of these terror activities, increased security measures were introduced, with extra levels brought in for major events such as the 2024 Paris Olympics, as well as in response to international events such as the March 2024 concert hall attack in Moscow. These pose challenges to the principle of liberty, as the intrusion of safety procedures is not always compatible with freedom. Maintaining the core principle of fraternity is also tested, as trust and unity among citizens is compromised.

Source 3.53 shows French soldiers patrolling the seafront Promenade des Anglais in Nice, one year after the 2016 terror attack. Bollards and fences have been installed to prevent any vehicle intrusion and the ambience of the setting has been altered. The photograph in Source 3.54, from 2023, shows soldiers in a popular garden in Paris.

SOURCE 3.53 French soldiers patrolling the Promenade des Anglais in Nice, 2017

SOURCE 3.54 French soldiers in the Tuileries Gardens, Paris, 2023

Nice is a popular tourist destination, while the Tuileries Gardens is popular with both Parisians and tourists, including children. How would you feel about seeing armed guards if you were in one of these locations?

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Activity **3.7**

Discuss extremism

1. How has recent terrorism impacted daily life in new ways?
2. Could 'revolutionary' change be achieved in a society without the use of violence?

On the fringe of French society

Over recent decades, the revolutionary principles of liberty, equality and fraternity have been tested by the changing composition of the French population. From the 1960s onwards, in the wake of the decolonisation of France's overseas empire, there was an influx of people from North and West Africa and from Vietnam. During the past decade, there has been another influx, this time of refugees from conflicts in the Middle East and Africa. Many sought to settle in France, while thousands more set up rough camps at French ports, waiting for opportunities to cross the English Channel to the United Kingdom, whether legally or not. Over the years, suburbs on the fringes of Paris and other cities in France have gained large concentrations of often poor, unemployed migrants. Those suburbs have become hotbeds of discontent and anger, creating fear and hostility among many French citizens.

The rise of far-right politics

New right political parties have appealed to the French public with policies that restrict immigration and promote an ultra-conservative nationalism.

In a 2024 article, academic Joseph Browning wrote:

SOURCE 3.55 Dr Joseph Browning considers reasons for the rise of far-right politics in France

> **The advance of the far-right in France is in large part down to the National Rally's concerted effort to mainstream its far-right politics. However, it has been given a helping hand by the collapse of the French party structure over the past couple of decades...**
>
> **[It] has also been enabled by shifts in the French political landscape. In 1958, Charles De Gaulle crafted the Fifth Republic system of governance that centralised power around the president and away from the parliament. The party structures that had ruled France since then have collapsed spectacularly over the past two decades.**

Joseph Downing, 'How the French far-right rose to prominence', *The Conversation*, 3 July 2024

Do the revolutionary principles need to be revitalised in modern-day France?

Yellow Vest movement

The Yellow Vest movement, also known as the 'Gilets Jaunes' protests, began in late 2018 as a powerful expression of discontent among French citizens. The movement was sparked by rising inequality and poverty in France. Many people were struggling economically, with a significant number living below the poverty line.

The frustration stemmed from the perception that the wealthy and powerful were benefiting disproportionately while ordinary citizens faced financial hardships. Initially, the protests were triggered by the French Government's decision to raise fuel taxes. This decision was met with widespread opposition.

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The yellow vests, which became the symbol of the movement, were worn by protesters as a visible sign of their discontent. As the protests gained momentum, demonstrators began to criticise broader economic policies. President Macron and the French ruling class were the primary targets. Many citizens perceived them as out of touch and elitist, disconnected from the struggles faced by ordinary people.

The Yellow Vest movement highlighted deep-rooted issues of social and economic inequality. It resonated with historical grievances of the masses, drawing parallels to the French Revolution. Citizens demanded fairer taxation, better social services, and policies that would alleviate the burden on working-class families.

This was a significant moment in French history, shedding light on the urgent need to address socioeconomic disparities and to ensure a more equitable society. It served as a powerful reminder that the voices of ordinary citizens cannot be ignored.

The French Revolution's legacy lies in its role as a catalyst for democratic ideals, social justice and the empowerment of ordinary citizens. Its impact continues to influence political thought and governance and is a reminder of the enduring struggle for liberty and equality.

SOURCE 3.56 This image illustrates a demonstrator waving a French flag during a protest of Yellow Vests in Paris, 1 December 2018

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Chapter 7

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN INDIA, 1857–1947

Aspect: Methods, influences, violence and legacy

ANNABEL ELLIOT

It's 2023, four days before Christmas, in the Indian city of Kolkata.

Sunita* is walking with her two children, Reva* and Ajay*, to the local market. She knows she'll find all she needs for tonight's dinner.

Yesterday, on the same walk, they'd seen something amazing for the first time – a tall, bright white model of a rocket, built by India's own space research organisation, ISRO. Last August, the real rocket propelled India's lunar explorer, *Chandrayaan 3*, on its voyage to the moon.

SOURCE 7.1 Residents walk past a Styrofoam model of the Indian Space Research Organisation's (ISRO) rocket for *Chandrayaan 3*, on display as part of the Christmas decorations at a market in Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), India, 21 December 2023

Reva and Ajay chattered excitedly when they first saw the model. They'd been learning about India's lunar mission at school. Ajay proudly declared that he planned to become an astronaut. Reva laughed!

Sunita feels an enormous sense of pride welling up – not only in her kids, who have the kind of opportunities she never had – but also in her country. Her country, once a slave to the British Empire, is now sending Indians into space!

Sunita remembers how her grandmother refused to talk about what happened when the British finally left India. The faraway stare in her eyes made her look so desolate and sad. And the silence in the room told Sunita never to ask again. No one talked about it. It must have been awful.

There are still places in Kolkata, even in her own neighbourhood, where Sunita can see memories of India's colonial past. They remind her of the dedication of those great Indian men, Gandhi and Nehru, how they changed India so dramatically, and only a few generations ago. The pride swells in her throat once more, and she has to fight back the tears starting to sting her eyes. Now, what did she need from the market again?

Reader advice:

Some resources in this chapter may be confronting, and contain images of deceased people or acts of violence.

* Sunita, Reva and Ajay are fictional characters devised for this opening story

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The origins of Indian independence

In the centuries before the arrival of the British, the Indian economy held a 25% share in global production and was a leading world economy. It had rich mineral deposits, profitable agricultural land and good infrastructure that enabled lucrative trade both at a local level and with its neighbours further afield. India was known for its rich and opulent jewels, cottons and silks, and exquisite craftsmanship. The country was divided into princely states ruled by the Mughal Empire and society was ordered according to ancient and established religious and social structures centred around Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. Most Indians were largely unaware of the Christianity that dominated Western culture.

The British in India

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the extremely profitable trade in teak, spices, cotton, tea and silks brought European traders to Indian shores. Driven by the effects of the Industrial Revolution from the 1750s, as well as a growing emphasis on the ideas of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism, the British rapidly expanded their global empire, which came to include India, at its height ruling over a quarter of the earth's landmass. This expansion was characterised by exploitation, violence and injustice, and came at great cost to those colonised.

As well as goods to trade, the British also brought their ideas to the colonies. There was a patronising attitude among Western Europeans that the native populations of their colonies required 'civilising', and that it was their duty to do so. The British brought Christianity and British customs, along with legal and administrative systems, to India. Underpinning the British role in India were Enlightenment ideas about science, rationality and individual rights. This would spark tensions with the Indian population, which the British brutally repressed, subduing their colonial subjects using their legal system and military force.

The East India Company

In 1600, a group of merchants formed the **East India Company** (EIC) and were granted a monopoly on trade in India by Queen Elizabeth I. The EIC held this monopoly for 250 years, and in that time its employees gathered enormous personal wealth by looting treasures, exploiting local labour forces and collecting huge amounts in taxes, with very little regard for the Indian population.

Initially, the EIC built factories in coastal areas like Madras (Chennai), Bombay (Mumbai) and Bengal, and experienced success in the textiles industry. It gradually expanded into new areas and new industries, building fortresses to protect its assets. By either subjugating or negotiating with local rulers, the EIC eventually came to control much of India, using its own administrative and military bodies, the latter of which were primarily made up of **sepoys**. In both systems, British men would be given positions of responsibility, while Indians were unable to gain promotion past a certain position.

East India Company (EIC) a private British company that was established and began trading with India in the early 1600s. By the mid-1850s, it controlled a significant tract of the subcontinent.

sepoy a professional Indian soldier hired by the EIC (and later by the Raj) to protect its interests. Sepoys were volunteers, and generally signed up seeking steady income and regular meals.

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The Indian Mutiny, 1857

In the decades leading up to the Indian Mutiny, the EIC had put profit before all else and had let large parts of vital Indian infrastructure, such as roads, canals and irrigation systems, lapse into disrepair, causing famines. The EIC was well known for exacerbating tensions between local Indian rulers, intervening and eventually taking control of territories, using the company-owned military force of sepoy soldiers to enforce its position. Once in control, the EIC imposed crippling taxes, stirring resentment. A particularly audacious and hated move was the EIC's introduction of the 'lapse doctrine', whereby, if a state's ruler died without a male heir, the EIC could annexe the territory. Among the sepoys in the EIC's private army, discontent also grew over pay, conditions and humiliating treatment by British officers. Tensions in India had reached a boiling point by 1857.

Despite all these issues, it was the spread of Christianity in India that, arguably, sparked the 1857 mutiny. As part of their 'civilising' mission, the British had sent out missionaries, independent of the EIC, to spread Christianity in India and had introduced laws that many Indians believed were designed to erode their religion. This, inevitably, caused issues as the missionaries clashed with India's ancient religious traditions. When sepoys heard reports that a new type of rifle cartridge coated in pig and cow fat was about to be introduced, tensions reached an all-time high. Before loading his rifle, a soldier would need to bite the end off the cartridge. This was particularly offensive to both Muslims and Hindus, who observed strict rules about certain foods. Muslims must not eat pork, while Hindus believe cows are sacred and so do not eat beef. This also added to concerns over rumours of forced conversions to Christianity in the EIC army.

caste the ancient Indian system of organising Hindu society into strict hierarchical groups (*jati*), ranked according to status. The highest caste is the *Brahmin* (priests and teachers), followed by the *Kshatriyas* (warriors and rulers), *Vaishyas* (farmers, traders and merchants) and *Shudras* (labourers), and the lowest caste is the *Dalits* (or outcasts – street sweepers and latrine cleaners).

Known by many names, including the Indian Mutiny, Indian Rebellion, Sepoy Rebellion and First War of Independence, the conflict began in April 1857, when 85 Indian soldiers refused to bite into the fat-smeared cartridges for fear it would cause them to fall out of **caste**. They were court-martialled and sentenced to 10 years in jail.

A few weeks later, when their comrades broke them out of jail, they went on a rampage through Delhi, killing Europeans they encountered. More disgruntled Indians – both military and civilian – joined and the violence continued for over a year, until the EIC armies, reinforced by Sikh, Gurkha and British troops, eventually overcame the mutineers and rebels. Both sides committed acts of extreme violence towards the other, and the mutiny deeply shocked the British, who had hugely underestimated the strength of the resentment against them.

At the time, an illustration similar to Source 7.2 was published on the front page of *The London Gazette* in England. The British press also published accounts of sepoy violence and atrocities, including against British women. British people, both in India and at home, were generally supportive of the type of retribution shown in this illustration.

Although the Indian Mutiny was to later become known as the First War of Independence, it cannot be called an organised campaign for complete independence. It is better described as a spontaneous outbreak of rebellion following years of growing tensions. There was a widespread call for a fundamental shift in British–India relations and a desire to return to more traditional Mughal systems of rule. However, Indians had participated in the largest anti-imperial revolt against any European empire anywhere in the world to date, and it would change the British–Indian relationship permanently.

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In the years to come, the British were fearful and hyper-vigilant of a repeat of the mutiny violence, and, as a result, quashed any perceived disobedience rapidly and ruthlessly. For future independence leaders like Mohandas Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the mutiny was an important moment in India's colonial past, used to draw out nationalist sentiments, highlighting the need for Indian self-governance and, eventually, for independence.

SOURCE 7.2 *Blowing From a Gun*, 1858. This image portrays one of the punishments used by the British against the Indian mutineers. The sepoy was strapped to a cannon, which was then fired, shattering the body. Hindus believe that a body needs to be intact for cremation, and often other sepoys and local Indian people were gathered and forced to watch the executions.

Why would this punishment have intensified tensions between the British and Indians? What does the punishment suggest about the British understanding of, and attitudes to, the Indian people? In the decades following, how might the records and memories of this punishment have influenced Indian attitudes to, and relationships with, Britain?

The British Raj

Before the Indian Mutiny, concerns had been building in the British Parliament about the EIC's repressive methods of rule in India. The events of 1857 and fears of further Indian rebellion intensified those concerns. In 1858, the British Government took direct control of India through the *Government of India Act*, marking the end of the EIC's rule in South Asia.

The early days of the **Raj** included attempts to repair the wounds of the mutiny. There was some understanding that the 'civilising' spirit of the previous century, with its dismissal of Indian culture as 'inferior', had stirred resentment. Significantly, Queen Victoria ordered British officials to stop interfering with Indian customs. Belief in British superiority did not disappear, but the British focus shifted to projects that, while promoting British administrative and commercial interests, would also benefit the Indian population. They embarked on major projects to repair the neglected infrastructure in India.

Raj a Hindi word meaning king or ruler. It is also used to describe the period of British rule of India from 1858 to 1947.

Despite India's challenging natural landscape, the British built an extensive network of railways, roads and telegraph lines, as well as dams and improvements to canals and irrigation ditches. They also launched a propaganda campaign to convince Indians that they would be better off under British rule.

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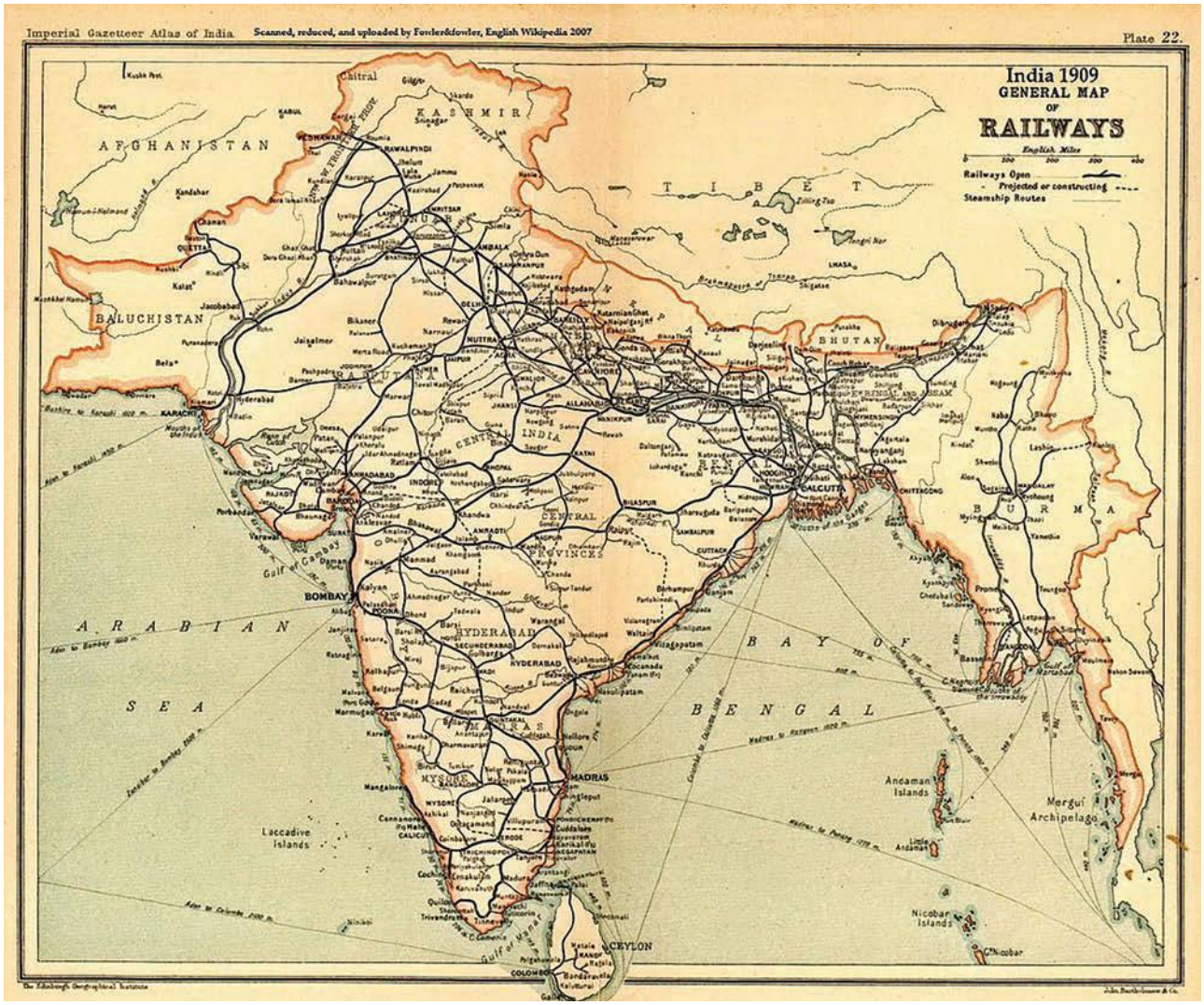

SOURCE 7.3 Map of India Railways, 1909

Study the map. Note the extent and distribution of the railways. In what ways might the railways have benefited the British administratively and economically? How might Indians have felt about the new infrastructure built by the Raj? In what ways could Indians have benefited from this new infrastructure? Conduct an internet search to discover if this rail network is still vital in today's India.

The British Raj also introduced an administrative structure, mostly made up of Indian employees, to run what had now become an official British colony. Roles in this newly established civil service were sought-after and it became vital to be able to speak English and understand the 'Western' approach to business, government and administration. Previously structured on the caste system, India's society was now beginning to resemble the Western structure, with a new middle class made up of people like shop owners, merchants, lawyers and local leaders who had been successful under the EIC. Some began ensuring their boys gained an English education, sending them to prestigious private schools and universities in England. In later decades, many of the key influential leaders of India's independence movement – including the qualified lawyers Gandhi, Jinnah and Nehru – used their deep understanding of British law and government administration, learned while studying in England, to propel the Indian independence movement forwards.

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Key individuals in the Indian independence movement

Muhammad Ali Jinnah

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was born into a prosperous Muslim merchant family in 1876 in Karachi, now in Pakistan but then part of British-controlled India. Jinnah was initially educated in India, before moving to England to study law. He became the youngest Indian called to the Bar when he was just 19, and when he returned to Bombay he quickly established a successful legal practice. He was also well known for drinking whisky, smoking and eating pork, and wore Western clothes exclusively. He apparently owned 200 Savile Row suits.

? In what ways do these details of Jinnah's persona and actions indicate his abandonment of some key aspects of traditional Indian and Muslim culture and beliefs?

Do you think these could be interpreted as both personally satisfying and politically astute? Discuss.

Jinnah formally entered politics in 1905 as part of the **Indian National Congress** (INC) and consistently campaigned for Indian self-government. He strongly supported a secular, democratic and egalitarian Indian government and became frustrated with the increasing levels of violence in Indian politics. From the 1920s, he focused his energies on the emerging **All-India Muslim League**.

Jawaharlal Nehru

Jawaharlal Nehru was born in 1889 in Allahabad (now Prayagraj) in northern India. The son of a renowned and influential lawyer, Nehru was initially educated by tutors at home before going to England and completing his schooling at the private school Harrow. He studied natural sciences at Cambridge University and trained as a lawyer before returning to India in 1912.

While Nehru attempted a career in law, it was not his main interest, and he instead turned to politics. Like many young Indian nationalists at the time, he was primarily concerned with independence, but he did not have a precise plan on how India would achieve this. However, when Nehru met Gandhi at the INC in 1916, he became inspired by Gandhi's ideas of actively resisting British rule through acts of civil disobedience.

Mohandas Gandhi

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869 in Porbandar, in the northern Indian state of Gujarat. Later he would become known as Mahatma (Sanskrit for 'great soul') both in India and abroad, Gandhiji (-ji to show respect) or *Bapu* (Gujarati for 'father'). Gandhi's wife of 62 years, Kasturba, also had a rich history of activism during this period and was notable for her influence on Gandhi's philosophy and resulting policies.

Indian National Congress (INC) founded in 1885 by a Scotsman, Alan Hume, supported by the Viceroy, and made up of Western-educated Indians. The INC was India's first independence party and had Hindu, Sikh and Muslim members who supported reform in favour of all Indians regardless of religion. The INC would later come to support the ideas and policies of Gandhi through the 1920s and early 1930s and was instrumental in the struggle for Indian independence.

All-India Muslim League Indian political party formed in 1906 with an emphasis on defining Muslim identity, protecting Muslim rights within India and developing understanding between the Muslim and other Indian communities. It supported education for Muslims and opposed violence as a means of achieving goals. Initially, the Muslim League had very little influence and was not always viewed as representative of the Muslim community. However, by the 1930s Jinnah and the Muslim League had become the driving force behind the 1947 Partition of India and creation of an independent Muslim state, Pakistan.

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satyagraha 'holding firmly to truth'. A form of non-violent civil resistance and philosophical platform adopted by Gandhi that would come to shape the Indian independence campaign. *Satyagraha* was heavily influenced by a key principle of Jainism, Hinduism and Buddhism called *ahimsa*, which means a dedication to not injure another living being.

swadeshi economic self-sufficiency and not relying on imported goods. Gandhi promoted Indian industries with the aim of becoming less dependent on British products.

At 18 years old, Gandhi left for England to study law and upon his graduating as a barrister, Gandhi and Kasturba went to South Africa, another British colony. It was there that Gandhi developed his radical interest in justice, notions of independence from British imperial rule and the formation of a philosophical platform – ***satyagraha*** – that he would follow for the rest of his life.

Gandhi and Kasturba spent the next 20 years in South Africa involved in a variety of justice campaigns trying to help improve the lives of Indians living in Africa. It was also in South Africa that Gandhi wrote his first book, *Hind Swaraj*, published his first newspaper, and developed the key philosophical frameworks – *satyagraha*, ***swadeshi*** and *ahimsa* – that would become deeply influential in India's independence movement. Gandhi and Kasturba were also imprisoned for the first time in South Africa for breaching laws they deemed unjust and discriminatory.

As a result of this South African activism, Gandhi's return to India in 1915 was met with suspicion from British authorities, who were concerned about the impact Gandhi might have on British rule in India. Conversely, there was widespread hope from Indians that his actions in South Africa could be used to give the *Swaraj* (home rule) movement momentum in India. Gandhi believed that, following a series of non-violent acts of resistance, the British would eventually see that they should leave India.

In 1917, Gandhi had his first real opportunity to put *satyagraha* into practice in support of oppressed indigo farmers who were being forced to grow indigo (for use as a dye) on their tenanted land while living in squalid conditions. Despite being arrested for causing unrest, Gandhi was released, and the local government relaxed the requirements on indigo farmers.

There were other successful *satyagraha* in Ahmedabad and Kheda, and these acts of defiance shook the British administration. Memories of 1857 were never far from the British Government's consciousness and Gandhi was promising more trouble to come.

? **Why might the philosophical principles that Gandhi embraced be seen as morally powerful but probably politically weak when confronted with a British administration steeped in strong administrative and legal systems, and that values military strength?**

India and World War I

During World War I (1914–18), India provided the British Empire with about £146 million (approximately $14 billion today) and over 1.2 million men (Australia contributed just over 400 000 men). Even Gandhi put aside his campaign against British rule and recruited men for the British army. Indian soldiers fought and died alongside British and Commonwealth troops from all over the empire at places like Gallipoli, Palestine and Iraq, and on the Western Front in France.

However, during the war there were also elements of anti-British, pro-independence sentiment, organisation and activity both within India and outside, involving Indian nationalist groups in Germany and the United States. This revolutionary sentiment intersected with growing disillusionment among Indians as World War I ground on, with Indian casualties growing and the economy adversely affected.

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The war had many negative consequences for India. As well as rising food and land rental prices and general food shortages, influenza brought back to India by returning troops in 1918 and 1919 killed over 20 million Indians (6.6% of India's population at the time). The British had also introduced repressive wartime controls on Indian civil rights, which would be the cause of increasing postwar tensions.

SOURCE 7.4 A promotional poster for the movie *Bagha Jatin*, 2023. Arun Roy directed this film about Indian independence activist Jatin Mukherjee. Mukherjee led an audacious plan to convince elements of the Indian Army to turn against the British administration and the British war effort. By rising up with other Indian revolutionaries and using weapons paid for by Germany, sent from the United States by sea, the plan ultimately failed. But Mukherjee is a celebrated martyr in India, particularly in Bengal, where he reputedly killed a Bengal tiger with a knife, earning his nickname '*Bagha*' (tiger).

Contextual study: Summing up

This contextual study has introduced how the British came to rule India as a colony in 1858, and how key events such as the Indian Mutiny contributed to more insistent calls for Indian independence from British rule. The legacy of EIC rule, growing discontent under the Raj, the unrewarded Indian effort in World War I and the growth of a Western-educated class of Indians all led to the more organised and coherent struggle against British domination in the following decades. Gandhi, like the majority of Indians and other European colonies, believed that, in return for their wartime effort, India would be granted more respect, autonomy and dominion status at the war's conclusion. However, it became increasingly clear to Indians that the postwar British Government seemed to have no intention of relinquishing control of one of its most lucrative colonies. Indian independence leaders would need to change their approach if they were to be successful.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: How did India achieve independence in the years between 1919 and 1947?

India's struggle for independence from colonial rule has become a globally recognised movement, and one that has inspired many others in their search for equality and justice. Through close examination of the sources, this depth study will consider elements of India's independence movement in the years 1919 to 1947. How did such a relatively short period of India's history come to cause such a lasting legacy? How have individuals like Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah become household names, and what techniques did they employ to achieve their goals? How much of the continuing legacy of the violence of Partition and independence in the region can be blamed on the British?

This depth study unfolds through a series of four sub-questions that enable you to build towards an answer to the key inquiry question above.

The four sub-questions are:

1. How significant to the Indian independence movement were key events, individuals and policies in the interwar years?
2. How and why did World War II impact the Indian independence movement?
3. What led to Partition and why was it so violent?
4. What have historians said about how India achieved independence in the years between 1919 and 1947?

SOURCE 7.5 Indians celebrating independence in Calcutta, 1947

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SUB-QUESTION 1: How significant to the Indian independence movement were key events, individuals and policies in the interwar years?

The Rowlatt Act, 1919

The end of World War I ushered in a period of turmoil in India. There had been tensions within the Indian leadership during the war, particularly regarding the competing issues of loyalty to the empire and the desire for greater Indian autonomy. There had been a 'promise' made in the Montagu-Chelmsford Declaration in 1917 that there would be postwar steps towards Indian self-government, but the Allies had refused to invite Indian nationalist leaders to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. Only one Indian attended, a Maharaja who signed the treaty on behalf of India, with the rest of the 'Indian' delegation comprising British officials.

The British response to the growing movement of Indian nationalism and non-cooperation following World War I was to introduce the *Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act 1919* (commonly known as the Rowlatt Act). In essence, the Act extended the extreme powers of the government that had been in operation during World War I and aimed to replace the repressive wartime *Defence of India Act 1915* by a permanent law. Source 7.6 outlines its key provisions.

Source **7.6** The Rowlatt Act, 1919

SOURCE 7.6 Key provisions of the Rowlatt Act, 1919

The Rowlatt Acts provided that 'If the Governor-General is satisfied that, in the whole or any part of British India, anarchical or revolutionary movements are being promoted' then police and judicial officers were permitted to act in some ways that contradicted existing laws.

They permitted:

- police property searches without a warrant
- police arrest without a stated reason
- imprisonment without trial
- trials held in secret, without a jury
- withholding evidence from an accused
- convicted persons prohibited from engaging in political activities
- prohibition of public gatherings
- restrictions on media reporting

Based on *Act No. XI of 1919 (passed by the Indian Legislative Council)*, https://www.indiacode.nic.in

Responding to the Rowlatt Act

1. Which of these provisions could help authorities to detect possible offenders, punish offenders, restrict political activity and limit public information?
2. What might a government say to justify these actions?
3. Which provisions might be abused by authorities and result in miscarriages of justice?
4. Why might it be difficult for citizens to oppose and challenge these provisions?
5. How might the Rowlatt Act have impacted the Indian independence movement?
6. Why, given events from 1914 to 1918, might many Indians have been insulted and offended by the Rowlatt Act?
7. Discuss: In a modern state like Australia, could there ever be circumstances that justify such actions?

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As historian William Dalrymple writes, 'it had been expected that after such unprecedented loyalty, Britain would reward India with Dominion status and a degree of self-government. When, instead, the post-war government had passed the Rowlatt Act – a repressive law which limited freedom of expression and congregation…' (2019). The Indian response to the passing of the Rowlatt Act was strong. Historian Denis Judd describes some reactions.

Source **7.7** The 'real face of the Raj'

SOURCE 7.7 British historian Denis Judd on the Rowlett Act

Inevitably, Indian nationalists saw this as a gross affront and a serious threat to the effectiveness of their campaigning … Nationalists were convinced that the Rowlatt legislation showed the real face of the Raj. Gandhi denounced the proposals as 'evidence of a determined policy of repression' and argued that Indians could not 'render peaceful obedience to the laws of a power that is capable of such a piece of devilish legislation'.

Denis Judd, *Lion and the Tiger: The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600–1947*, 2005, pp. 130–1

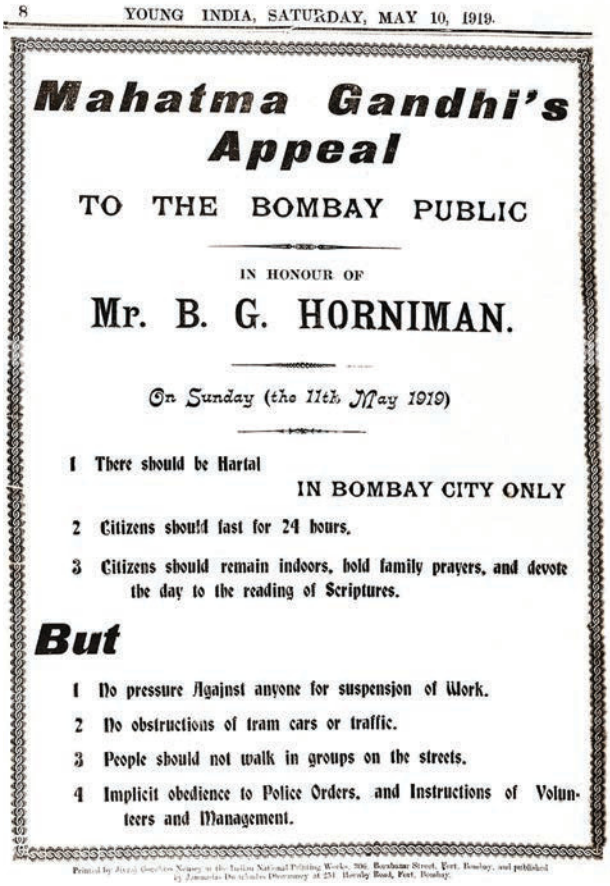
Responding to the source

1. How could the Rowlatt Act threaten the effectiveness of Indian nationalists' campaigning?
2. What words do you think nationalists would have used to describe the 'real face of the Raj'?
3. What future action might Gandhi have been implying by stating that Indians 'could not render peaceful obedience to the laws'? Could that expression be interpreted in different ways?

Jinnah resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council in protest, and Gandhi drew up a *satyagraha* pledge against the Rowlatt Act, calling the measures 'unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based' (Roy, 2019).

Despite Gandhi's pleading for peaceful protesting, some ***hartals*** ended in violence and riots, including in the Sikh holy capital of Amritsar in early April 1919, where five Europeans were killed.

hartal a form of civil disobedience; mass protest similar to a labour strike, usually involving the shutdown of schools, shops, offices and law courts



8 YOUNG INDIA, SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1919.

Mahatma Gandhi's Appeal

TO THE BOMBAY PUBLIC

IN HONOUR OF

Mr. B. G. HORNIMAN.

On Sunday (the 11th May 1919)

1 There should be Hartal IN BOMBAY CITY ONLY

2 Citizens should fast for 24 hours.

3 Citizens should remain indoors, hold family prayers, and devote the day to the reading of Scriptures.

But

1 No pressure against anyone for suspension of Work.

2 No obstructions of tram cars or traffic.

3 People should not walk in groups on the streets.

4 Implicit obedience to Police Orders, and Instructions of Volunteers and Management.

Printed by [illegible] at the Indian National Printing Works, 306, Hornby Street, Fort, Bombay, and published by [illegible] at 231, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

SOURCE 7.8 Poster appealing for non-cooperation, Bombay, 1919

In what ways does the poster reflect the ideals of *satyagraha* and *ahimsa*? How could the 'But' points be seen as both philosophical and practical?

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Significantly, these *hartals* were the first interfaith and nationwide protests against the British since the Indian Mutiny in 1857. The British were still 'haunted by the memories of the Mutiny … any hint of armed revolt … always touched a sensitive chord … the authorities were therefore taking no chances' (Sinha, 1964).

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre

On 13 April 1919, a *hartal* coincided with the feast day of *Baisakhi*, which saw thousands of villagers from outside Amritsar gather in a walled public garden called Jallianwala Bagh. The majority likely had no idea of the recently imposed curfew or warnings from the British that all gatherings would be fired upon.

Source 7.9 is a poem by a witness that provides an Indian perspective on the massacre.

Source **7.9** A tragic poem to lost friends

SOURCE 7.9 'Khooni Vaisakhi' by Nanak Singh, translated from Punjabi by Navdeep Singh Suri

Five-thirty sharp the clock had struck
Thousands gathered in the Bagh, my friends.
Leaders came to lament the nation's woes
Taking turns to speak out loud, my friends.
Voiced grievance, hardship, anger, sorrow
Saying, no one listens to us, my friends.
What can we do, what options left?
Can't see any ray of light, my friends.
Those words forlorn, they barely voiced
Came soldiers thundering down, my friends.
At Dyer's command, those Gurkha troops
Gathered in a formation tight, my friends.
Under the tyrant's orders, they opened fire
Straight into innocent hearts, my friends.
And fire and fire and fire they did
Some thousands of bullets were shot, my friends.
Like searing hail they felled our youth
A tempest not seen before, my friends.
Riddled chests and bodies slid to the ground
Each one a target large, my friends.
Haunting cries for help did rend the sky
Smoke rose from smouldering guns, my friends.
Just a sip of water was all they sought
Valiant youth lay dying in the dust, my friends.

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That narrow lane to enter the Bagh
Sealed off on Dyer's command, my friends.
No exit, no escape, no way out was left
Making the Bagh a deathly trap, my friends.
A fortunate few somehow survived
While most died then and there, my friends.
Some ran with bullets ripping their chest
Stumbling to their painful end, my friends.
Others caught the bullet while running away
Dropping lifeless in awkward heaps, my friends.
In minutes, the Bagh so strewn with corpses
None knew just who was who, my friends.
Many of them did look like Sikhs
Amid Hindus and Muslims plenty, my friends.
In the prime of their youth, our bravehearts lay
Gasping for one last breath, my friends.
Long hair lay matted in blood and grime
In slumber deep they sleep, my friends.
Says Nanak Singh, Who knows their state
But God the One and Only, my friends.

From 'Khooni Vaisakhi: A Poem from the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, 1919' by Nanak Singh and Navdeep Singh Suri, 2019

Responding to the poem

1. What reasons are given in the poem for the gathering at Jallianwala Bagh?
2. How might the British have used the recently passed Rowlatt Act to justify their reaction to the gathering at Jallianwala Bagh?
3. How useful and reliable do you think this source might be as evidence of what happened in Amritsar in 1919?
4. Discuss: Do you think the poem is an effective way of communicating the enormity of the Amritsar Massacre? Do you think the repetition of 'my friends' serves a purpose?
5. Go to the YouTube video, available via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10528, to hear the dramatic story of how the poem was written, published, banned, lost, found and finally translated into English. Revisit question 4 after watching and discussing the YouTube video.

British Brigadier-General Dyer ordered 1650 rounds to be fired into the crowd and, as he later admitted during his official testimony to an inquiry into the incident, 'directed it to places where the crowds were thickest'. Nearly 400 people died and over 1000 were injured.

Following the massacre, Dyer made no effort to organise any medical aid – 'the wounded were left untended, the dead uncounted. Dyer simply drove away, mission completed' (Keay, 2004). The curfew also meant that family members could not aid the victims until the next morning.

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Source **7.10** A painting at the Jallianwala Bagh Martyrs' Memorial, Amritsar

SOURCE 7.10 An Indian girl looks at a painting at the Jallianwala Bagh Martyrs' Memorial in Amritsar, just days before the 100th anniversary of the massacre.

Responding to the painting

1. Compare how the British and Indians are represented in the painting. Who does the artist seem to sympathise with more?
2. How might you explain why the victims of the massacre are now referred to as 'martyrs'?
3. What effect do you think this painting might have on how modern Indians feel about their colonial past?
4. Does this source corroborate the message presented in the poem in Source 7.9? Explain why or why not.

In the following weeks, Dyer also enacted a series of humiliating punishments designed to discourage any further protests, including public beatings and an order that required all vehicles and public transport to stop and for Indians to alight from their vehicles to salute whenever a British officer went past. '[Dyer's] intention, he said, had been to exact revenge for the previous killings and to make an example which would deter further defiance anywhere in the Punjab …' (Keay, 2004).

Indians were 'enraged and bewildered' (Judd, 2005) at the lack of justice served to the perpetrators of the massacre – notably to Dyer, who was relieved of his command, but was never formally punished.

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The Jallianwala Bagh, or Amritsar, massacre was a crucial turning point in the Indian independence movement. It was 'a moment of revelation … for a generation of Anglophile Indians brought up on British propaganda that the Raj was just and uncorrupt … Tagore immediately gave back his knighthood. The Nehru's were radicalised overnight, Motilal announcing that his "blood was boiling" while Jawaharlal's was "like superheated steam". Gandhi lost his faith – intact until that point – in British justice, and wrote that he had "underrated the forces of evil" in the British empire' (Dalrymple, 2019).

Jallianwala Bagh ensured that many Indians who were still undecided about the continuation of a British presence in India turned towards a firm belief in *Swaraj*.

Activity **7.1**

Research and compare historic paintings

SOURCE 7.11 Spanish artist Francisco Goya's painting, *The Third of May, 1808*

1. Research this painting and the historic context behind it.
2. How does this painting compare to that of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre? Do the artists use similar methods to portray both the *martyrs* and the *perpetrators*?
3. In both paintings, do you think the artists were trying to provoke an emotional response from the viewer? Does that necessarily mean the painting is not a reliable source of evidence?
4. Discuss with a classmate. What evidence from the paintings could you use to support your response?

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The independence movement in the 1920s

Gandhi's influence

The years following the Jallianwala Bagh massacre witnessed the greatest display of mass non-cooperation and organised protest yet within India, with a rapid increase in the number of *satyagraha*, *swadeshi* boycotts, strikes and disturbances. Gandhi became a dominant figure in the INC and 'at his instigation the organisation was transformed into a more permanent, representative and effective institution, with the subscription reduced to attract mass membership, a new structure of committees … and more frequent meetings at national and provincial level' (Keay, 2004).

However, Gandhi called off the non-cooperation campaign following violence in **Chauri Chaura** in 1922, for which he was jailed until 1924. Upon his release, Gandhi went to his ashram (religious and spiritual retreat) and involved himself in the struggles of India's lowest caste, the *Dalit*, until 1930. This frustrated the leaders of the INC, who considered it a secondary issue to the more important campaign for independence.

Chauri Chaura a village in north-eastern India where, in February 1922, Indian protestors clashed with local police and set fire to the police station, killing 22 Indian policemen. Gandhi denounced the violence, calling off the civil disobedience campaign as a result.

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE SATURDAY, MARCH 11, 1922.

MAHATMA ARRESTED.

MR. MONTAGU EXPLAINS.

WHY MONTAGU RESIGNED.

ON CHARGE OF SEDITION.

HIS APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

KEEP PERFECT PEACE.

HAVE NO HARTALS AND NO DEMONSTRATIONS.

CONCENTRATE ON CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

MR. EDWIN MONTAGU.

LALAJI SENTENCED

ALSO ONE YEAR'S SIMPLE

PACIFIC TREATY "A FARCE."

THE ENGINEERING DISPUTE

"FAILURE OF GENOA CONFERENCE."

SOURCE 7.12 The front page of *The Bombay Chronicle* reports on Gandhi's arrest, 1922

The Muslim League

Meanwhile, the Muslim League continued to share the INC's belief in *Swaraj* – provided guarantees were made to protect India's Muslim minority. Jinnah was president of the Muslim League when in March 1929 he presented to the INC a 14-point plan for the reformation of India's constitution.

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Source **7.13** Jinnah's plan, 1929 (extract)

SOURCE 7.13 Extract from Jinnah's 14-point plan

> **4.** In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one third. ...
>
> **6.** Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority. ...
>
> **7.** Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities. ...
>
> **12.** The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 'Fourteen Points', presented to the council meeting of the All-India Muslim League, 9 March 1929

Responding to the extract

1. What do Jinnah's proposals reveal about his concerns for Muslims in India?
2. How does Jinnah attempt to ensure the protection of Muslim culture in a Hindu-dominated India?
3. Given that India had a Hindu majority in most parts and a Muslim majority in fewer parts, do Jinnah's proposals seem reasonable? Could they be difficult to implement? Explain.
4. Is there any evidence that suggests Jinnah might be considering a separate Muslim nation?

Jinnah's proposals were ultimately rejected by the INC and the relationship between the Muslim League and the INC continued to weaken. The Muslim League worried that, come independence, Indians would be replacing a British master with a Hindu one.

The Indian National Congress

Nehru was elected as President of the INC in December 1929 and made a historic announcement that the goal of the INC was now Indian independence, rather than its previous objective of dominion status within the British Empire. Gandhi was back from his ashram and it seemed the independence movement was once again gaining momentum.

Source **7.14** The Lahore Congress session, December 1929

SOURCE 7.14 Video footage of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Motilal Nehru and others at the Lahore Congress session, 31 December 1929 (01:22). Scan the QR code to watch the video.

Responding to the video

1. How does the narrator describe Jawaharlal Nehru? From whose perspective is this likely to be?
2. What impression of the popularity of the INC do you get from the video?
3. 'Independence Day' is declared for 26 January 1929. What does the video suggest this provides Gandhi?

The Dandi Salt March

Before taking action, Gandhi made a final appeal to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, with a list of demands that included halving land revenue, fixing the value of the rupee, prohibiting alcohol, protecting the Indian cloth trade, releasing political prisoners and abolishing the salt tax. However, 'no one expected Irwin to deliver on such a package. Massive civil disobedience was to be launched in the name of man's inalienable right to the untaxed enjoyment of a common condiment' (Keay, 2004).

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Because Gandhi had always believed that 'any secrecy hinders the real spirit of democracy', he had written again to Lord Irwin, informing him of his plans for the march.

Source **7.15** 'Your sincere friend, M.K. Ghandi'

SOURCE 7.15 Letter from Gandhi to Lord Irwin, 2 March 1930

Dear Friend,

Before embarking on civil disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would approach you and find a way out.

My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow human beings, even though they do the greatest wrong to me and mine. Whilst, therefore, I hold the British rule to be a curse, I do not intend harm to a single Englishman or to any legitimate interest he may have in India.

... And why do I regard the British rule as a curse? It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford ... [T]he British system seems to be designed to crush the very life out of him. Even the salt he must use to live is taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him ... [If] you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the 11th day of this month, I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the salt laws ... The wonder is that we have submitted to the cruel monopoly for so long.

It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready, in a disciplined manner, to take up the work after me, in the act of disobeying the Salt Act to lay themselves open to the penalties of a law that should have never disfigured the Statute-book ...

This letter is not in any way intended as a threat but is a simple and sacred duty peremptory on a civil resister ...

I remain

Your sincere friend

(Sd.) M.K. Gandhi

Gandhi, letter to Lord Irwin, 2 March 1930

Responding to the letter

1. How would you describe the tone of this letter? Why might Gandhi have chosen to express himself in this way?
2. What method of resistance is Gandhi saying he will use in this letter, and how does he intend to carry it out?
3. What does Gandhi say he expects the British to do, and what the Indian response could be as a result?
4. What might someone in Lord Irwin's position have thought about a leading protestor sending a polite letter giving prior warning of a crime and promising non-violence?
5. Lord Irwin never replied to this letter, although his office acknowledged that he had received it. What could this suggest about the relationship between Gandhi and the Raj?

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On 12 March 1930, 61-year-old Gandhi began the Salt March, walking from his ashram with his followers about 380 kilometres to the beach town of Dandi on the Arabian Sea, a journey that took almost a month. Along the way, Gandhi and his ashram followers were joined by thousands of supporters and upon reaching the beach, following Gandhi's example, they scooped salt from the beaches into their hands in defiance of the law.

The subsequent civil disobedience campaign continued for months and up to 60 000 supporters were arrested and imprisoned. This included Nehru in April and Gandhi in early May, when the movement ultimately ended. This was the greatest *satyagraha* the British had ever seen.

Sources **7.16–7.20** The Dandi Salt March and Dharasana Raid, 1930

SOURCE 7.16 Video footage of Gandhi and his followers marching to Dandi, March 1930 (00:45). Scan the QR code to watch the video.

SOURCE 7.17 Gandhi scooping up salt from the beach, 6 April 1930

SOURCE 7.18 Gandhi (second from left, in the background of the image) and his supporters picking up salty clay, 6 April 1930

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SOURCE 7.19 The raid on the Dharasana Salt Works, 21 May 1930. Following Gandhi's arrest in early May, 2500 Dharasana Salt workers staged a non-violent raid on 21 May 1930. However, they were met by brutal guards hired by the British, who beat them with *lathis* (clubs). This violent event resulted in international condemnation of the British authorities in India.

SOURCE 7.20 Journalist Webb Miller reports for the *New York World-Telegram*, 22 May 1930

> The scene at Dharasana during the raid was astonishing and baffling to the Western mind accustomed to see violence met by violence, to expect a blow to be returned and a fight result. During the morning I saw and heard hundreds of blows inflicted by the police, but saw not a single blow returned by the volunteers. So far as I could observe the volunteers implicitly obeyed Gandhi's creed of non-violence. In no case did I see a volunteer even raise an arm to deflect the blows from lathis. There were no outcries from the beaten Swarajists, only groans after they had submitted to their beating.

Webb Miller (Special UP Correspondent for India), *The New York World-Telegram*, Dharasana Camp, Surat District, Bombay Presidency, 22 May 1930

Responding to the sources

1. What do the sources suggest about the popularity of Gandhi and the likely success of this campaign?
2. How might the scenes depicted in the sources increase British anxieties about Gandhi's methods?
3. What was the British response to the campaign? How might this response have impacted the independence movement?
4. Synthesise evidence from the sources in this section to discuss the extent of Gandhi's influence on the Indian independence movement in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

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Gandhi was named *Time Magazine's* Man of the Year for 1930. Gandhi used the international media successfully to promote Indian independence worldwide and put pressure on the British, even granting interviews to the *New York Times* and *Time Magazine* while on the Salt March. Considering their own contentious history with the British Empire following the 1776 American Revolution, the Salt March inspired wide interest in the United States as well as other British colonies and former colonies.

Why might it have helped the Indian independence movement to harness the support of the international media, especially in the United States?

With no obvious end to the campaign of civil disobedience, Gandhi was released from jail and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in March 1931. Political prisoners were released and Indians were allowed to manufacture their own salt, also gaining some equality in negotiations. But the Pact also retained British control over Indian defence and foreign policy and ignored police brutalities. Some Indians considered the Pact a success. Others, like Nehru, considered it a betrayal.

The Dandi Salt March was to be the zenith of Gandhi's influence on the Indian independence movement. The INC-led civil disobedience campaign that had captured the world's attention was officially called off in the mid-1930s. From then on, more pragmatic politicians like Jinnah and Nehru took the lead, while Gandhi's influence lessened.

Activity **7.2**

Research and debate the effectiveness of other examples of civil disobedience

Research a well-known civil disobedience campaign, such as the fight for women's suffrage in Great Britain in the early 1900s, the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the United States, or the Wave Hill walk-off or the Franklin River Dam protests in Australia.

1. How do they compare with Gandhi's campaign in India? Do the groups use similar methods to portray both the *victims* and the *perpetrators*?
2. Evaluate how effective the campaign you have researched was in achieving its aims. What evidence could you use to support your response?

The *Government of India Act 1935*

The *Government of India Act 1935* was drafted following three 'Round Table' Conferences between the British Government and Indian politicians, held in London between 1930 and 1932. For the British, the intent of the Act was 'the continuation of the British control of India, and the deflection of the challenge to the Raj posed by Gandhi, Nehru and the nationalist movement' (Muldoon, 2009). The INC described the Act as 'a slave constitution that attempted to strengthen and perpetuate the economic bondage of India'. However, 'the true legacy of the Act was not a strengthened colonial regime, but in fact a powerfully legitimized and popular nationalist organization in India' (Muldoon, 2009).

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Source **7.21** Details of the *Government of India Act 1935*

SOURCE 7.21 Political historian Roy Douglas outlines the Act

> Burma was to be separated from India. Eleven autonomous Provinces were to be established, which would have directly elected Legislative Assemblies on a much wider franchise than before, although they still fell far short of universal suffrage. The old system of diarchy ... would end ... A Federal legislature for the whole of India would be set up when adequate support had been received from the Princely States. It would have control over matters of general importance, including currency and tariffs. Defence, foreign relations and religious affairs would remain the responsibility of the Viceroy.

Roy Douglas, *Liquidation of Empire: The Decline of the British Empire*, 2002, p. 22

Responding to the sources

1. What might Indians consider to be some of the positive aspects of the Act?
2. Why might the INC have described this Act as 'a slave constitution'?
3. How do you think the Act might impact the Indian independence movement, both positively and negatively?

The Act was 'the pivot point in the late history of British India, both the last stand of the Raj and the start of India's final march to independence and partition. This moment was … both the end of the beginning and the beginning of the end' (Muldoon, 2009). Denis Judd agrees, stating that 'the passing of the 1935 Act seemed virtually to guarantee India independence in the near future' (2005).

SOURCE 7.22 Voters wait in line at a polling station in Bombay, 1937

How might Indians have felt going to the polls in 1937?

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While the Raj maintained control over the central government, the 1937 general elections in the newly autonomous provinces saw the INC win 70% of the vote. Nehru expected those elected to resign in protest against the 'new charter of slavery', but the leaders of the INC ultimately decided to allow those elected to participate in government. Importantly, 'thanks to the Government of India Act … the party now had popular validation as well, putting paid to one of the Raj's most consistent defenses against the nationalists: the argument that congress did not represent India' (Muldoon, 2009).

However, the 1937 election success of the INC contributed to an escalation of the tension between Muslims and Hindus. Jinnah declared: 'Islam was in danger and that Pakistan was the answer to their sufferings' (Panigrahi, 2004). His calls for the creation of a separate Muslim state, Pakistan, would become more insistent as the independence movement progressed.

On a personal level, the relationship between Jinnah and Gandhi – two of India's great independence leaders – was weakening alongside the bonds between their organisations, the INC and the Muslim League. Jinnah was deeply concerned with the increasing religious tension in Indian politics, and Gandhi was philosophically opposed to the idea of carving up India.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How significant to the Indian independence movement were key events, individuals and policies in the interwar years?

The interwar years in India saw tensions finally boil over, with the culmination of years of repression by the British being countered by the sweeping success of the Indian civil disobedience campaign, the climax of Gandhi's influence and the first legislative steps taken towards granting India more autonomy from British rule. Indians had not yet achieved total independence, and with war on the horizon, the movement was riven with internal divisions and still far from reaching its final objective.

1. Create a timeline of events from 1919 to 1939

Create a timeline to illustrate the key events, policies and developments in the Indian independence movement from 1919 to 1939.

2. Write a paragraph in response to the sub-question

Synthesise the evidence provided in this sub-question to evaluate which event, policy or individual you think had the most significant influence on the Indian independence movement from 1919 to 1939.

3. Compare your decision with a classmate/s or have a class debate

Discuss why you agree or disagree about which individual or event had the most significant influence on the Indian independence movement from 1919 to 1939.

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SUB-QUESTION 2: How and why did World War II impact the Indian independence movement?

The outbreak of World War II disrupted the momentum that the Indian independence movement had built throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Historian Denis Judd describes India's entry into the war.

Source **7.23** India's entry into the war

SOURCE 7.23 Denis Judd writes about the outbreak of war

> The outbreak of war in September 1939 violently shattered the relatively cosy impression that India was poised on the brink of Dominion status and independence. Although India had been treated as a proto-Dominion since 1917, and had been granted substantial international recognition at the end of the First World War, including membership of the League of Nations, this was to count for nothing as the war began. Despite the relatively democratic apparatus installed as a result of the 1935 Government of India Act, no consultative or democratic process was followed. India's status was suddenly and shamefully exposed: essentially that of a dependency over whom the Viceroy could rule as an autocrat. Much Indian goodwill, especially within Congress, was lost as a result of this high-handed official attitude to the country's involvement in the war.

Denis Judd, *Lion and the Tiger: The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600–1947*, 2005, p. 151

Responding to the source

1. On the outbreak of war, Viceroy Lord Linlithgow announced India's involvement on the Allied side. How might Indians have felt when war was declared on their behalf without consultation?
2. How does the source compare what appeared to be India's status versus the reality of it status?
3. Why might Judd have described the Viceroy as an 'autocrat'?
4. What does this source suggest about the perceived successes of the independence movement in the interwar years?

Ironically, had the Indian leadership been consulted, it is likely they would have lent Indian support to the British war effort. Many Indian politicians had a long record of anti-fascism. Nehru, for example, declared: 'in a conflict between democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism and aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of democracy'. However, the reality seemed to be that 'possession of India underpinned Britain's claim to global power' (Jackson, Khan & Singh, 2016) and the British were not willing to take the risk that one of their most valuable colonies would not support the war effort or – worse – fall into the hands of the Axis powers.

As it had been during World War I, the Indian contribution to the British Empire's war effort was vital. Just over 2.5 million Indians served in the armed forces, and around 14 million labourers worked in factories and on farms to support the Allied war effort. India also provided more resources than any other country in the Empire, except Britain, supplying grain and foodstuffs, coal, iron ore, timber, textiles, leather, steel, cement, armaments and money (Mukerjee, 2010). By the end of the war, Britain owed its colonies approximately $3 billion, of which over $1 billion was owed to India.

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In what was promising to be a war whose outcome rested on access to a vast depth of resources, it seems the British hoped to put any notions of Indian independence on hold in favour of using the empire's resources to their full advantage; and none more so than steadfast imperialists like British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, eager as they were to avoid what Churchill described as the 'liquidation of the British Empire'.

However, in the early years of the war, British fortunes were mixed, and they relied heavily on the contribution of men and resources from the empire. Despite winning the Battle of Britain in June 1940, the British had continued to lose ground to Axis forces in Europe, North Africa and Asia, and had to call on the United States for support, borrowing $5 billion over the course of the war. Significantly, with that funding came considerable pressure from the United States to allow more self-determination in British colonies, as well as calls to abolish the British Empire altogether.

The Atlantic Charter

In August 1941, Prime Minister Churchill and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Atlantic Charter, a document that set out an ethical platform for their continued wars against the Axis Powers.

Sources **7.24** and **7.25** The Atlantic Charter, 1941

SOURCE 7.24 Elements of the Atlantic Charter, 1941

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt, *The Atlantic Charter*, 14 August 1941

SOURCE 7.25 Roosevelt's influence

Roosevelt held the British Empire in low esteem, and claimed that 'the British would take land anywhere in the world, even if it were only a rock or a sandbar'. It was, therefore, not surprising that the Atlantic Charter included a reference to 'the right of all people to choose the form of Government under which they live'. Although Churchill tried to exempt the British Empire from this stout declaration of principle, he failed, and on his return to Britain was reduced to the blustering and misleading assertion that it 'was primarily intended to apply to Europe'.

Denis Judd, *Lion and the Tiger: The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600–1947*, 2005, p. 159

Responding to the sources

1. In your own words, summarise the three major principles of the Atlantic Charter.
2. How could such a document undermine British actions and motivations in India?
3. How might India's independence advocates have used this document to further their cause?

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The Quit India Movement

The way in which India was brought into the war without consultation sparked upset in India as nationalist leaders had believed there was a level of mutual respect between the two nations. Gandhi and Jinnah supported Nehru's belief in the Allied fight against fascism, although Jinnah more so in the hopes of British approval for the postwar creation of Pakistan, a Muslim state. It seems that both the INC and the Muslim League 'saw the war as an opportunity to extract concessions from the colonial masters, although they profoundly differed as to goals' (Gluckstein, 2012).

By mid-1942, the Japanese Army had cut through Britain's defensive forces in Asia and was fast approaching the eastern borders of India. Once Burma fell to the Japanese, Calcutta (Kolkata) was the only remaining eastern industrial city in the British Empire and was becoming increasingly strategically important to the war effort.

ARMS FOR THE EAST

"How about shipping this thing now?"

SOURCE 7.26 'Arms for the East', *Punch*, December 1941

Why might Churchill be trying to delay Dominion status for India in 1941? Given the progress of the war by 1941, does Churchill's attitude seem wise? How might Indian nationalists react to this? How does the message of this cartoon agree or disagree with the sentiments represented in the Atlantic Charter, signed four months previously?

Some nationalists in India 'were prepared to welcome the Japanese as liberators, while others were soon disillusioned by Japanese brutality and by the subordination of the economic and material resources of conquered countries to Japan's war needs' (Judd, 2005).

? Why do you think Gluckstein described the differences (between INC and Muslim League goals) as 'profound'? Was the difference actually irreconcilable?

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Source **7.27** A *Punch* cartoon, 1942

THE DELIVERER

"Have no fear: I come to set you free from your chains."

SOURCE 7.27 'The Deliverer', *Punch*, 1942

Responding to the cartoon

1. Why might some Indians have seen the Japanese as liberators? Why might some have thought Japanese rule would be no different from British rule?
2. How do you think the figure of India in the image is responding to the Japanese 'promise'?
3. What do you notice about how the 'chains' are represented in the image?
4. What message do you think the cartoon conveys about a possible Japanese occupation of India?
5. How has that message been conveyed through the depictions of the two characters, and the caption?
6. Would you expect some Indians to agree with that message, and others to disagree? Explain.

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Pressure was mounting on the British to solve the issue of India's postwar status and stabilise the country. Following the fall of Singapore in February 1942, the British dispatched the **Cripps Mission** to India with a draft Declaration that India would be granted dominion status at the end of the war, but that there would be few changes to the unpopular 1935 *Government of India Act*. Some historians suggest the Cripps Mission was doomed to fail, with Roy Douglas pointing out, 'why should the Indians follow a course of action which more or less committed them to the Allied side, when it looked as if the Allies might soon be defeated and Indians might need to negotiate with the victorious Japanese?' (2002). Some also blame prominent individuals in the British administration, notably Churchill, for sabotaging the process by not throwing the full weight of their support behind it. 'Against his long and fiercely held imperialist prejudices, Churchill was forced by the pressure of Cripps, his Labour colleagues, and the Americans to acquiesce in the offer of post-war Indian Independence' (Moore, 1979).

Cripps Mission British Labour Party Senior Minister and member of the War Cabinet, Stafford Cripps, was sent to India in late March 1942 to negotiate with Indian leaders to secure Indian cooperation and support for the British war effort by promising elections and dominion status to India at the end of the war

The Cripps Mission ultimately failed when the INC rejected the draft Declaration. Indian independence would not be immediately granted, and there was a provision included in the draft Declaration that 'His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the Defence of India as part of their world war effort'. Gandhi described the proposal as a 'post-dated cheque' and seized the opportunity to call for the immediate withdrawal of the British.

Source **7.28** 'Quit India'

SOURCE 7.28 Gandhi seizes an opportunity

... after the disappointment of the Cripps Mission, and at a time when the first Japanese bombs were falling on Indian installations, Gandhi in particular lost patience. Arguing first that only immediate British withdrawal and a declaration of Indian neutrality could save India from Japanese attack, then that only immediate independence would ensure whole-hearted resistance to the Japanese, he secured support for what he called a final 'do or die' challenge to British rule.

John Keay, *India: A History*, 2004, p. 498

Responding to the source

1. What are Gandhi's two requests from the British? Why do you think he changes his request?
2. Why might Gandhi think an independent India could resist the Japanese advances better than a British-controlled India?

Debate in the Working Committee, the INC's leading body, was fierce and complex. Some, including Nehru, believed Gandhi's plan of forcing the withdrawal of the British from India could lead to imperial Japan conquering India, and the Indians becoming part of the Axis war effort instead. Some members, however, thought the British had been given too many opportunities to grant independence already, and a line needed to be drawn. In the end, the INC approved the 'Quit India' resolution and agreed that Gandhi would lead the non-violent mass movement. The INC approved the 'Quit India' resolution and agreed that Gandhi would lead the non-violent mass movement. Like the salt *satyagraha* in 1930 and the Rowlatt-era *hartals* in the 1920s, it was supposed to be a peaceful call for the end of British rule in India.

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Sources **7.29–7.31** The Quit India campaign

SOURCE 7.29 Strikes, boycotts and violence

> It was, of course, to be non-violent, but [Gandhi's] pre-emptive arrest, and that of other Congress leaders, in August 1942 made this 'Quit India' movement a more random, spontaneous and violent outburst than any of its predecessors. As well as strikes and boycotts, telegraph and railway lines were sabotaged, police and railway stations were blown up, and in large areas of Bihar and eastern UP the government temporarily ceased to function. Viceroy Linlithgow reckoned it 'the most serious rebellion since 1857'. Given the wartime paranoia, he ordered massive repression, which involved the deployment of tens of thousands of troops, a like number of arrests and perhaps a thousand deaths.

John Keay, *India: A History*, 2004, p. 498

SOURCE 7.30 Video of Quit India demonstrations, 1942 (02:18). Scan the QR code to watch the video.

SOURCE 7.31 Tear gas used on a crowd of Quit India protestors in Bombay (Mumbai), August 1942

Responding to the sources

1. What might the 'wartime paranoia' mentioned by Keay be referring to?
2. Why might it be important for the British to minimise the kind of disruptions mentioned by Keay?
3. How does the narrator of the video describe the British and the Indians? From whose perspective might this video be?
4. What forms of civil disobedience are depicted in the video?
5. How does the video demonstrate Gandhi's policy of *satyagraha* being followed?
6. How does the British response to the Quit India campaign compare to their response to Gandhi's other *satyagraha*?

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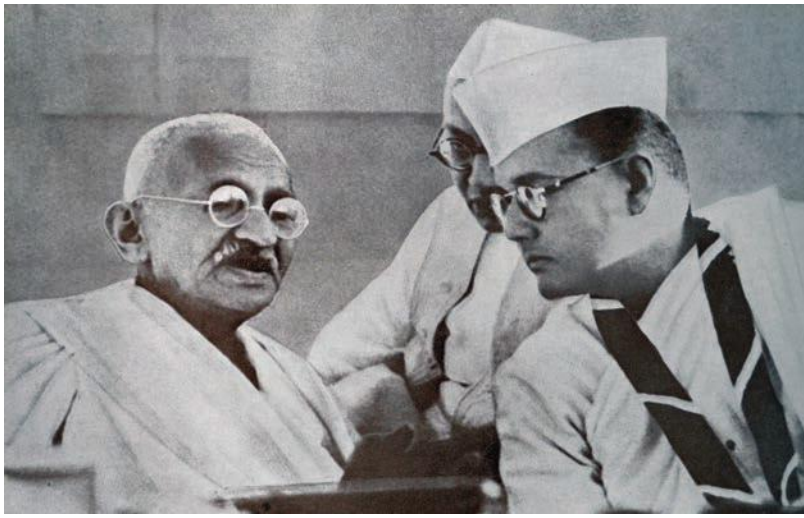
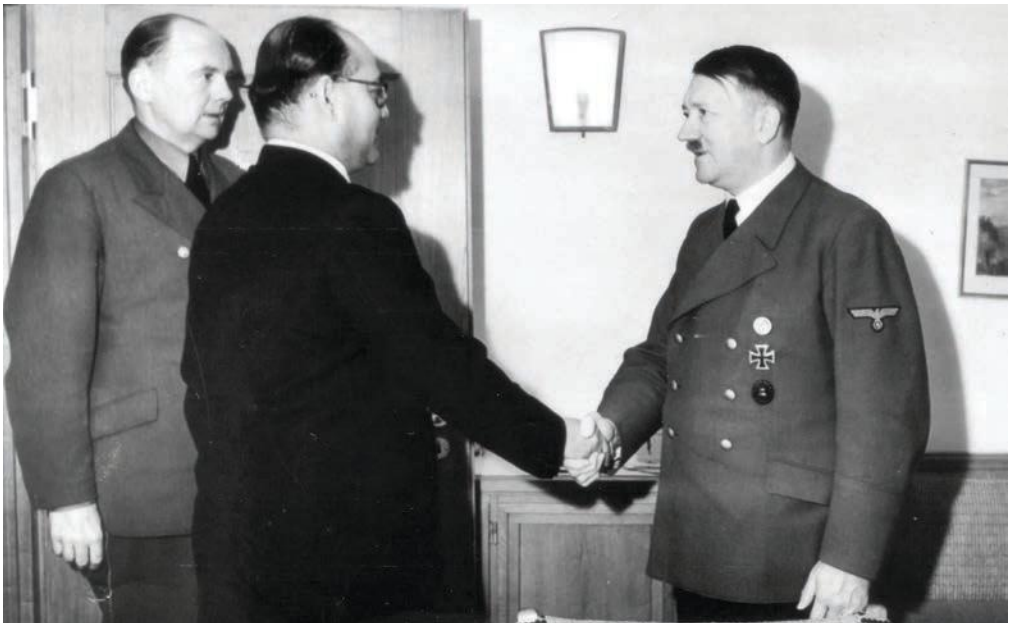
Quit India was not as successful as past civil disobedience campaigns, such as the Salt Marches in the 1930s. The Raj, aided by the still loyal Indian Army and the Indian police, eventually restored order and India continued to contribute significantly to the war. Crucially, 'the arrest of [the INC] leaders meant that the party was unable to direct the movement or to profit from it, and their detention for most of what remained of the war meant that the party would be singularly ill-prepared for the post-war endgame' (Keay, 2004). The Muslim League, led by Jinnah, stepped into the power vacuum left by the absence of INC leaders and 'unchallenged by either the British or the Congress continued to proselytise, organise and mobilise' (Keay, 2004). The League followed up Congress's 'Quit India' resolution with one demanding that Britain 'Divide and Quit', again calling for the creation of a separate Muslim state.



SOURCE 7.32 Gandhi and Bose at the 51st Indian National Congress in 1938, where Bose was elected President

Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army (INA)

Not all Indians thought the country should be supporting the British war effort, believing that if the British were defeated, India may be freed from the Empire. Subhas Chandra Bose (1897–1945) was an ambitious Indian nationalist, dedicated to achieving independence from the British. Well-educated and trained to be a member of the Indian Civil Service, Bose had joined Gandhi and the nationalist movement in 1921. He led an active political career and was elected President of the INC in 1938. Despite respecting him greatly, Bose doubted the effectiveness of Gandhi's non-violent methods against British rule and became increasingly forceful in his calls for Indian independence.



SOURCE 7.33 Hitler and Bose meet in Germany in May 1942

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Increasing tensions between Bose and the other INC leaders over several issues forced him to resign as President in 1939. On the outbreak of World War II, Bose saw the opportunity to convince the British that 'those who are slaves at home cannot fight for the freedom of others' (Bose, 1939) and he urged Gandhi and the INC to pursue a more unflinching policy towards British rule in India. However, he was eventually ousted from the INC and turned his attention to alliances with the Axis powers.

With help from the Japanese, Bose founded the Indian National Army (INA) in 1942, which was mostly made up of Indian prisoners of war captured by the Japanese from the British Indian Army. Bose was considered to be charismatic and motivational and delivered one of his most famous speeches, 'Give me blood and I promise you freedom', to the INA while fighting in Burma in 1944.

Source **7.34** 'Give me blood and I promise you freedom'

SOURCE 7.34 Subhas Bose encourages INA troops in Burma

Friends! ... I want you to realize once again what a golden opportunity you have for winning freedom. The British are engaged in a worldwide struggle and in the course of struggle they have suffered defeat after defeat on so many fronts. The enemy having being thus considerably weakened, our fight for liberty has become very much easier than it was five years ago. Such a rare and God-given opportunity comes once in a century for liberating our motherland from the British yoke ...

Unfortunately, ever since the great fight of 1857, our countrymen are disarmed, whereas the enemy is armed to the teeth. Without arms and without a modern army it is impossible for a disarmed people to win freedom in this modern age ...

No one here should have the desire to live to enjoy freedom. A long fight is still in front of us. We should have but one desire today – the desire to die so that India may live – the desire to face a martyr's death, so that the path to freedom may be paved with the martyr's blood.

Friends! My comrades in the War of Liberation! Today I demand of you one thing, above all. I demand of you blood. It is blood alone that can avenge the blood that the enemy has spilt. It is blood alone that can pay the price of freedom. Give me blood and I promise you freedom!

Subhas Bose, extract from a speech made to INA troops in Burma, 1944

Responding to the source

How does Bose's approach to achieving Indian independence differ from Gandhi's?

In late 1944 and early 1945, the British repelled the Japanese advances, killing over half of the INA forces, and eventually pushing them back down the Malay Peninsula and taking them prisoner when the British recaptured Singapore. Bose was killed in an aircraft crash over Taiwan in 1945 while on his way to the Soviet Union.

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Bose's attempt during World War II to rid India of British rule with the help of Nazi Germany and imperial Japan left a problematic legacy. His collaboration with fascist powers raises moral and ethical questions, notably his apparent reluctance to openly criticise Nazi Germany's antisemitic policies, or to offer refuge in India to those being persecuted. But he is now honoured in India as a national hero of the independence movement, especially in Bengal where he was born.

SOURCE 7.35 A new statue of Bose erected in 2022 at the India Gate in New Delhi

What influence do you think Bose and the INA had on the Indian independence movement during World War II? Discuss how far the actions of Bose and the INA challenge the widely held belief that Gandhi was the most important individual in the Indian independence movement.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

How and why did World War II impact the Indian independence movement?

World War II had a damaging impact on India as a whole. As a result of India's contribution to the Allied war effort, the economy had suffered, with widespread famine and shortages. Politically, the progress of the independence campaign had been delayed following the imprisonment of the INC leaders as a result of 'Quit India' and there was tension brewing as factions began vying for leadership when the seemingly inevitable postwar independence came. While what the end of British rule would look like was still unknown, it is clear that by the end of World War II the British would no longer be able to ignore Indian calls for independence. 'The war, to a great extent, transformed the nature of Indo-British relations. It certainly changed the course of events and the future history of India' (Panigrahi, 2004).

1. Using the information provided, and your own independent research, create and complete a table like the one below to summarise the impact of World War II on the Indian independence movement.

	Impact on the independence movement
Key events	
India's entrance into the war	
Atlantic Charter	
Cripps Mission	
Quit India	
Key personalities	
Gandhi, Nehru and the INC	
Churchill and Linlithgow	
Bose and the INA	

2. Which aspect of World War II that you have noted in the table do you think had the greatest impact on the Indian independence movement? Discuss both positive and negative impacts and use examples to support your response.

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SUB-QUESTION 3: What led to Partition and why was it so violent?

As World War II came to an end, Britain recognised its own weakened position, and the strength of global anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist sentiments that had emerged postwar. In 1945, the newly elected Labour Party in Great Britain had promised India independence. Finally, after over 50 years of agitation, it seemed that India's independence was on the horizon. Sadly, this momentous climax of decades of struggle was to be overshadowed by the horrifying violence of the **Partition of India**.

Partition of India the division of British India into two separate countries, Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan, both of which would be independent of Britain

Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, Jinnah and the Muslim League were generally supportive of the civil disobedience campaign organised by the INC, Nehru and Gandhi and shared their belief in *Swaraj*. Jinnah was constantly advocating for the rights of the Indian Muslim minority, as demonstrated by his involvement in the 1916 Lucknow Pact and his 1929 14-point plan for reformation of the Indian Constitution. But Jinnah's relationship with Gandhi deteriorated during the 1930s, and he had growing concerns about religious tensions and violence in Indian politics. In 1940, in what became known as his 'Lahore address', Jinnah officially called for the creation of a separate Muslim nation. While the Muslim League had not enjoyed widespread support to this point, from 1937 onwards, and especially after the Lahore address, the popularity of the Muslim League extended to the broader Muslim population in India.

Source **7.36** 'Separate homelands'

SOURCE 7.36 Extract from Jinnah's Lahore address to the Muslim League, 1940

> The only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states ... '
>
> It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders; and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality ... The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies ... They neither intermarry nor inter-dine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions ...
>
> To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent, and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 'Presidential Address to the Muslim League', March 1940

Responding to the extract

1. What does Jinnah suggest is the 'only course open to us' in his Lahore address?
2. According to Jinnah, how is the Muslim–Hindu division more than simply a difference of religion?
3. What does Jinnah suggest may happen if India remains a single state?
4. Why might some Indians have found Jinnah's argument convincing?

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The arrest of so many political leaders following the Quit India movement in 1942 left a vacuum for other leaders to step into. This created new possibilities for Jinnah and the Muslim League. In India's 1945 general election, the Muslim League won 75% of all Muslim votes, well up from the 5% of the 1937 elections. Jinnah took advantage of this increased support and 'kept demanding nothing less than a sovereign Muslim nation of *Pakistan* ("Land of the Pure"), as Muslim India's post-war reward for the service of its loyal Muslim troops on all fronts and for the support Muslim leaders like himself gave the viceroy and his governors' (Wolpert, 2009).

SOURCE 7.37 Members of the All-Indian Muslim League demonstrating in favour of the Partition of India and the creation of the state of Pakistan in London, August 1946

What might Muslims living in London hope to achieve by participating in Direct Action Day? How might the British Government have reacted to this action?

Direct Action Day

In early 1946, the British established a committee that set out to secure a unified post-independence India. The British intended to act as mediators between the INC and the Muslim League during talks to establish a new Indian Constitution. The INC wanted a unified independent India, while the Muslim League wanted the creation of a separate Muslim state, Pakistan. The INC and the Muslim League could also not agree on the composition of the interim government, nor on the new Constituent Assembly (to be created to draft India's Constitution).

After months of intense political debate, the INC pulled out of the talks, warning that 'the participation of Muslims in the proposed constitution-making machinery is fraught with danger', and in July 1946 Jinnah announced the League was also stepping away from the negotiations.

Source **7.38** 'The time has come'

SOURCE 7.38 Jinnah makes a call for Direct Action, 29 July 1946

> **Muslims of India would not rest contented with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan … the time has come for the Muslim Nation to resort to Direct Action to achieve Pakistan, to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and get rid of the present British slavery and contemplated future caste-Hindu domination.**
>
> Muhammad Ali Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, in a statement made on 29 July 1946

Responding to Jinnah

1. What reasons does Jinnah give for calling for Direct Action?
2. How might Jinnah's language indicate how he views the INC and British?
3. How might the failure of the 1946 talks, and Jinnah's statement calling for Direct Action, have impacted the Indian independence movement?

A universal Muslim *hartal* was called for 16 August 1946. Jinnah asked all Muslims to come together to protest peacefully, but just exactly what he meant by Direct Action, and against whom, was not altogether clear.

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In India, Muslim League leaders gave speeches. There were reports that some had made statements that Muslims did not swear by non-violence. Some crowds were so fired up it seemed likely violence and looting would follow. In a letter to his friend in Delhi two weeks after Direct Action Day, Nirmal Kumar Bose described the Muslim crowds heading to meetings and how 'everyone noticed with some anxiety that the processionists carried lathis and brick bats in hand' (quoted in Guha, 2014).

Sources **7.39** and **7.40** Direct Action Day, August 1946

SOURCE 7.39 A section of the huge Muslim crowd gathered in Calcutta (Kolkata) on Direct Action Day

SOURCE 7.40 A Calcutta street on Direct Action Day

Responding to the photographs

1. Compare and contrast the photographs. Do they both suggest Direct Action Day could be violent?
2. How might non-Muslim residents of Calcutta have felt watching these crowds and mobs gathering?
3. How might Jinnah have felt about the two scenes depicted in the two photos? Would he likely see one or both as positive elements of his Direct Action plan?

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In Calcutta, Direct Action Day quickly turned violent. This was the first major bloodshed of India's independence movement between Hindus and Muslims and has been called the Great Calcutta Killings. It was characterised by violence, looting, rape, killing and forced conversion. While numbers are contested, it is estimated at least 15 000 Hindus and Muslims were killed or injured, and some historians have described it as resembling an act of genocide.

Source **7.41** The aftermath of Direct Action Day

SOURCE 7.41 The aftermath of Direct Action Day in Calcutta, August 1946

Responding to the photograph

1. How do you think Hindu and Muslim leaders would respond to this, and similar scenes, in terms of:
   - personal emotional reactions
   - the impact of the killings on their campaigns for independence
   - the risks involved in particular tactics such as large rallies
   - the need to take care with messaging to crowds of supporters
   - anxiety about how British authorities might respond?
2. How might Hindu and Muslim leaders differ and agree in their responses to the above aspects?

It seemed that little was done initially to quell the violence and the British were criticised for their slow response. Six British battalions had to be deployed to restore order, with some critics suggesting they only stepped in when Europeans potentially came under threat from the violent crowds.

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Sources **7.42–7.44** Riots in Calcutta, 1946

SOURCE 7.42 Calcutta policemen using tear gas bombs, 24 August 1946

SOURCE 7.43 A Calcutta street, August 1946. Similar photographs by Margaret Bourke-White were published by *Life* magazine on 9 September 1946, under the title 'The Vultures of Calcutta', to show the gruesome aftermath of the riots. It is not recorded whether the bodies on the ground were Hindu, Muslim or both.

SOURCE 7.44 Recollections of William Phillips Talbot, US journalist, India observer and later US diplomat, 2007

> Watching a great city feed on its own flesh is a disturbing experience ... After four days of uncontrolled fury a shattered city remained ... Dazed, suspicious survivors showed none of the camaraderie and mutual sympathy which tends to spring up among victims of a severe bombing, instead, their eyes revealed hatred, bitterness, distrust, and fright ...
>
> Burnt-out automobiles stood across traffic lanes. A pall of smoke hung over many blocks, and buzzards sailed in great, leisurely circles. Most overwhelming, however, were the neglected human casualties: fresh bodies, bodies grotesquely pleated in the tropical heat, slashed bodies, bodies bludgeoned to death, bodies piled on pushcarts, bodies caught in drains, bodies stacked high in vacant lots, bodies, bodies.

William Phillips Talbot, *An American Witness to India's Partition*, 2007, p. 192

Responding to the sources

1. Synthesise the evidence from the eyewitness account and photos to explain the outcome of Direct Action Day in Calcutta.
2. How might the dates of these sources affect their usefulness and reliability in understanding of the events in Calcutta on Direct Action Day?
3. Collectively, do you think these sources are sufficient for you to gain a clear and credible sense of what happened on Direct Action Day in Calcutta?
4. How do you think eyewitness reports and photos like these may have influenced leaders like Nehru, Jinnah and the British, represented by Viceroy Mountbatten, in their independence negotiations?

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The violence raged in Calcutta for almost a week and spread to neighbouring provinces, including a wave of retributive rioting in October in Noakhali in Eastern Bengal, where the majority Muslim population targeted Hindus.

SOURCE 7.45 Telegram to the Bengal Congress Office from the East Bengali District of Noakhali, 322 kilometres away, 15 October 1946

HOUSES BURNT ON MASS SCALE HUNDREDS BURNT TO DEATH HUNDREDS KILLED OTHERWISE LARGE NUMBER HINDU GIRLS FORCIBLY MARRIED TO MOSLEMS AND ABDUCTED ALL HINDU TEMPLES AND IMAGES DESECRATED HELPLESS REFUGEES COMING TO TIPPERA DISTRICT ...

Why might Hindu girls have been forced to marry Muslim men? What might this suggest about the relations between Hindus and Muslims in the years leading to independence?

The Partition of India

Direct Action Day took India to the brink of civil war and created an atmosphere of unease and uncertainty across the subcontinent. It could also perhaps be seen as an indication of things to come if Jinnah's demands were not met. It seemed that the Partition of India was now inevitable. In June 1947, in order to prevent any further violence and chaos, the INC voted 153 to 29 in favour of Partition. To his death, Gandhi opposed Congress's decision; in May 1947 he had written: 'But what can I do? The only thing I can do is dissociate myself from such a scheme'.

In January 1948, Gandhi was shot dead on his way to prayer by Hindu extremist Nathuram Godse. Godse testified before his execution that Gandhi had 'acted very treacherously to the nation by his consenting to the partitioning of it' (Godse, 1949).

The Radcliffe Line

Source **7.46** British haste

SOURCE 7.46 Historian Niall Ferguson describes the British haste to depart

The break-up of the British Empire happened with astonishing – and in some cases excessive – speed. Once the British had made up their minds to get out, they aimed to catch the first boat home, regardless of the consequences in their former colonies. In the words of the Labour Chancellor Hugh Dalton: 'When you are in a place where you are not wanted, and where you have not got the force to squash those who don't want you, the only thing to do is to come out'. This had its disadvantages. In their haste to get shot of India, they left behind a chaos that almost undid two centuries of orderly government.

Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, 2004, p. 356

Responding to Ferguson

1. What does Niall Ferguson suggest is the reason the British left India?
2. What does he suggest was the consequence of British haste to leave India?
3. How might this source support the view that Indian independence was not 'won' by the Indians but 'given' by the British?

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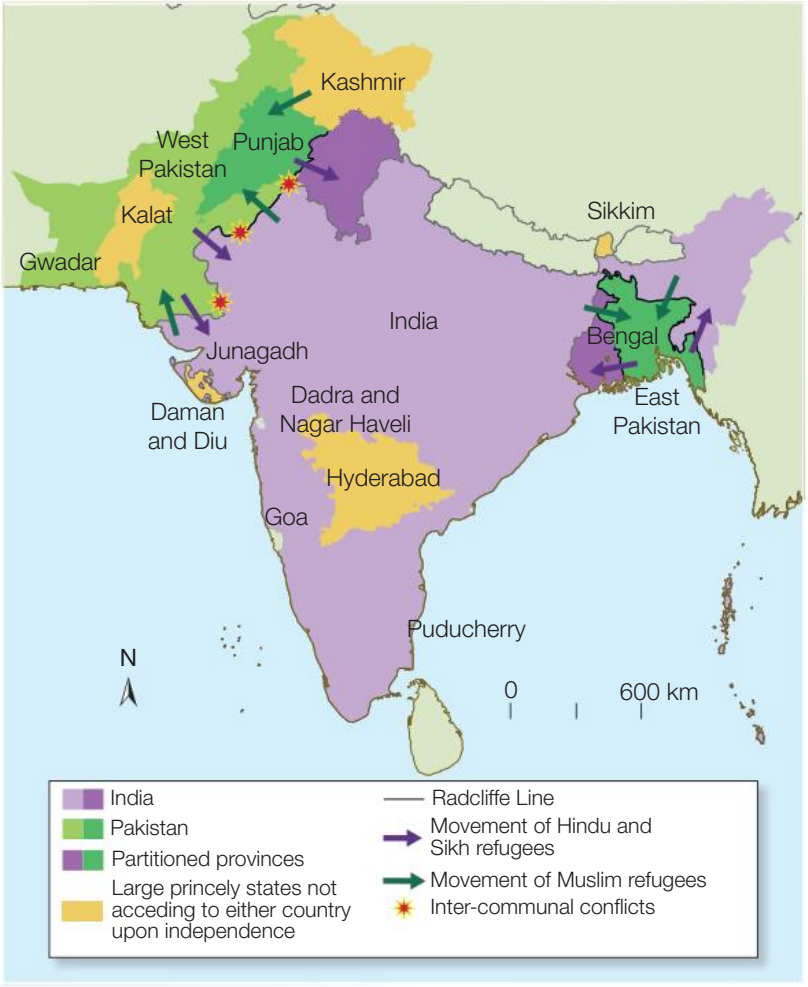
Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, was put in charge of organising and overseeing the transition of power to India. Despite being given a date to 'aim for' independence in June 1948 by the British Government, Mountbatten moved it forward by 10 months to August 1947. His motives for doing so are not entirely clear, but it can be reasonably argued that pressure from Nehru and other Indian leaders may have played a significant role. They appealed to the British to speed up independence to bring a halt to the communal violence that had been simmering in places like Lahore and Calcutta following Direct Action Day.

In June 1947, British civil servant Cyril Radcliffe, who had never been to India before, was given the job of deciding the new borders of India and Pakistan. He had no real knowledge of Indian society and was working with biased advisers and inaccurate and outdated maps and census data. The Radcliffe Line was hastily drawn and would come to have severe consequences, as it failed to consider critical features like railways, canals, irrigation waterways, religious populations and other vital factors.

Source **7.47** The Radcliffe Line



Responding to the map

1. Note the location of the Radcliffe Line on the map. Why might drawing such a line to divide a country into two separate nations have caused problems?
2. What major consequence of Partition do the arrows represent?
3. What problems may arise from the movement of such large numbers of refugees?

SOURCE 7.47 This map shows the division Radcliffe made, and one of the outcomes – movement of peoples from one area to another. There were also a number of Princely States not ruled by the British that were given the option to join India or Pakistan. Most chose one or the other, but those who would not, or who chose against their majority religion, became the focus of hostile debate, such as in Kashmir and Hyderabad.

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Independence Day

On 15 August 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, welcomed the free Dominion of India in New Delhi in a speech at midnight. 'Freedom and power bring responsibility,' Nehru declared.

Source **7.48** Jawaharlal Nehru welcomes the free Dominion of India

SOURCE 7.48 An excerpt from Jawaharlal Nehru's 'Tryst with Destiny' speech, 15 August 1947.

> **Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation long suppressed finds utterance.**

Jawaharlal Nehru, 'A Tryst with Destiny' (1947), *Constituent Assembly Debates Report – Book 1*, 1950

Responding to the source

1. Why might Nehru have believed that the 'pledge' had been redeemed 'very substantially' but not 'wholly'? What remained to be done?
2. How might Nehru have felt delivering this speech?
3. How do you think members of the INC and other Indian nationalists may have felt on hearing it?

As Pakistan's first governor-general, Jinnah made a speech in the capital, Karachi, in which he declared the birthday of the 'independent and sovereign State of Pakistan'. 'Our object should be peace within and peace without,' he continued.

Meanwhile, Gandhi was in Calcutta suppressing riots. He declined the invitation to attend India's official inauguration. He sent no message to his country and spent the day fasting and praying.

However, independence was overshadowed by Partition: 'The pomp and ceremony that attended the transfer of power, and the unaffected joy with which it was greeted, merely masked an unfolding tragedy of enormous dimensions' (Judd, 2005). Both India and Pakistan had announced independence without knowing the extent of their national boundaries. Although Mountbatten had decided to keep the Radcliffe Line a secret, most likely for fear of more communal violence, the delay only served to aggravate chaos and panic. On 17 August, the exact boundaries that divided the two countries were finally published.

The violence of Partition

The publication of the Radcliffe Line triggered one of the largest transfers of populations in human history as Muslims fled to Pakistan and Hindus and Sikhs to India. But few could have predicted the scale of what was to happen in the coming months. People woke up on 17 August and found themselves on the wrong side of a line – a minority in their own country.

Despite living side by side for centuries, Muslims and Hindus now found themselves enemies, and saying goodbye to their family homes, friends, neighbours and livelihoods to make difficult, dangerous and long journeys to an unknown place in the hope of safety. Violence erupted as migrating Hindus and Muslims each encountered people of the other faith. Hundreds of thousands, if not over a million, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims were killed during this most brutal of episodes, and millions more were witness to gruesome scenes of extreme violence and destruction.

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Sources **7.49** and **7.50** Partition refugees, October 1947

SOURCE 7.49 Scenes like this were common as Muslim and Hindu Partition refugees travelled on foot and by bullock cart with their families, livestock and whatever belongings they could carry. They travelled in long convoys with other refugees of the same religion in the hope of security in numbers on the dangerous roads. Many were attacked by opportunistic looters or by refugees fleeing in the other direction.

SOURCE 7.50 Partition refugees on overloaded trains, 17 October 1947

Responding to the photographs

1. How might these people have felt as they travelled on the road or jostled for space on a packed train?
2. What do the two photos suggest about the journeys undertaken after Partition?

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The roads were crammed with refugees who were often attacked by militias or armed gangs. The trains were also dangerously full, and at risk of attack.

SOURCE 7.51 Captain Edward Walsh describes a massacre of Muslims on a train in the Punjab

> When we cleared it, we counted 2,400 identifiable bodies and I don't know how many more heads and arms and legs and everything there were, they'd all been hacked to pieces. Blood was running out of the doors.

Captain Edward Walsh, 1992, quoted in 'Independence and Partition, 1947', National Army Museum website

In 2007, historian Yasmin Khan suggested 'violence must sit at the core of any history of the partition' and has described the violence in the Punjab as '**ethnic cleansing**': 'It seemed that the aim was not only to kill, but to break people'. There was no safe option for those fleeing. There are countless testimonies of families ripped apart, entire trains full of people murdered before they reached their destination, property burnt and looted, forced conversions, rapes, mutilations and other random violent acts.

ethnic cleansing defined by the United Nations as 'a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas' (United Nations, 2024)

Source **7.52** Partition victims

SOURCE 7.52 Historian and human rights campaigner Yasmin Khan writes about victims of Partition

> Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus suffered equally as victims and can be equally blamed for carrying out the murders and assaults ... Children, the elderly and the sick were not spared, and ritual humiliation and conversions from one faith to another occurred, alongside systematic looting and robbery clearly carried out with the intention of ruining lives.

Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*, 2007, p. 6

Responding to the source

1. Who does Khan say is to blame for the violence of Partition?
2. What does the source suggest was the aim of those participating in the violence?
3. Do you think the violence surrounding Partition deserves the label 'ethnic cleansing'? Explain.

Accurate and reliable numbers of those killed and those who migrated are difficult to pin down. Estimates of the dead are usually around one million, while approximately 14 million people migrated. One argument put forward for the differences in Partition statistics is that most of those involved in the migration were illiterate peasants. Not only were their stories not recorded, but in the chaos and confusion they also would have become faceless and voiceless names in the crowd.

How did Hindus and Muslims react following the publication of the Radcliffe Line?

Why might they have reacted the way they did?

How might the increased religious tension in the years leading to Partition have contributed to the violence?

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Activity **7.3**

Listen to testimonies

SOURCE 7.53 BBC Radio 4 *Partition Voices: Legacies,* available via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10874 (41:18)

This period in Indian history remains a scar on the memories of those involved to this day, and recent studies into the causes and effects of intergenerational trauma have highlighted the lasting legacy of such traumatic and seismic events. Use the supplied link to listen to the 'Legacy' episode from a recent BBC Radio 4 series telling the stories of those who witnessed Partition. How do their stories contribute to our understanding of the impact of Partition?

Source **7.54** The experience of women during Partition

SOURCE 7.54 Yasmin Kahn writes about women's experiences

> Of all the horrors of 1947, the experience of the women who were raped is the most difficult to write about. It is a history of broken bodies and broken lives. Rape was used as a weapon, as a sport and as a punishment. Armed gangs had started to use rape as a tool of violence in Bengal and Bihar in 1946 but this now took on a new ubiquity and savagery in Punjab. It sparked the deepest feelings of revenge, dishonour and shame. Many women were silent about what had happened to them: 'in most households the woman said no, no, I was hiding in the jungle or I was hiding in the pond, or I was hiding in a neighbour's house,' recalled Ashoka Gupta, a volunteer who worked with distraught women in the aftermath of attacks in Noakhali; 'they will not declare, or they will not confess, that they have been raped or molested ... because it will be a confession of shame, and once confessed there will be quite a possibility that they will not be taken back in their own homes'.

Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*, 2007, p. 133

Responding to Yasmin Kahn

1. If the victim's relatives found out what had happened to them, how might this have sparked more violence?
2. What does the source suggest might have led to an underestimation of statistics related to female victims of Partition violence?
3. Evaluate how useful, reliable and representative this source could be when discussing the treatment of women during Partition.

Refugees of all faiths struggled to adjust to their new 'normal' as India and Pakistan tried to cope with the impact of Partition. As these two new nations 'settled down', they faced numerous challenges, including housing millions of refugees, establishing a stable economy, developing social harmony and building national unity.

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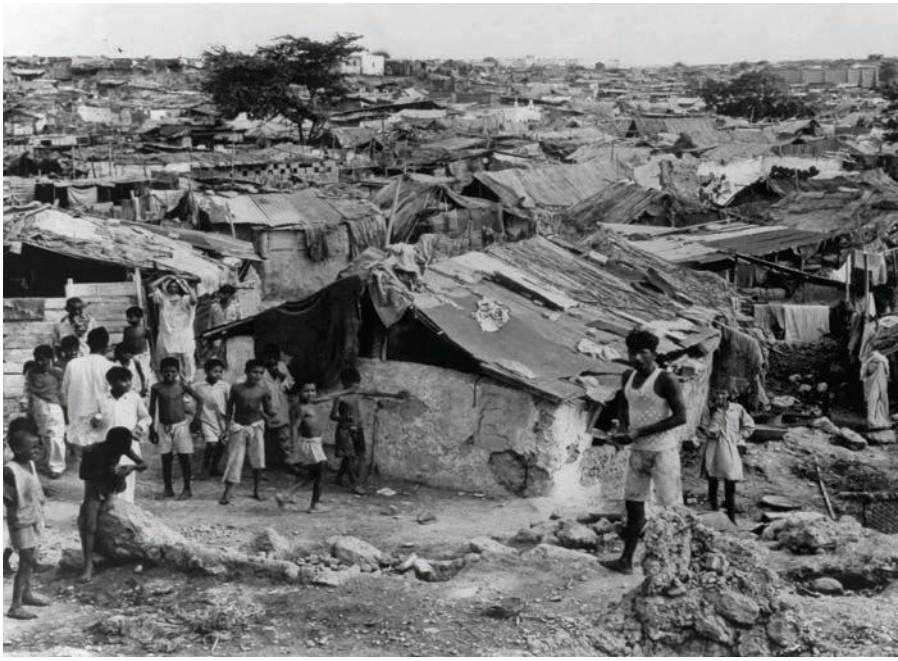
Sources **7.55–7.57** Muslim and Hindu refugees

SOURCE 7.55 Gandhi visits Muslim Partition refugees in Purana Qila camp, New Delhi, where 50000 Muslim refugees await transportation to Pakistan, 22 September 1947

SOURCE 7.56 Hindu refugees in shacks they built for shelter after arriving in Calcutta in 1947

Responding to the photographs

1. What mixed thoughts and feelings might these Muslim refugees have about Gandhi visiting them in their refugee camp?
2. As he surveyed this scene and, perhaps, reflected on the political processes of the previous years, what thoughts and feelings might Gandhi have had when he visited the Muslim refugee camp?
3. In Sources 7.56 and 7.57, both Hindu and Muslim refugees have arrived on 'their side' of the Partition. Might it be difficult for them to progress beyond their 'shack' or 'shantytown' situations, at least in the short term? What factors are they up against?



SOURCE 7.57 Muslim refugees in a shantytown near Karachi between 1947 and 1948

4. How might these refugee situations cause longer-term problems for India and Pakistan, as they worked to establish and build their new nations?

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

What led to Partition and why was it so violent?

The events that led to Partition and the violence it resulted in were complex and nuanced. In the story of Indian independence, Partition has come to overshadow the culmination of the decades-long campaign. Some have blamed the British and Mountbatten for following a policy of divide and rule by categorising people according to religion for years, rushing the Partition process and not providing enough military support to quell the violence. Some also lay blame on the INC and Nehru for rejecting the 1946 Cabinet Mission Plan and convincing Jinnah that a united India would not be able to adequately represent or protect the Muslim minority. It has also been argued that Jinnah's unyielding insistence on the creation of a Muslim state and his calling of Direct Action Day in 1942 ultimately pushed the country to Partition and violence. Regardless of the cause, the legacy of Partition has influenced the region throughout the post-independence decades, and even to the present day.

1. Create a timeline of events from 1945 to 1947

Create a timeline to illustrate the key events and developments after 1945 that culminated in independence on 15 August 1947 and Partition on 17 August 1947. Highlight two or three events that you think are most important. Compare your timeline with that of a classmate and discuss your choice of events.

2. Discuss the phenomenon of Partition violence

With classmates, discuss the violence of Partition. Are you surprised or not that such extreme violence could break out between people who had coexisted largely peacefully for many years previously? What factors do you think might have sparked the violence, and (importantly) caused millions to then participate in such horrific acts? Research comparable events in Rwanda (1994) and Bosnia (1995).

SUB-QUESTION 4: What have historians said about how India achieved independence in the years between 1919 and 1947?

The following pages contain quotes from historians to illuminate the role of three key individuals in the Indian independence movement: Jinnah, Nehru and Gandhi. As you consider the sources, think about how you might use them to respond to the sub-question. Do the sources corroborate each other about the role of these individuals, or do they disagree?

Sources **7.58** and **7.59** Jinnah's influence

SOURCE 7.58 Direct Action Day

> Jinnah's Direct Action amply demonstrated that he held the key to communal peace in India. Most people drew the inescapable conclusion from the communal carnage of Calcutta, Noakhali and subsequent happenings in Bihar that Pakistan had already become a reality. Unless an agreement was reached on the issue of Pakistan, the danger of a civil war in India threatened.

Devendra Panigrahi, *India's Partition: The Story of Imperialism in Retreat*, 2004, p. 313

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SOURCE 7.59 The 'most powerful voice'?

All through his parliamentary career, which spanned some four decades, he was probably the most powerful voice in the cause of Indian freedom and Indian rights.

Consulate General & Trade Commission of Pakistan website, 2021

Responding to the sources

1. What does Panigrahi suggest Jinnah held, and what the outcome could be if an agreement on Pakistan was not reached?
2. Why might some Indians consider Jinnah a 'villain'?
3. Do these sources corroborate each other or disagree about Jinnah's influence on the Indian independence movement?

Source **7.60** Nehru's influence

SOURCE 7.60 Nehru '*was* India'

For the first seventeen years of India's independence, the paradox-ridden Jawaharlal Nehru – a moody, idealist intellectual who felt an almost mystical empathy with the toiling peasant masses; an aristocrat, accustomed to privilege, who had passionate socialist convictions; an Anglicized product of Harrow and Cambridge who spent over ten years in British jails; an agnostic radical who became an unlikely protégé of the saintly Mahatma Gandhi – *was* India. Incorruptible, visionary, ecumenical, a politician above politics, Nehru's stature was so great that the country he led seemed in conceivable without him.

Shashi Tharoor, 'Nehru's Relevance in India Today', *The Massachusetts Review*, 58(2), 2017, p. 229

Responding to the source

1. According to Tharoor, what was paradoxical about Nehru?
2. Of the characteristics and qualities listed, which would probably have been valuable in Nehru's ambition to achieve Indian independence? Explain.
3. Tharoor's favourable portrayal of Nehru raises questions about the author. Read the detailed Wikipedia entry on Tharoor to find evidence of:
   a. his being well-positioned and well-qualified to write about Nehru
   b. the probability that he is favourably disposed towards Nehru and Nehru's politics, and might tend to treat Nehru overly positively in his historical writing
   c. any qualities of Tharoor that suggest he would be rigorous, honest and ethical in his writing about Nehru.
4. Based on what you have found out from your research above, how useful and reliable would you expect Tharoor to be as a source of evidence about Nehru?

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Sources **7.61–7.63** Gandhi's influence

SOURCE 7.61 The contribution of non-violence

> Non-violence was certainly Gandhi's greatest contribution to the technique of political struggle ... it unquestionably made it easier for India to maintain, over a period of nearly three decades, a great, cohesive mass movement, thereby enabling her to march to her goal, albeit at the cost of division of the country.

Sasadhar Sinha, *Indian Independence in Perspective*, 1964, p. 100

SOURCE 7.62 A crucial role?

> [Gandhi's] movement for independence may not have been the sole factor involved in the achievement of Indian independence, but it was certainly a key factor. His role was crucial, if only because he left behind a nationwide Congress Party to which power could be transferred.

Arvind Sharma, *Gandhi: A Spiritual Biography*, 2013, p. 178

SOURCE 7.63 A 'purposeless' campaign?

> Essential to Mohandas Gandhi's Mahatmahood were his homespun tactics of frequent demonstrations, marches, and flooding the jails, all without any apparent purpose – or at any rate, short-term, short-lived objectives with no clear, overarching goal and timeline in sight. There is a definite case to be made for the sheer purposeless nature of Gandhi's leadership of the Indian freedom struggle.
>
> Apart from the Dandi March, not one best-laid plan or agitation of the Mohandas Gandhi succeeded for the same reason: there was no precise definition of purpose or outcome. And the British had clearly seen through Gandhi's tactics very early. And so, they devised perhaps the most effective counter: at every turn, they began to merely humour him but in their outward stance, pretended to take him seriously. Gandhi was a nuisance value to be contained.

Sandeep Balakrishna, 'Did Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi Really Get India Her Freedom?', *The Dharma Dispatch*, 30 January 2019

Responding to the sources

1. Compare and contrast the assessment of Gandhi's role in the Indian independence movement provided by the sources.
2. Do these three sources match your understanding of Gandhi's role in the independence movement? Explain.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

What have historians said about how India achieved independence in the years between 1919 and 1947?

Clearly, there exist differing opinions on the significance and contribution of these key individuals in the Indian independence movement. Based on these sources, and on earlier sections of this chapter, answer this question: 'Depending on different criteria you could use, could all three of these men lay claim to having "the most influence" on the achievement of independence for the peoples of India?' Discuss your response with a classmate.

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text in this depth study to answer the key inquiry question: How did India achieve independence in the years between 1919 and 1947?

Review each sub-question of the depth study and complete the following tasks.

1. Create and complete a table like the one below to consolidate your knowledge from this depth study.

Key events/groups/ campaigns/legislation/ individuals to explore this question	Brief summary of this event/ group/campaign/ legislation/ individual	Best source(s) and evidence to support the impact (positive or negative) this event/ group/campaign/legislation/ individual had on Indian independence
Indian National Congress		
Muslim League		
Jallianwala Bagh Massacre		
Government of India Act 1935		
World War II		
Atlantic Charter		
Quit India campaign		
Direct Action Day		
Nehru		
Jinnah		
Gandhi		

2. Using the information you've gathered for the table, write your response to the key inquiry question: 'How did India achieve independence in the years between 1919 and 1947?'

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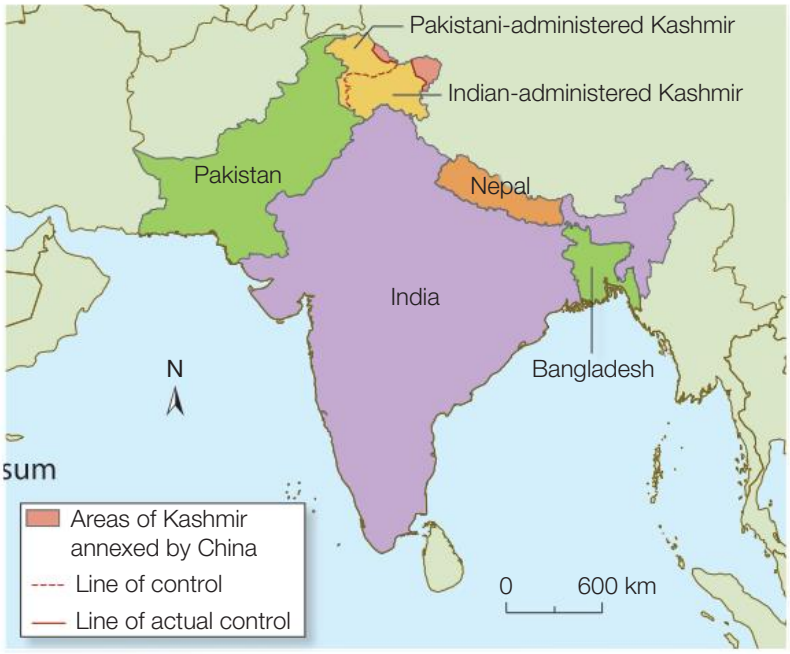
CONCLUDING STUDY

What is the legacy of India's independence?

Significance at the time

Events in India in 1947 laid the foundations for some key developments on the Indian subcontinent in the following decades and up to the present day. As a result of Partition and the unexpected haste with which Indian independence was achieved, both India and Pakistan experienced decades of political turmoil and instability as they encountered the challenges of maintaining democratic political institutions. Throughout the years, there have been diplomatic tensions and conflict between India and Pakistan, and numerous disputes and military clashes over the status of Kashmir, which now carry a nuclear threat. Social tensions, particularly related to religious differences, led to the instability that caused the Bangladeshi Liberation War and the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. Many of these issues still plague the Indian subcontinent today.



SOURCE 7.64 The Indian subcontinent in 2017

Compare and contrast this to the map of the Radcliffe Line (Source 7.47).

Indian independence was a key moment in the history of the British Empire and a landmark event in world history. India was the first colony in the British Empire to successfully decolonise and move to independence. (Jordan had become independent in 1946, but it had been a British Mandate under the League of Nations, rather than a colony.) India was considered by many to be the cornerstone of the British Empire, and the British withdrawal was used as an example by many other colonies to accelerate their own independence process. It ushered in an extraordinary period of several decades that changed the geopolitical character of the entire world, during which Britain and France, in particular, 'surrendered' their empires – sometimes peaceably, and sometimes with violence, particularly in the case of France in Algeria and Indo-China.

Decolonisation

'The age of imperial conquest was over' (Kershaw, 2015). In the 1945 British elections, the victorious Labour government presented 'a commitment to Indian independence but with cautious and modest proposals for other colonies' (Howe, 1993). There was no standard process for decolonisation and, as the Indian independence movement demonstrates, colonies employed various tactics to achieve their goal. The 1941 Atlantic Charter and the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 reinforced the liberal ideas of self-determination, sovereignty and anti-imperialism suggested by US President Woodrow Wilson in 1918 in his Fourteen Points (discussed in Chapter 11, page 415). The occupation of Western colonial territories by imperial Japan during World War II had opened the door for many pro-independence movements.

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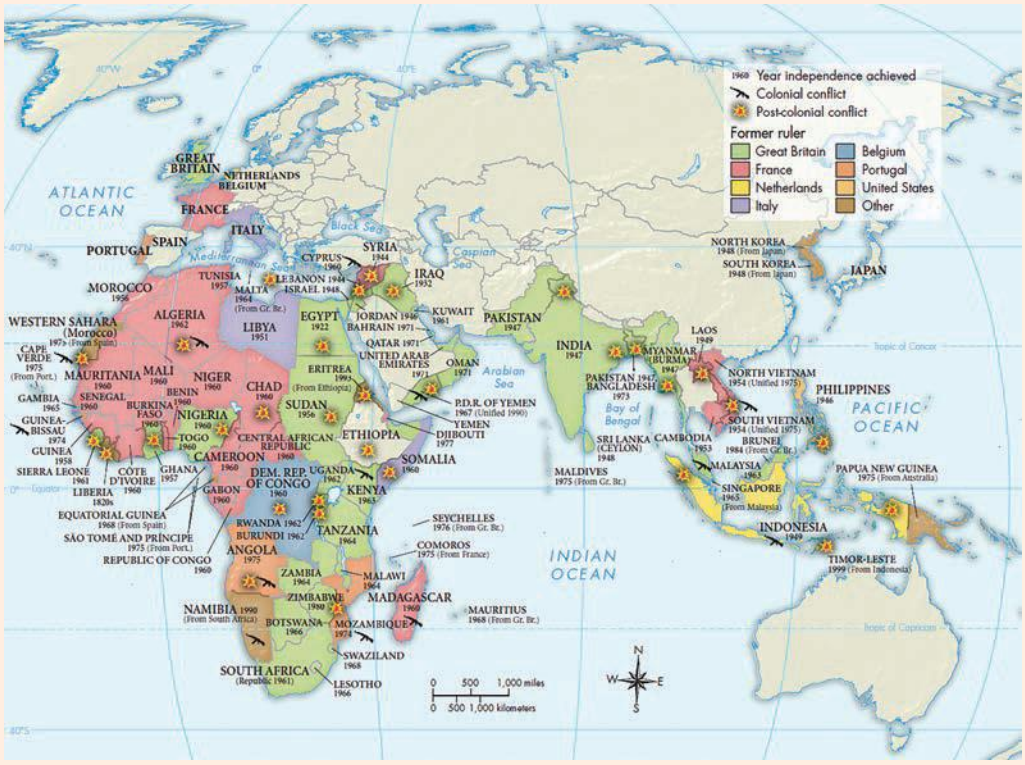
European empires had lost much of their remaining legitimacy in South and South-East Asia, having been so easily swept aside by the Japanese. Following the Japanese surrender in 1945, Asian colonies seized the opportunity to campaign for independence rather than return to their pre-war state of European colonial rule. Independence campaigns in Vietnam against France and the Indonesian fight against the Netherlands became synonymous with this struggle. One of the largest boycotts recorded in Australia was by waterside workers showing support for Indonesians seeking independence from the Netherlands in 1945. They refused to crew or load Dutch armament and supply ships heading to Indonesia, which they called the 'Black Armada'.

Between 1945 and the present day, about 60 former colonies achieved autonomy or outright independence across Africa and Asia.

Activity **7.4**

International independence struggles



SOURCE 7.65 Decolonisation in Africa and Asia, 1947 to the present day

Go to the Wikipedia page 'Timeline of national independence' (available via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10529).

1. Analyse the 'Cold War' section of the table. Indian independence marked the beginning of an extraordinary dissolution of the British Empire (at an earlier stage, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa had become self-governing dominions within – eventually – a British Commonwealth). What do you notice about the parallel dissolution of the empires of other colonising powers? Discuss with a classmate.
2. Using the table, research some historical details about the struggle for independence in the Dutch East Indies (1949) or French Algeria (1962). Do these independence movements utilise similar methods as the Indian independence movement? How might the Indian independence movement have had an influence on these struggles?

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This period of decolonisation was also shaped by the Cold War. The new global superpowers – the United States and the Soviet Union – competed for influence and resources. Postwar pro-independence movements hoped that there would be international support for their struggle and often used these competing influences to their advantage. Some independence movements became 'proxy' wars fought between East and West, such as the decolonisation of Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1950s to 1970s.

The year 1947 also marked the acceleration of the 'British Commonwealth of Nations' as a global association, now numbering 56 member states. No other colonial power has established such a notable association of former colonies. Despite hiccups, the Commonwealth has endured.

Legacy – significance for today

The emergence of a postcolonial world

India's independence created a new country that can be described as a 'postcolonial nation'. Postcolonialism is a word to describe how a decolonised nation asserts its independence while at the same time retaining significant elements of the institutions, ideas, values and practices of the nation that colonised it. India was one of the first, and probably the most significant, nations to be described this way. Today, many of the world's nations can be described as postcolonial. Postcolonial nations will always be in a dynamic, changeable state as the possibly contradictory relationship between the 'colonial' and the 'indigenous' shifts and changes. In today's India, for example, popular culture combines elements of both Indian and Western culture. Indian pop songs, TV dramas and big-budget movies follow similar storylines and share many similarities to those of the West.

SOURCE 7.66 What is Postcolonialism? A Short Introduction to Postcolonial Theory (06:59)

For additional context, explanation and examples of postcolonialism, scan the QR code to watch the video *What is Postcolonialism?*

Activity **7.5**

Exploring modern India

1. Select an aspect of modern India to explore from this list: India's modern industrialisation (especially IT); the film industry; the system of government; the system of laws and justice; religion; education; food and drink; Indian literature (including postcolonialist and anti-imperialist authors); global trade; the Indian diaspora; cricket (from village games to the Indian Premier League); social classes; the military; political parties; costume and dress; and middle-class consumer culture.

SOURCE 7.67 Priyanka Chopra Jonas, 2019. Chopra Jonas is one of Bollywood's highest-paid actresses, and has successfully managed to break into Hollywood. She is also a producer, UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador and former Miss World.

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2. Identify and explore how your chosen aspect of modern India:
   a. retains elements of its British past, and/or
   b. retains elements of pre-colonial Indian culture and practices, and/or
   c. adopts elements of the modern Western/globalised world, and/or
   d. reinvents or redefines elements of pre-colonial culture and society.
3. Report your findings back to the class to build an understanding of India's postcolonial character.

India's international role

Today, India is the largest democracy in the world, with over 986 million Indians registered to vote in 2024. It is also the fifth-largest economy in the world and fourth-largest in global defence spending, behind the United States, China and Russia. India is also becoming a leading force in space exploration, hoping to complete its first crewed space flight by 2025. It is the largest member state of the British Commonwealth, comprising nearly 60% of the association, and is the fourth-largest contributor to Commonwealth budgets and programs (High Commission of India, London, 2024).

However, perhaps as a reaction to its years of colonial subjugation, India has been a member of the 'Non-Alignment Movement' since 1946, when Nehru announced 'we propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale'. India has repeatedly refused to align with countries, notably during the Cold War, and has enjoyed a certain amount of freedom in international politics as a result.

SOURCE 7.68 (from left to right) Russian President Vladimir Putin, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Chinese President Xi Jinping pose for a group photo prior to their trilateral meeting at the G20 Osaka Summit 2019 on 28 June 2019 in Osaka, Japan

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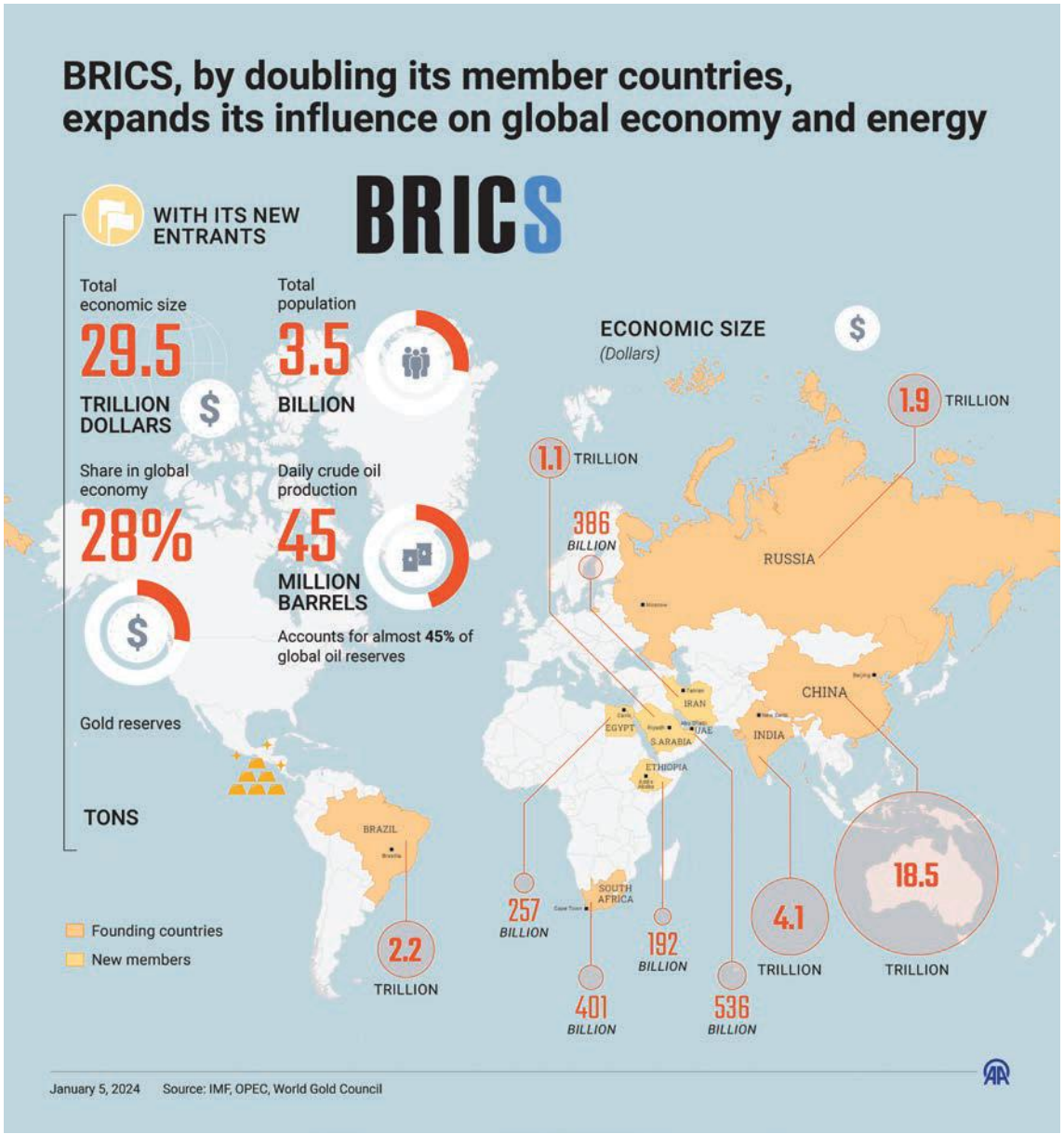
In 2023, along with China, India refrained from condemning Russia's actions in Ukraine and continued trade with Russia, distancing itself from the West's approach. Geopolitically, Russia, China and India all have interests and shared borders in the Asiatic region and there exist complicated relationships and tensions between the nations, not least because Russia has supplied armaments to both China and India, who have an unresolved territorial border dispute in the Himalayas that started in 1962.



SOURCE 7.69 An infographic showing BRICS influence on global economy and trade, January 2024

In 2009, India was a founding member of an intergovernmental organisation, BRICS, which is a geopolitical bloc of emerging economies centred on concepts of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference. Along with the other member states – Brazil, Russia, China, South Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia – BRICS meets annually with the aim of countering the West's economic and political power, and challenging Western-controlled organisations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

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India and the nuclear age

In 1974, India developed and tested a nuclear weapon (code-named 'Smiling Buddha') and completed a second nuclear weapons test in 1998. Many of India's nuclear weapons are named after Sanskrit symbols of power (e.g. cobra, destroyer of enemies, archer's bow).

SOURCE 7.70 The long-range ballistic Agni-V missile is displayed during a dress rehearsal for the annual Republic Day parade in New Delhi, India, January 2013

What might the intended messages of parading missiles have been? How might an image such as this be interpreted by the governments of other countries, such as China, Pakistan and the United States?

Former US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo stated in his memoir that in February 2019, following a wave of retaliatory attacks in the Kashmir region from both Pakistan and India, the conflict between the two nations came perilously close to becoming a nuclear war (Pompeo, 2023).

SOURCE 7.71 A map of Indian and Pakistani nuclear capabilities from the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, 2024. 'NPT' stands for Non-Proliferation Treaty, an international agreement drawn up in 1968 to limit the spread of nuclear weapons technology. The 'No First Use Policy' means a state has vowed never to use nuclear weapons first in a conflict.

How might some of the details on this map cause tension between India and Pakistan? In what ways could this information also contribute to unrest in the region?

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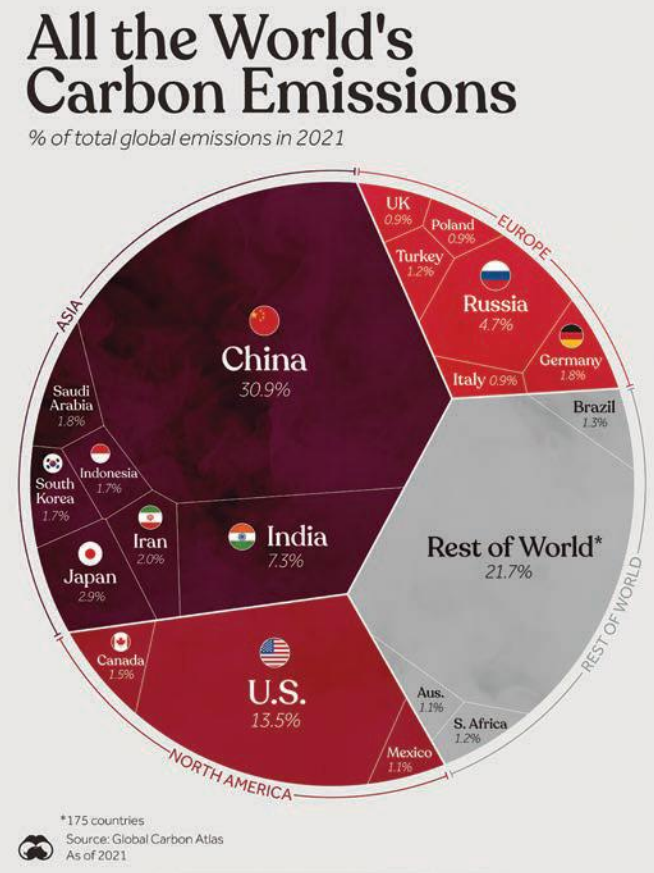
India and climate change

In 2023, India surpassed China to become the world's most populous country and is the third-highest emitter of greenhouse gases annually (USAID, 2024). According to the Global Carbon Atlas, in 2021 the world's top carbon dioxide (CO_2) polluters were China, India and the United States, which accounted for 52% of the world's CO_2 emissions. India's growing population and rapid development rate are also likely to lead to its emissions increasing. The International Energy Agency (IEA) forecasts that India's share of global emissions could rise from 7.3% in 2021 to 10% by 2030. The major contributors of carbon to the atmosphere have set goals to reduce emissions over the next decades. While the United States targets net-zero emissions by 2050, China aims for carbon neutrality by 2060 and India recently set a target of 2070 (Lu, 2023).



SOURCE 7.72 An infographic showing the world's carbon emissions by country, 2021

As is the case with many developing countries, rapid urbanisation and industrialisation can lead to damage to fragile ecosystems that are already under pressure from global climate change and extreme weather events. Between 1970 and 2021, India experienced a total of 573 disasters related to extreme weather, climate and water events, resulting in the loss of 138 377 lives, as reported by the India Meteorological Department (*IMD Annual Report*, 2021). According to the World Health Organization, India also has the world's 14 most polluted cities, with poor air quality contributing to the premature death of seven million people a year. Particulate matter levels are regularly 10 to 20 times higher than the recommended threshold (McCarthy, 2018).

SOURCE 7.73 Vehicles navigate through dense fog in Jaipur, Rajasthan, India, on 4 January 2024

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According to the US Agency for International Development, the Indian Government 'has demonstrated a sustained commitment to combating climate change and is one of the few parties to the Paris Agreement to have adopted emissions reduction targets that are compatible with a two degree global warming scenario' (USAID, 2024).

Apologies, reparations and repatriations

Over the past 20 years or so, there has been a change in the way empire, colonialism and imperialism have been examined and evaluated. There has been somewhat of an 'awakening' in Europe and various attempts to come to terms with its colonial past – the good and the bad. These new approaches to how empire is viewed have, in turn, created pushback from those who sympathise with the notion of empire or do not believe it is up to subsequent generations to apologise for the way their ancestors behaved more than a century ago. Discussions on the themes of reparations for the 'victims' of imperialism, and the repatriation of treasures 'stolen' by imperial powers, are heated and contentious.

Activity **7.6**

Research the case for repatriation

SOURCE 7.74 The crown of Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother. It was made in 1937 out of platinum and contains the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond, along with other gems.

1. Research the Koh-i-Noor diamond, which now forms part of the British Crown Jewels. Compare this example with other famous repatriation demands such as the Elgin Marbles, Mungo Man, the Benin Bronzes and items looted from China's Summer Palace.
2. Synthesise the evidence from your research to form a historical argument in response to the statement: *Treasures acquired through imperialism, such as the Koh-i-Noor Diamond, the Elgin Marbles and the Benin Bronzes should be returned to their homelands without question or delay.*

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The legal precedent for companies, institutions and governments paying for the negative impacts of their actions is well established. In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles forced Germany to accept responsibility for causing World War I and pay reparations to compensate the Allies for the damage the war caused.

A question that concerns historians, legislators, victims and politicians is whether such compensation should be made available to victims of imperialism. A broader question, which Nehru himself asked in 1936, is whether it is even possible to measure the impact – negative or positive – of imperialism on those who were colonised.

Activity **7.7**

Research the case for reparations

SOURCE 7.75 Kenyan Mau Mau War veterans outside the High Court in central London, 23 June 2009. Five elderly Kenyans launched a bid to win compensation from Britain over claims they were tortured and unlawfully imprisoned during colonial rule over half a century ago. These veterans of the Mau Mau revolt, which led to a series of bloody battles between Kenyan nationalists and British forces throughout the 1950s, left Kenya for the first time in their lives to make their claim in person in London.

1. Research the Mau Mau Rebellion in Kenya (1952–60).
2. Do you think it's possible to pay reparations without admitting liability for your actions? If not, why would the British have agreed to pay the Kenyans?
3. Hold a class debate in response to the statement: 'Britain should pay reparations to the victims of their colonisation of India'.

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David Cameron was the first British Prime Minister to visit Jallianwala Bagh, during a visit to India in 2013. While he described the massacre as a 'deeply shameful' event, he refused to apologise, instead stating: 'I don't think the right thing is to reach back into history and to seek out things you can apologise for' (in Watt, 2013).

In 2017, Shashi Tharoor, an INC Member of Parliament, called for the Victoria Memorial in Kolkata to be adapted into a museum to serve as a memorial and representation for Indian suffering under British colonial rule.

Activity **7.8**

Consider the case for apologies

SOURCE 7.76 The Victoria Memorial, Kolkata, is illuminated with India's national flag on the eve of Independence Day, 14 August 2023

1. Read Shashi Tharoor's *Al Jazeera* article 'The need for a museum on British colonisation of India', available via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10875. Do you agree with his demands for a museum to British colonialism in India? Why might some British people disagree?
2. Do you believe the British, and other European colonisers, should apologise for the actions of their predecessors during the Age of Empires? Debate your response with a classmate.
3. David Cameron suggested that the length of time (40 years before he was born) has in some way informed his response to the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. Do you think there should be a statute of limitations on imperial nations' responsibilities for their actions in the past? Explain your response.

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Chapter 12

CHINA SINCE 1931

Aspect: How Mao's vision shaped China's national experience after 1949

MARK AVERY

Zhang Hongbing came from a loving family. But as a young teenager in the violent political climate of China's Cultural Revolution, he found himself at the mercy of Mao Zedong's reshaping of China's identity. Zhang's grandfather had been executed prior to the Great Famine on suspicion of being a nationalist – an enemy of the Communist Party. Zhang's mother later became a target of the state by association – the daughter of a nationalist. Zhang's father was denounced for being a 'capitalist roadster' – a communist failure – but he survived through public 'struggle sessions', where he confessed his failings and submitted to humiliation. Zhang himself took part in the public denunciations of his father. But in the tumult of the Cultural Revolution, his mother's anti-Chairman Mao attitudes during a family argument were too much for a young revolutionary. Her arrest and death would follow at 16-year-old Zhang's request. Later in life, Zhang recorded his story and his regret in an interview with Tania Branigan of *The Guardian* (2013).

Perhaps you think that Zhang's betrayal of his own flesh and blood was unusual. You would be incorrect. During the Cultural Revolution, there were countless other instances of family betrayal via a nation of brainwashed teens, following their idol to destroy relics of an outdated past. Family, friends, teachers, enemies – nobody was safe from accusation in a 10-year national experience that still shapes the psyche of the second-most-populous nation on the planet.

SOURCE 12.1 School and university students spreading the word of Chairman Mao during the Cultural Revolution

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

China: Forging a new identity

The Cultural Revolution was the culminating period of Mao's fight for a new national identity. The Cultural Revolution had deep roots: it reached back to the fall of the Imperial Dynasty, and the subsequent warlords, nationalists, communists, idealists, civil wars, ideological change and attempts to modernise the Chinese nation.

The period from 1911 to 1949 is key to your understanding of the scale of change in modern Chinese history. It raised a fundamental question for the Chinese people: who controls our destiny?

How significant was the 1911 Xinhai Revolution?

Imperial China, in the last decades of its centuries-spanning existence, was rapidly destabilised by the 'imperial intrusions' from European colonial powers, the United States and Japan. The imperial court was unable to match the rate of change brought about by the industrial revolutions in other parts of the world, and it was eclipsed in trade and military strength. This situation led to humiliating concessions being made to nations that China had once believed to be beneath its dignity and respect. Coastal regions and cities were brought under the nominal legal control of foreign powers, allowing entry of foreign goods, people and ideas that challenged the fabric of imperial control.

In the wake of political revolution and imperial collapse in 1911, democratic forms of government were attempted, implemented by **Sun Yat-sen**, who also founded the nationalist political party the **Kuomintang (KMT)**. But a lack of familiarity with democracy and challenges from former imperial generals, such as **Yuan Shikai**, led to further fracturing of the former territory of Imperial China. In 1915, Japan took advantage of China's weaknesses by issuing the notorious Twenty-One Demands (concessions of territory and trade), which China had little option but to accept.

After the death of President Yuan Shikai in 1916, China fractured into numerous fiefdoms led by local warlords with whatever military forces they could command. This was the melting pot from which the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) emerged: a confusion of political and military factions; attempts at both democracy and despotism; and new ideas brought to mainland China by foreigners.

Sun Yat-sen revolutionary and founder and leader of the Kuomintang

Kuomintang (KMT) Chinese nationalist political party formed in 1912 out of prior revolutionary groups

Yuan Shikai former imperial general and statesman; an increasingly monarchical President of the Republic of China from 1913 until his death in 1916

Confucianism an ancient Chinese belief system concerned with inner virtue, morality and respect for the community and its values

How did ideology shape China's future?

The KMT and the CCP both developed out of the intellectual milieu of two movements occurring during the 1910s and 1920s: the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement. New Culture was initiated by the intellectuals of Beijing universities and was typified by using everyday Chinese language for literature, protest against the traditional position of women in society, protest against foreign intrusions (particularly Yuan Shikai's acceptance of Japan's Twenty-One Demands) and a systematic attack on traditional **Confucian** belief systems. The May Fourth Movement originated with a student protest, on 4 May 1919, against the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I.

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The Treaty of Versailles saw Japan gain the former German concession territory of Shandong Province, which China had expected to be returned to them. Students and intellectual leaders joined in sometimes violent demonstrations. The May Fourth Movement escalated these issues, and came to symbolise the nationalist sentiment of China, acting as a youthful experience for later significant figures in Chinese history.

What was the basis of Kuomintang ideology?

Sun Yat-sen espoused three guiding ideological principles that would be the foundation for continued revolution and the reunification of China: the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy and the Principle of Livelihood. These three ideas can be respectively interpreted as 'anti-imperial national unity', 'popular sovereignty through constitutional government' and 'economic stability'. He also put forward an explanation of how change should be achieved through Three Stages of Revolution: 'The first [stage] is the period of military government; the second, the period of political tutelage; and the third, the period of constitutional government' (1918).

? How could the three principles be seen as logical initiatives, given the condition of China around 1920?

What is the basis of communist ideology?

bourgeoisie the wealthy middle class that emerged in the cities and towns after the Industrial Revolution; seen by Marxists and other critics as oppressors of the workers

proletariat urban working class mainly consisting of factory and industrial workers

Communist ideology was based initially on the 1848 publication of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' *The Communist Manifesto*. The authors argued that historical change reflects a series of struggles between competing forces in society. They described how 'big business' (i.e. owners of factories and other large-scale businesses) replaced the feudal economic systems of pre-modern Europe. The owners of business were a class of people known as the **bourgeoisie**. Marx and Engels also predicted that a new class of people called the **proletariat**, made up of the everyday urban workers earning money through their back-breaking labour, would inevitably revolt against those who made huge profits from their work. The eventual result would be a classless society based on common ownership of production and participation in genuinely democratic politics.

? In the 1920s, the Chinese economy was not very industrialised. For Marxist theory to inform change in China, how might the theory need to be modified?

Comintern an organisation aimed at the international overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the spread of communist doctrine

Some Chinese people encountered these ideas while being educated abroad, often by Western intellectuals, but it was the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union) and the Communist International (**Comintern**) out of the post-revolutionary turmoil of 1917 Russia that brought Marxism to China.

In a 1936 interview with Edgar Snow – a sympathetic US journalist – Mao Zedong described how he had become a committed communist by 1920 after reading *The Communist Manifesto* and some of the few other communist books that had been translated into Chinese. Mao explained to Snow that communist ideas influenced him when he began organising workers politically at that time (Snow, 1938).

? Research Edgar Snow to find out why he is still considered a major and sometimes controversial source of information about China in the 1920 and 1930s.

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In the 1920s, Communist Party members were well-represented throughout the governing bodies of the KMT. However, the early CCP had only grudgingly allied itself with the KMT from 1922: this was known as the First United Front. The CCP entered into this alliance because the Comintern had announced support for both the CCP and the KMT. Given that the KMT was better positioned to lead Chinese unification, it made strategic sense for the CCP, with its smaller membership, to ally itself with the KMT.

How did the Kuomintang achieve ascendency prior to 1937?

From 1925, Sun Yat-sen's leadership of the KMT had a recognised (though not uncontested) heir in Chiang Kai-shek. In 1926, Sun had appointed Chiang as the commander of the Whampoa (Huangpu) Military Academy, which had been set up to modernise the training for the military of the KMT in Guangdong Province with the aid of Soviet Russian advisers. From 1926 to 1927, Chiang used a solid core of personally trained officers, within a much larger army, to lead an expedition against the local warlords who had sprung up following Yuan Shikai's death. The aim was to reunify significant urban centres of China. This became known as the Northern Expedition.

SOURCE 12.2 Map of the Northern Expedition, 1926

Given the political situation across China, why might a military expedition that crossed provincial boundaries be risky? How might the use of railways (as in the map) reduce that risk?

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The Northern Expedition stalled in April 1927 and was followed by the collapse of the alliance between the CCP and the KMT. Chiang Kai-shek became increasingly suspicious of communist actions and motives. In April 1927, upon capturing Shanghai, Chiang launched the White Terror, or Shanghai Massacre. On his orders, hundreds of Communists and union workers were arrested or killed, and their organisations eliminated.

By late July, the KMT had ejected CCP members from government and party posts. From late 1927 onwards, the CCP fought a civil war with the KMT, whose leader was increasingly obsessed with the final destruction of the Communists.

SOURCE 12.3 Dead and wounded after a street battle between Communists and KMT in Canton during a Communist uprising in December 1927

What impact do you think these sorts of scenes would have on those who witnessed the violence and its aftermath?

How did the Communists survive their political winter?

Qu Quibai led the CCP briefly from 1927 to 1928, followed by Li Lisan up to 1930. A group known as the 28 Bolsheviks, Chinese students who had studied in the Soviet Union and returned to China, took up leadership of the CCP from late 1930 onwards. There was still dissent and disagreement about leadership and tactics within the Party. This included differences over whether revolutionary activity should focus on the urban-based proletariat, as per traditional Marxism, or turn to rural-based peasant-focused activity. Disagreement was also present about land reform methods and military strategies, which were the subject of intense debate.

Between 1928 and 1934, approximately 15 Communist bases existed across China. With the party so dispersed, the various leaders of regional bases became key to developing the important ideas that would propel the eventual revival of the CCP.

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The largest and foremost of these bases was run by Mao Zedong, with the military support of General Zhu De, a former warlord and former member of the Kuomintang who in 1928 had brought his forces to Mao's base in Jiangxi. They developed Marxism in a new direction, with particularly Chinese characteristics. Marxism was firmly focused on revolution led by the industrial proletariat; however, only about 1% of the population of China fitted into that category. Mao shifted the focus of revolution to the peasants, who by far made up the bulk of the Chinese population. This was a radical shift, and not overly popular with the Marxist traditionalists within the Party, nor with the 28 Bolsheviks. In Source 12.4, Mao explains the importance of the peasants.

Source **12.4** Mao explains the importance of the peasants

SOURCE 12.4 Mao's 1927 Hunan Report on the Peasant Movement

This great mass of poor peasants, or altogether 70% of the rural population, are the backbone of the peasant associations, the vanguard in the overthrow of the feudal forces and the heroes who have performed the great revolutionary task which for long years was left undone. Without the poor peasant class (the 'riffraff', as the gentry call them), it would have been impossible to bring about the present revolutionary situation in the countryside, or to overthrow the local tyrants and evil gentry and complete the democratic revolution. The poor peasants, being the most revolutionary group, have gained the leadership of the peasant associations. In both the first and second periods almost all the chairmen and committee members in the peasant associations at the lowest level were poor peasants (of the officials in the township associations in Hengshan County the utterly destitute comprise 50%, the less destitute 40%, and poverty-stricken intellectuals 10%). Leadership by the poor peasants is absolutely necessary. Without the poor peasants there would be no revolution. To deny their role is to deny the revolution. To attack them is to attack the revolution. They have never been wrong on the general direction of the revolution. They have discredited the local tyrants and evil gentry.

Mao Zedong, *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, March 1927. This report was made to the Party after Mao spent 32 days investigating the peasant movement in Hunan Province.

Responding to Mao's report

1. According to Mao's report, what did the peasants achieve for the revolution?
2. What is Mao's opinion of the peasant class?
3. What factors do you think led Mao to shift Marxism to a peasant-focused rather than a traditional proletariat-focused revolution?

Another important factor that helped to secure the future of the CCP was the regulation of its military forces. The Red Army, as it was known, behaved in a manner that was clearly different from warlord groups and even the KMT military units. In many areas of rural and urban China, the presence of military units often meant rape, pillage, looting and destruction. In 1928, Mao Zedong and Zhu De set up a new set of rules to govern their units, as Source 12.5 shows.

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Source **12.5** Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention

SOURCE 12.5 Rules to govern military units

[An official 1947 update of the 1928 original version]

The **Three Main Rules of Discipline** are as follows:

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
3. Turn in everything captured.

The **Eight Points for Attention** are as follows:

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Don't hit or swear at people.
6. Don't damage crops.
7. Don't take liberties with women.
8. Don't ill treat captives.

'Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention', Mao Zedong and Zhu De, 1947 revision of the 1928 rules

Responding to the source

1. Taken together, what qualities do the 'Three Main Rules' and 'Eight Points' insist that Red Army members have? Use your own words where possible.
2. What does this document suggest about how armies had behaved in previous times in their dealings with local people?
3. What effect might this document have on the behaviour of the military?
4. What would good relations with local peasants allow the Red Army to do in terms of tactics?

Tight military discipline and proper behaviour by soldiers was not, however, enough to guarantee easy success for Mao and his supporters. Indeed, the years following the 1928 publication of Three Rules and Eight Points were bleak and challenging. Eventually, the very survival of Mao and his supporters depended on a remarkable feat of human endurance – the Long March.

How did the Long March reshape the CCP leadership?

Mao proclaimed an independent Chinese Soviet Republic in 1931, ignoring the 28 Bolsheviks in Shanghai for the most part and resisting the KMT militarily and independently, with Zhu De's help. But in 1932 the Bolsheviks moved to Mao's base in Jiangxi, curtailing Mao's rural efforts and eventually removing him from all but the presidency of the Chinese Soviet Republic in 1934. During those three years (1932–34), Chiang Kai-shek maintained pressure on the CCP through encirclement campaigns designed to box in and then exterminate Communist forces.

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These campaigns were largely successful because the Red Army made itself a sitting target under 28 Bolshevik leadership. Mao's fraught relationship with the 28 Bolsheviks led to his house arrest for dissent.

The situation culminated in the near destruction of the CCP. In October 1934, the Communists engaged in a desperate, poorly organised evacuation and withdrawal from the mountainous regions of Jiangxi. It became known famously as the Long March. The plan was to travel to a safe enclave out of reach of KMT forces; however, the destination was repeatedly revised over the course of the march. In January 1935, during the early stages of the march, the leadership of the CCP met at the Zunyi Conference. The result saw the 28 Bolsheviks deposed and Mao installed as Party leader, though infighting among the leadership continued. The march took a year in all, as CCP forces moved into China's western regions and then advanced north, eventually arriving in Shaanxi Province with only one in 10 of those who began the march surviving. This loss of life can be attributed to a combination of military casualties, desertion, fatigue, illness, starvation and disease.

SOURCE 12.6 Red Army soldiers during the Long March, 1934

What does this photo suggest about the readiness of soldiers to undertake a long journey or to engage an enemy? How representative do you think this photo is of the Long March?

Despite the massive loss of life, Mao Zedong emerged as the hero of the Long March. Zhou Enlai, who had previously replaced Mao as political commissar of the Red Army when the 28 Bolsheviks deposed Mao in Jiangxi, became one of Mao's closest allies for the next 40 years. Other commanders from the Long March would also go on to lead the CCP throughout the rest of the twentieth century, including Lin Biao, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping.

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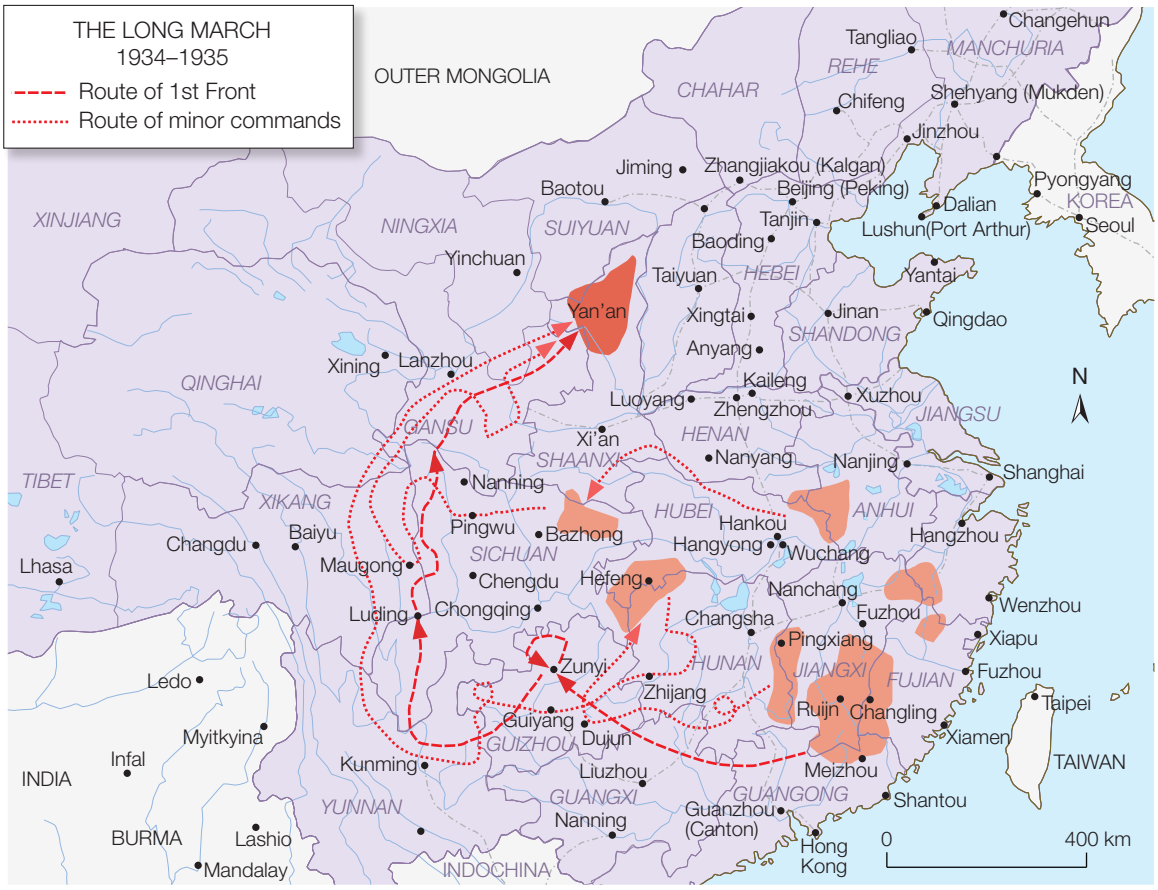

SOURCE 12.7 Routes of the Long March

Examine the map closely. What factors seem to have determined the route of the Long March? Compare this map with a topographical map (you can find one online): what are the benefits and drawbacks of Yan'an as the final destination of the Long March?

How did the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45) impact the survival of the CCP?

In 1936, with the impending threat of aggression from Japan and with only nominal control of rural China, Chiang Kai-shek was forced into a Second United Front with the Communists.

The Japanese invasion, via Manchuria, rapidly became a large-scale occupation that stretched Japan's resources. The First Sino-Japanese war (1894–95) highlighted the strength of the modernised Japanese military and the weakness of the Imperial forces of China and was remembered as a shameful defeat by the Chinese. The infamous **Rape of Nanjing** hardened Chinese attitudes further against Japan, creating animosity that for some exists even up to the present day. China became fragmented again, with three main areas of control: the KMT in Sichuan, the CCP in Shaanxi and Japanese forces along the coast and in Manchuria. Successive military defeats demoralised the KMT. Then, in desperation, they made unwise choices that upset the Chinese peasants, including breaking the levees of the Yellow River and allowing it to flood thousands of villages to slow down the Japanese advance. This incident undermined the KMT 'brand', while at the same time the CCP achieved success through guerrilla warfare, enhancing its reputation among the people.

Rape of Nanjing the rape of many Chinese women, the killing of civilians and surrendering Chinese soldiers, and the looting of the city of Nanjing by invading Japanese forces from December 1937 to January 1938. Estimated deaths range from tens to hundreds of thousands.

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While the events of the Sino-Japanese War, as it merged into the wider conflict of World War II, are of interest, the development of Mao's leadership during this intense period of conflict is more important. Mao articulated a new form of Marxist-Leninist revolution in his philosophical thesis *On New Democracy* (1940), building on his experience of peasant uprisings. In this writing, Mao represents the peasant class, composed largely of rural farmers, as the proletariat, contrary to strict Marxist doctrine. This reinterpretation broadened the base of CCP appeal, particularly in rural China. Mao developed the idea of the Mass Line campaign. He stressed Swiss philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's idea of the General Will as the basis of the Mass Line, whereby vague ideas and desires of the people could be given clarified thought and action by the government. The first important Mass Line was the Rectification Campaign from 1942. This involved strong-arm tactics, including torture, being used to force confessions of past errors in judgement or action from political opponents, and an acknowledgement of **Mao Zedong Thought** as correct thought. Similar tactics had been used by Mao during the Encirclement Campaigns, when he was ferreting out KMT moles in Jiangxi. Some significant leaders like Zhou Enlai remained in top positions due to submission to confession and rehabilitation. Through this Mass Line methodology of leadership Mao Zedong was made Party Chairman – the undisputed leader – of the CCP by the end of World War II.

SOURCE 12.8 Rape of Nanjing, December 1937. The executed bodies of Chinese civilians and soldiers are visible in the foreground while in the background Japanese soldiers are looting.

Why might the 'Rape of Nanjing' have been seen as a military triumph by the Japanese at the time, but could also have served eventually as a military and political liability? Research whether this event is still lodged strongly in the Chinese national consciousness, and whether it still influences Sino–Japanese relations.

Mao Zedong Thought the official interpretations of Marxism-Leninism according to Mao Zedong, specifically deviating from the Soviet-led interpretations

How did the CCP achieve victory after the defeat of Japan?

After the Japanese were forced to surrender to the United States and its allies following the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, it was not long before the KMT and the CCP returned China to a state of civil war. Although the KMT outnumbered the Communists, Mao's policies and actions during the war had brought vast sections of the peasant class to the Communist cause. In 1937, the CCP numbered 40 000 members, in April 1945 1.2 million, and it continued to grow throughout the civil war of October 1949 to 4.44 million. KMT military failures and neglect of governance during the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45) served to broaden the appeal of the Communists across all social classes. This, combined with the military successes of the CCP and the relaxation of land reform and redistribution policies, bolstered positive perceptions of the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek was eventually driven into exile in Taiwan, along with the remaining KMT forces.

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Chairman Mao Zedong declared the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949.

Source **12.9** Chairman Mao Zedong declares the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949

Responding to the photograph

1. What was the purpose of the original recording of Mao's declaration?
2. If eyewitness accounts are correct, and Mao's words were altered (see the caption below), why do you think the words 'the Chinese people have stood up' were reported instead?
3. Who do you think might have disseminated the historical wording?
4. Why do you think the words that Mao uttered at this moment in history create such controversy?

SOURCE 12.9 Chairman Mao Zedong declares the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949. At this moment, history records that Mao stated: 'The Chinese people have stood up', but an eyewitness claims that he in fact stated: 'the Central Government of the People's Republic of China was founded today' (*South China Morning Post*, 2009).

Contextual study: Conclusion

You are about to delve into a depth study that will explore the triumph and anguish involved in Mao's development of the PRC. But do you have a firm enough understanding of the preceding period to understand what is to come? Answer the following questions and complete the tasks using the contextual study and your own research to ensure that you are ready.

Activity **12.1**

Check your understanding

1. What were some of the factors that contributed to the end of the Imperial period in 1911?
2. Explain the differences between KMT and CCP ideology.
3. Create a timeline that tracks Mao's political career to 1949.
4. How did Mao change Marxist ideology to make it work better for the Chinese context?
5. Consider how divided China was from 1911 to 1949. Would you expect the CCP victory in 1949 to have a profound effect on the direction of Chinese history in the following decades? If so, explain what direction.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: How did Mao Zedong and the CCP shape China's national experience between 1949 and 1976?

In this depth study, you will investigate how Mao Zedong and the CCP shaped China's national experience, forging a new political, cultural and economic identity in the twentieth century. Uncertainty and chaos seemed to subside in the early years of the PRC, probably on account of the end of open warfare and the euphoria of a single ideological direction. But militancy and ideological authority were to continue to play a central role in China's destiny under a victorious Mao Zedong and the CCP, particularly during the Great Leap Forward (GLF; 1958–62) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–76).

This depth study unfolds through a series of sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.

The five sub-questions are:

1. How was China shaped by the preparation for and implementation of the first five-year plan?
2. To what extent did the Great Leap Forward continue the successes of the first five-year plan?
3. What impact did Mao Zedong have on China between the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution?
4. How did the Cultural Revolution affect the unity of China?
5. What have historians said about the impact of Mao and the CCP on shaping China's national experience between 1949 and 1976?

SOURCE 12.10 April 1967, soldiers and civilians celebrate the establishment of the Beijing Revolutionary committee. From 1967, the Chinese leadership supported revolutionary committees in cities and provinces. They brought together representatives of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the people. The aim was to reduce conflict among the three groups over questions of power, authority, responsibilities and roles.

How does the impression of China created by this 1967 photo compare with the picture of China in 1949 that you developed in the contextual study? What key adjectives would you use to describe China in 1949? What key adjectives might describe this 1967 scene? What do you think must have happened in China during those 19 years? Is it likely that this single photo might create an inaccurate impression of the Chinese nation overall in 1967? Discuss.

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SUB-QUESTION 1: How was China shaped by the preparation for and implementation of the first five-year plan?

Stalinism a system of totalitarian political and social control, along with state-owned, large-scale agricultural and industrial production. Based on leader Josef Stalin's reinterpretation of Marxism and Leninism as' Socialism in one country', it focused on domestic growth and protection against foreign threats.

The five-year plan was a **Stalinist** method for increasing output – particularly industrial output – by the state. It was introduced in China seemingly because of the 1950 Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. This treaty provided massive loans to China and the services of up to 10 000 Soviet experts. China's first five-year plan was to cover the period 1953–57. But before the plan could be initiated, significant logistical preparation was needed.

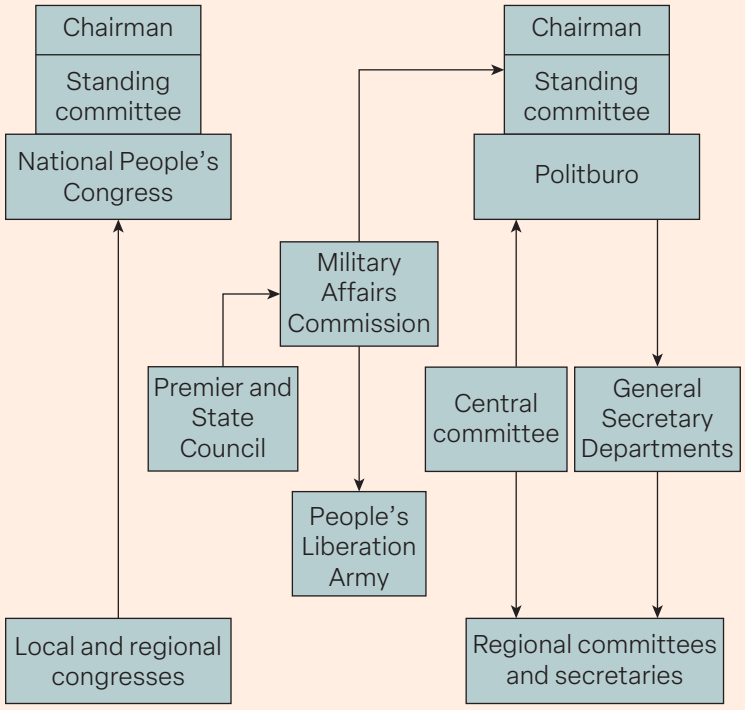
Preparing for the five-year plan

For the first few years after the announcement of the PRC, the CCP experienced a honeymoon period of administrative reorganisation and social reform. Mao outlined the basis of his reforms in June 1949, declaring the need for an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, led by the working class in a democratic dictatorship.

The new PRC government structure was a parallel of the CCP structure, which connected at all levels. The diagram in Activity 12.2 outlines the basic interconnections of government and party bodies.

Activity 12.2

Examine the CCP and government structures



SOURCE 12.11 Chinese government structure: PRC structure on the left; CCP structure on the right

Study the diagram and explain how this structure reflects 1) the fact that the PRC was created by a Communist-led armed revolution, and 2) the fact that the PRC was a one-party state. In the diagram, what key elements controlled by the party (CCP) are instead controlled by the parliament/government in democratic states such as Australia? Why might the Chinese structure be considered dangerous by democrats?

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Mao also needed a period of social reconstruction to establish firm control over the Chinese mainland. He believed that **rectification** for individuals was an essential part of the process of preparing for socialism – a firm departure from Marxism-Leninism, which focused on **class consciousness**.

rectification use of public 'struggle sessions' and confessions of politically incorrect thoughts and actions to 'correct' the individual

class consciousness a social awareness of an individual's position within broader society specifically in relation to class struggle

Mao also used the Mass Line method of social re-education, whereby the CCP would consult with the masses, analyse the results for Party interests, and feed policy back to the people, while establishing a popular belief that policy derived from the masses. Public confessions or 'struggle sessions' were used to forcefully encourage correct thought and to prevent and correct 'mistakes' by Party members and officials. These methods were first used in the Rectification Campaigns in Yan'an. Mao used campaigns to establish control and root out dissent, first via the 1951 Three Antis Campaign that targeted corruption, waste and delay among Party members and bureaucrats, then through the 1952 Five Antis Campaign aimed at business to end bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating and industrial espionage. Although corruption within the CCP was revealed, it is uncertain how successful these campaigns were at achieving their goals. Pressure to confess a crime – any crime – led to public humiliation, labour camps and death for many of the victims.

Agrarian reform was a significant precursory goal for restructuring China for an industrialised economy; an agricultural surplus would allow the population to switch focus to massive industrial output. The first phase of agrarian reform focused on land redistribution, particularly aiming at class equality between the richer and poorer peasants through confiscation of landlord holdings. Peasant associations were created in localities and Party teams were set up to administer land redistribution – but not before poorer peasants had engaged in a short period of brutal revenge seizures that targeted their former landlords.

Alongside the agrarian reforms, the government prepared the way for the first five-year plan by reducing inflation, limiting budget expenditure and introducing a new central currency. These were all successful, in part, because of the peasant contribution of grain to the government that allowed urban centres to be fed while wages were kept low.

Consider Source 12.12 and the relationship between agriculture and industry.

Source **12.12** Implementing socialism, the *People's Daily*, 1953

SOURCE 12.12 Agriculture and industrialisation

> **... Numerous facts have proved that it is futile to attempt the enforcement of socialism on the foundations of small agriculture or small handicrafts. Industry must first be developed to provide possibilities of collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture, for the socialist reform of agriculture. At the same time, only with industrialisation of the state may we guarantee our economic independence and non-reliance on imperialism.**

Ji Yun, 'How China Proceeds with the Task of Industrialisation', *People's Daily*, 1953

Responding to the source

1. Why might people engaged in 'small agriculture or small handicrafts' resist the enforcement of 'socialism'? What would those people lose, given the basic tenets of socialism?
2. How would the 'collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture' change the nature of farming and the way farmers live and work?
3. How would 'industrialisation of the state' have two related benefits for China?
4. Given the above, why might the government be wise to move slowly and cautiously towards a socialist reorganisation of Chinese agriculture?

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Implementing the five-year plan

The main aim of the 1953–57 five-year plan was rapid industrialisation to achieve ambitious production targets and quotas. A key role of agriculture was to produce food for export, particularly to the Soviet Union, and thus provide capital for setting up new industries.

Caught between a need for a cautious approach and the demand for rapid change, the government introduced a series of reforms to the agricultural sector. One potential obstacle was the fact that, in the immediate wake of the revolution, many peasants had gained their own tracts of farmland, either through unofficial confiscation of land from wealthy landowners or through official redistribution of such lands. The second phase of agrarian reform, therefore, started with the promoting of **mutual-aid teams**. Mutual-aid teams allowed for the collaboration of several families in sharing farming equipment and labour. Initially, this was a practical seasonal approach to managing crop production, but the system was eventually formalised by the government. A second step involved **cooperatives**. Cooperatives took the mutual-aid system to a new level, encouraging larger groups of families to also share their individual land allocations. These were categorised into lower and higher stage cooperatives. The lower stage cooperatives grouped farmers who contributed differing quantities of land and labour to the cooperative's production. These people received an economic return based on their land input. Higher stage cooperatives meant that farmers received an economic return purely based on their labour. By 1957, over 80% of farming families were engaged in these new forms of organised agriculture.

mutual-aid teams teams that allowed for the collaboration of several families to share farming equipment and labour as a basic economic unit of collectivisation

cooperatives larger groups of families that shared their individual land allocations in addition to farming equipment and labour

? Consider the logic of these policies. What would Mao have thought of modern Australian suburbs where many neighbouring homes have a shed stocked with identical, expensive, underutilised power tools and appliances?

Sources **12.13** and **12.14** First five-year plan

SOURCE 12.13 Members of the Minpai Agricultural Producers' Cooperative of Taiping Hsiang of Hsintsin County in Western Sichuan Province winnow and dry their rice crop, 18 October 1955

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Responding to the photographs

1. How does Source 12.13 reflect the productive advantages of collectivisation?
2. How does Source 12.14 reflect changes in social organisation?
3. Is that outcome in line with communist ideals?
4. How do these two photos together demonstrate some key elements of Mao's ideological and political ideas?
5. In what way does agricultural activity make industrial activity possible?
6. How do both photographs symbolise key outcomes of the first five-year plan?
7. What might be the social pros and cons of cooperative housing and collective agriculture, in terms of human livelihood, health, security, social interaction, dignity and personal satisfaction? Would Chinese people at the time probably answer that question differently from yourself, positioned in twenty-first-century Australia? Discuss.

SOURCE 12.14 Residential buildings being constructed in Yunnan, 1957

The question remains for you to consider the extent of success or failure of the new government's first significant industrial plan. One way to do this is to look at data.

Sources **12.15** and **12.16** Data on outcomes of the first five-year plan

SOURCE 12.15 The gross output of the first five-year plan (1953–57)

Indicator (gross output value in millions, 1952 yuan)	1952 data	1957 plan	1957 actual	1957 actual as percentage of plan
Industry (excluding handicrafts)	27010	53560	65020	121.4%
Producer sector (less machinery and chemicals)	8462	18562	23862	128.5%
Machinery	1404	3470	6177	178.0%
Chemicals	864	2271	4291	188.9%

Abridged from T. Rawski, *China's Transition to Industrialism: Producer Goods and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century*, 1980

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SOURCE 12.16 Percentage share of peasant households in different types of ownership units 1952–57

Year	Mutual-aid teams	Lower stage cooperatives	Higher stage cooperatives
1952	39.9	0.1	n/a
1953	39.3	0.2	n/a
1954	58.3	1.9	n/a
1955 (end of autumn)	50.7	14.2	0.03
1955 (year end)	32.7	63.3	4.00
1956 (end of January)	19.7	49.6	30.7
1956 (end of July)	7.6	29.0	63.4
1956 (year end)	3.7	8.5	87.8
1957	0	n/a	93.5

Abridged and modified from A. Eckstein, *China's Economic Revolution*, 1977, p. 71

Responding to the data

1. Explain how you might characterise the success or failure of the first five-year plan based on the data provided in Sources 12.15 and 12.16.
2. How would you describe the rate of increase in higher stage cooperatives? Would you expect there to be any resistance to this change?
3. What would be needed to organise this rapid change at a local, regional and national level? Consider such things as community organisation, construction materials and training, movements of peoples, etc.
4. Given that the changes happened rapidly between 1955 and 1957, do the figures provoke any doubt or scepticism about their accuracy? Think about how statistics would have been gathered from such a large population spread over such a large nation, and whether it would have been in anyone's interests to produce inflated figures.
5. What do you think are the benefits and limitations of statistical data as historical evidence?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How was China shaped by the preparation for and implementation of the first five-year plan?

Make a two-column table. In the left-hand column, list the major developments in China from 1949 to 1957. In the right-hand column, list the impacts of the developments on issues such as national prosperity, social organisation and activity, and/or dissent. Ensure you use key vocabulary from the text.

1. Discuss: To what extent did the CCP economically and socially unify the Chinese nation between 1949 and 1957 compared with the chaos of the 1911–1949 era?
2. Discuss: What aspects of Chinese society have received little attention so far in this study?
3. Discuss: 'In times of political, economic and/or social disruption and chaos, it is appropriate for the individual's rights, aspirations, interests and activities to be curtailed in favour of strong centralised action to remedy the situation.'

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SUB-QUESTION 2: To what extent did the Great Leap Forward continue the successes of the first five-year plan?

In 1957, the short-lived Hundred Flowers Campaign was launched. It encouraged a relaxing of government controls over censorship. Presumably, Mao and the CCP believed that the success of the first five-year plan and the results of the first seven years of the PRC spoke for themselves – the Marxist identity was entrenched. Intellectuals, who had previously remained quiet for fear of reprisals, were encouraged by the Hundred Flowers Campaign's assurances of 'gentle treatment' to offer their opinions; they engaged in strident criticism of CCP policy and methods, particularly Soviet-style planning. Before long, the Campaign was wound up and policy reverted to hardline censorship, while an 'anti-rightist' campaign was launched to 're-educate' the critics. Thousands of artists, scholars and scientists became social and political pariahs and were subjected to struggle sessions, lost their jobs, were sent into exile or were even killed. This anti-rightist campaign was led by Deng Xiaoping.

Sources **12.17** and **12.18** The Hundred Flowers Campaign

SOURCE 12.17 A college professor's criticism during the Hundred Flowers Campaign

> The Party members, due to their occupying positions of leadership and being favourably situated, seem to enjoy in all respects excessive privileges. Take theaters, for instance; a certain Party member pointed out in his self-examination that he was never happy unless he was offered a seat in the first ten rows. Why did he feel like that? Because he was used to seats in the first ten front rows.

W.T. de Bary and R. Lufrano (Comp.), *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From 1600 Through the Twentieth Century* (2nd edn), 2000, pp. 466–8

SOURCE 12.18 Anti-Rightist Campaign victim Harry Wu's recollections

> As a rightist, I remained under formal continual surveillance with Kong as my keeper. We both knew that if he discharged this responsibility satisfactorily, he could conclude his probationary period as a prospective party member and take the formal oath. It would serve him well to guard me strictly. He followed me to the cafeteria, the dormitory and even the latrine. I could go to class or to the library in the evening only after informing him and I could not leave the campus at any time. I ate alone, apart from my classmates, as no one would dare associate with an enemy of the party.

H. Wu and C. Wakeman, *Bitter Winds: A Memoir of My Years in China's Gulag*, 2014, The Laogai Research Foundation

Responding to the sources

1. What concepts of social interaction do you think are being critiqued in Source 12.17?
2. How likely is it that the CCP would expect criticism of Party members at this level of specificity?
3. In Source 12.18, Wu's initial sentence for criticism of the Party for the way they handled intellectuals was initially light but was replaced by labour camps in subsequent years. What effect do you think surveillance of this type would have on an individual?

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The Hundred Flowers Campaign resulted in an initiative by Mao to re-establish stability and direction. This was the second five-year plan, which ran from 1958 to 1962 and became known as the Great Leap Forward (GLF).

The impetus was to capitalise on earlier progress in agriculture and industry to make extraordinary gains in economic advancement. The oft-quoted phrase by Mao, that 'now we must start a technological revolution so that we may overtake Britain in fifteen or more years', clearly identifies the ambitions intended for the GLF. Headlong pursuit of agricultural and industrial growth was intended to return China to the forefront of world power. This would be achieved through a **command economy**.

command economy style of economy where decisions are initiated and controlled centrally by the government

collectives large-scale amalgamations of cooperatives into groups of several hundred families to collectivise labour

Great Famine a famine that affected China from 1959 to 1961, resulting in millions of deaths

The first five-year plan had moved from mutual-aid teams through to cooperatives. In 1958, the government took the reforms further, making **collectives** the focus. Collectives involved two major changes: amalgamating cooperatives into large-scale enterprises, and transforming individual or cooperatively minded farmers into a collectivised agricultural workforce. This system mirrored the system created for industrial production, whereby individual and small-scale craft workers were transformed into an industrial proletariat working in large-scale government-owned factories, workshops and mills. The approach to collectivisation was a standard theory of Marxism-Leninism, where the masses were mobilised in vast numbers to complete the productive tasks essential for national prosperity. The Soviet Union in the period after 1928 provided a model for this transformation, albeit a bloody one involving the forced collectivisation of farms and the killing of thousands of kulaks – independent farmers who resisted collectivisation.

Collectivisation mobilised massive sections of the rural and urban populations in China, but not always effectively, and the GLF is generally considered to have been a failure. Industrial output – particularly steel production through backyard furnaces run in communes and neighbourhoods – was often of poor quality. Changes to traditional agricultural methods created a number of problems. During 1960, Soviet expertise and aid was withdrawn because of increasingly hostile exchanges between Mao and Soviet President Nikita Khrushchev. And from 1959 to 1961, China was in the grip of a famine – later known as the **Great Famine** – which caused widespread suffering and death. Throughout this period, Mao was also under attack from his political rivals in the CCP.

To what extent did the GLF succeed in its economic intentions? Answering this question depends largely on statistical evidence. Statistics relating to the GLF are notoriously unreliable, both in the Chinese and Western historical traditions. Politics, lack of bureaucratic competence, and fear led contemporary officials to inflate output figures for agricultural basics like grain, which in turn led others to inflate the amount of grain that could be procured for central government sale as surplus on foreign markets. Frank Dikötter, in his book *Mao's Great Famine* (2010), explains the difficulties of assessing the records for the period 1958–62 and provides a synthesised table of output and procurement.

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Source **12.19** Dikötter discusses problems of statistical records, 2010

SOURCE 12.19 Competing figures in archives

Every archive has a series of competing figures, put together in different ways by different agencies at different times. As a result of political pressure the statistical work of the Bureau for Grain disintegrated from 1958–1962, to such an extent that the state itself could no longer calculate a realistic level of grain production. And the distortion was at its greatest at the top, as false reporting and inflated claims accumulated on their way up the hierarchy … between 1962–1965 local statistical bureaus tried to rebuild their credibility and often went back to the years of famine to find out what had happened.

Different estimates for grain output and grain procurements in Hunan (million tonnes)

	Total estimated crop output in Hunan		Total estimated procurements in Hunan	
	Bureau for Grain	**Office for Statistics**	**Bureau for Grain**	**Office for Statistics**
1956	n/a	10.36	n/a	2.39 (23.1%)
1957	11.30	11.32	2.29 (20.2%)	2.74 (24.2%)
1958	12.27	12.25	2.66 (21.7%)	3.50 (28.5%)
1959	11.09	11.09	2.99 (26.9%)	3.89 (35.1%)
1960	8.00	8.02	1.75 (21.9%)	2.50 (31.2%)
1961	8.00	8.00	1.55 (19.4%)	2.21 (27.6%)

Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine*, 2010, p. 130

Responding to the data

1. Identify pattern/s between the 'Total estimated crop output' columns.
2. Identify pattern/s between the 'Total estimated procurements' columns.
3. What is the significance of the pattern/s you have identified?
4. Discuss the reliability issues present in the data set based on your pattern/s.
5. Create a two-column table that could be added onto the right of Dikötter's. Analyse the data by calculating the grain remaining for each year after procurement and record the data in your new table: the left column based on the Bureau for Grain's figures, the right for the Office for Statistics.
6. Generate a hypothesis concerning the effects of a command economy on Chinese welfare based on your analysis of the grain supply data.

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What were the social and political implications of the Great Leap Forward?

Social upheaval was experienced on a massive scale during the GLF. The growth of collectivisation involved population redistribution, prompting a form of urbanisation as well as industrialisation.

Sources **12.20** and **12.21** Collectivised activity

SOURCE 12.20 Mass participation in industrial construction projects represented by the building of a dam in China

SOURCE 12.21 Collectivised agricultural activity: peasants digging irrigation channels for fields

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Responding to the photographs

Work with a partner to complete the following questions for Source 12.20 and then answer the same questions for Source 12.21 individually.

1. What is the image representing?
2. Consider your prior knowledge of CCP collectivisation methods: why do you think this photograph was taken?
3. What does the photograph suggest about social organisation?
4. How might peasants react to changes in their labour organisation?

Collectivised activity, as seen in the photographs in Sources 12.20 and 12.21, perhaps suggests success and productivity in the rural population. In Source 12.22, you can see how the CCP described life in collectivised communities. Source 12.23 is a video about a 1962 cultural survey.

Sources **12.22** and **12.23** CCP Central Committee Statement, August 1958

SOURCE 12.22 CCP Central Committee Statement, August 1958

> **The people have taken to organising themselves along military lines, working with militancy, and leading a collective life, and this has raised the political consciousness of the 500 million peasants still further. Community dining rooms, kindergartens, nurseries, sewing groups, barber shops, public baths, happy homes for the aged, agricultural middle schools, 'red and expert' schools, are leading the peasants toward a happier collective life and further fostering ideas of collectivism among the peasant masses.**

CCP Central Committee Statement, August 1958

SOURCE 12.23 Chinese-produced cultural survey of 1962 China. There were many cultural survey videos produced during the GLF: this one looks at the soybean harvest (01:05). Scan the QR code to watch the video.

Responding to the sources

1. What explicit actions did the CCP claim were undertaken by 'the people'?
2. What explicit factors did the CCP claim were fostering happiness and collectivism among the peasants?
3. What implied messages can you identify in the CCP statement?
4. In what way could this report be seen as a mixture of factual description and official propaganda?
5. Could it still be considered a valuable source of historical evidence? If so, evidence about what?
6. The video has an English voiceover. What messages about China is it trying to disseminate to the West?

Collectives across China were encouraged to develop small-scale backyard industry, particularly focused on steel production. Hundreds of thousands of backyard furnaces were the collectivised vision, supposedly made possible by the agricultural surplus created by the agricultural revolution.

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Sources **12.24** and **12.25** Steel production

SOURCE 12.24 Employees of the Shin Chiao Hotel in Beijing steel smelting in the hotel courtyard, October 1958

SOURCE 12.25 New blast furnaces at Yingshuichiao iron smelting works

Responding to the photographs

1. Consider Sources 12.24 and 12.25. What differences do you notice between the large-scale smelting works and the urban courtyard works?
2. How effective do you think steel production was from a hotel courtyard? Consider quantity and quality of the steel in your response.

Images of productivity in agriculture and industry gave an impression of successful organisation and implementation of CCP policy. However, Mao's own doctor suggested that the GLF was not what it seemed – particularly, in agricultural production.

Source **12.26** Mao's doctor writes about agricultural production

SOURCE 12.26 From the memoir of Mao's doctor, Zhisui Li

> In Hubei, party secretary Wang Renzhong had ordered the peasants to remove rice plants from far-away fields and transplant them along Mao's route, to give the impression of a wildly abundant crop. The rice was planted so closely together that electric fans had to be set up around the fields to circulate air in order to prevent the plants from rotting. All of China was a stage, all the people performers in an extravaganza for Mao.

Zhisui Li, *Private Life of Chairman Mao: The Memoirs of Mao's Personal Physician*, 1994, p. 278

Responding to the source

1. Zhisui Li recalled his experiences 30 to 40 years after the events. Evaluate the reliability and accuracy of his account.

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2. Zhisui Li states in his work that he consulted his notes from the time to write his memoir. To what extent does this change your evaluation of his recollections?
3. How would you characterise the actions of Party members described in the memoir?
4. What do you think motivated Wang Renzhong to 'give the impression of a wildly abundant crop'?
5. If Wang Renzhong's actions were repeated in many places in various provinces, what could be the consequences?

It was not only agriculture that proved to be problematic. Mass-producing steel through backyard furnaces resulted in poor-quality steel that was unfit for industrial or military use. But how did the developments of collectivisation impact the average villager?

Source **12.27** Interview with a villager

SOURCE 12.27 Interview with a villager, conducted by a student as part of a memory project

In 1958 after the harvest in the fall, people in the village all moved to Shawo Village and Shenjia, staying there at night. They picked cottons and left them in the field, and they were blown all over the place, that's the harvest. After the fall, I had to work on the trenches in Xin Village, and what to eat over there? Just brought black dried sweet potatoes and young radish plants over there. I had my father and mother over here, my father's half body was paralyzed and my mother wasn't able to digest food. I just cried when thinking of that, what to do, I still have to carry water. What to eat? There was a yard that had some radish, and I took that out and put it aside with the young radish plants. I couldn't sleep all night, what would happen after I leave? The old man lay there and couldn't poop while my old mother couldn't digest food. There was a cemetery there then, and I picked a basket of corns over there at night, there was no other way. I brought them home, there was a mat on the bed, that's what was used in those two years, placed under dried grass. I took down the mat and dried grass and used them to cook for my old mother. What to do with these two who couldn't move when I left to work on the trenches in Xin Village? There were no big pots, which were all taken for constructing blast furnace. I had secretly buried a small one, and I took it out and placed on top of the bricks. The mat was not easy to cook, and I suddenly remembered about the dried grass, so I took that out. I picked a basket of corns [...], and cooked them in the pot.

Interview with Zuo Jinping, by Zou Xueping, 15 February 2011, *The Memory Project*, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library

Responding to the interview

1. What experiences dominated the memory of village life during the GLF according to Zuo?
2. Do you think this experience would be representative of village life across China?
3. Investigate other interviews to judge representativeness on the Repository Collections and Archives website, available via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10788.

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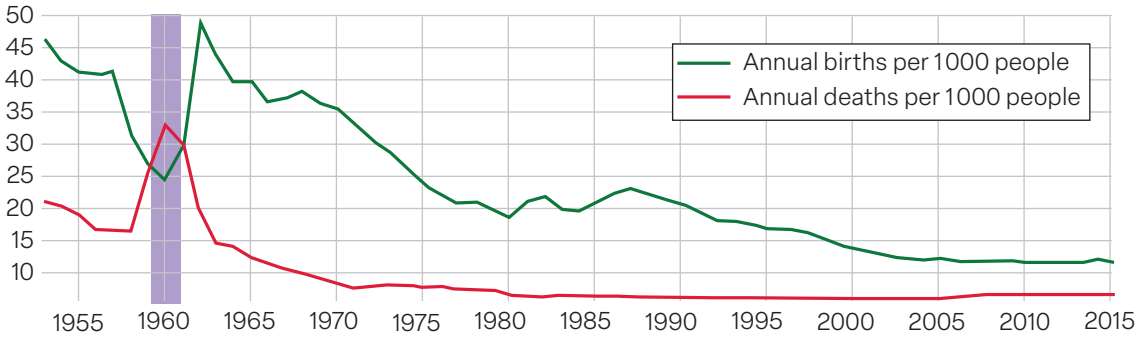
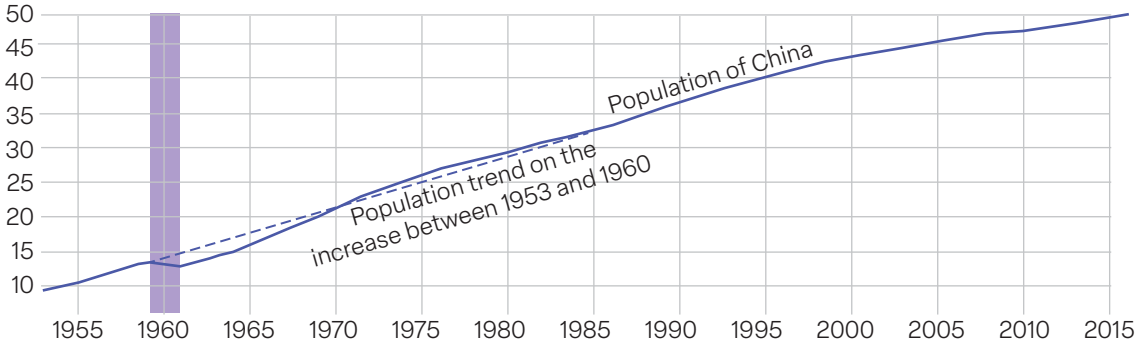
Written and visual perspectives provide a wealth of understanding about opinions and possible perspectives, but what about the data trends? Sources 12.28 and 12.29 focus on the broader demographic impacts of the GLF by looking at data from the decades that followed.

Sources **12.28** and **12.29** Demography



SOURCE 12.28 Births and deaths in China, 1950–2015

Joe Hasell and Max Roser, 'Famines', OurWorldInData.org, 2018



SOURCE 12.29 Population of China, 1950–2015

Joe Hasell and Max Roser, 'Famines', OurWorldInData.org, 2018

Responding to the graphs

1. What patterns in this graph indicate a significant event?
2. How might you describe the trajectory of deaths per 1000 people?
3. How many deaths occurred per 1000 people at the peak of the famine in 1960?
4. Given that Mao's influence remained until his death in 1976, what comments could you make regarding his leadership based on this graph?
5. What difficulties do you encounter in understanding the GLF from this graphic representation?

The demographic models shown in Sources 12.28 and 12.29 could suggest that the impact of Mao's activities was beginning to be felt from sometime in 1958, at the very start of the GLF. Historically, the text in Source 12.30, from the records of a plenary session of the CCP, has been used to suggest or demonstrate that Mao's political opponents were outmanoeuvring him because he was mishandling the GLF. However, it is important to consider also the timing and the broader issues of political struggle.

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Source **12.30** Mao given permission to step down, 1958

SOURCE 12.30 Decision approving Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal not to stand as candidate for Chairman of the People's Republic of China for the next term

> Following full and all-round consideration, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee has decided to approve this proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong, and not to nominate him again as candidate for Chairman of the People's Republic of China at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress. The Plenary Session of the Central Committee deems this to be a completely positive proposal, because, relinquishing his duties as Chairman of the State and working solely as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao will be enabled all the better to concentrate his energies on dealing with questions of the direction, policy and line of the Party and the state; he may also be enabled to set aside more time for Marxist-Leninist theoretical work, without affecting his continued leading role in the work of the state. This will be in the better interests of the whole Party and of all the people of the country.

'Decision approving Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal not to stand as candidate for Chairman of the People's Republic of China for the next term', Sixth plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 10 December 1958

Responding to the source

1. What position does Mao retain?
2. To what extent does Mao's remaining position change his authority?
3. Given that this announcement was made at the beginning of the GLF, did Mao 'step down' or was he pushed out of his role? Explain your response.
4. Does this event suggest a limit to personal power, or does it speak to Mao's personal character and beliefs?
5. To what extent can this source be used to prove that the GLF was a catastrophe?
6. How could Mao's change in circumstances in this source impact his legacy regarding the GLF?

How did the Great Leap Forward impact the unity of China as a state?

Via the GLF, Mao and the CCP demonstrated their ability to mobilise the vast population of Chinese peasants in aid of grand socialist experiments. The extent to which the peasants were happy with this mobilisation is highly questionable, but, at least in perception, China maintained unity. At its outset, the advent of the Hundred Flowers Campaign was seen as a positive, liberalising development, but it soon relapsed into accusations and fear. In spite of this, the PRC did not immediately fall into a state of anarchy following the GLF.

There is little doubt that the GLF was an unmitigated disaster. However, as you will see, reinterpretations abound. The response to the Hundred Flowers Campaign scared anyone critical of policy back into silence. Some of the most significant effects of the GLF were rapid collectivisation, mass infrastructure projects, poor-quality steel production from backyard furnaces and the Great Famine. The famine is a particularly contested issue, in the extent to which both its causes and effects were natural or a result of the GLF.

What did people believe to be the causes of the Great Famine?

The masses appear to have accepted the initial explanations that the famine's causes were largely natural, bolstered by personal experience of either flood or drought in their environment. While bureaucratic failure was an overriding part of the disaster, Dikötter's chapter on the interaction between people and nature in *Mao's Great Famine* is convincing in its conclusions.

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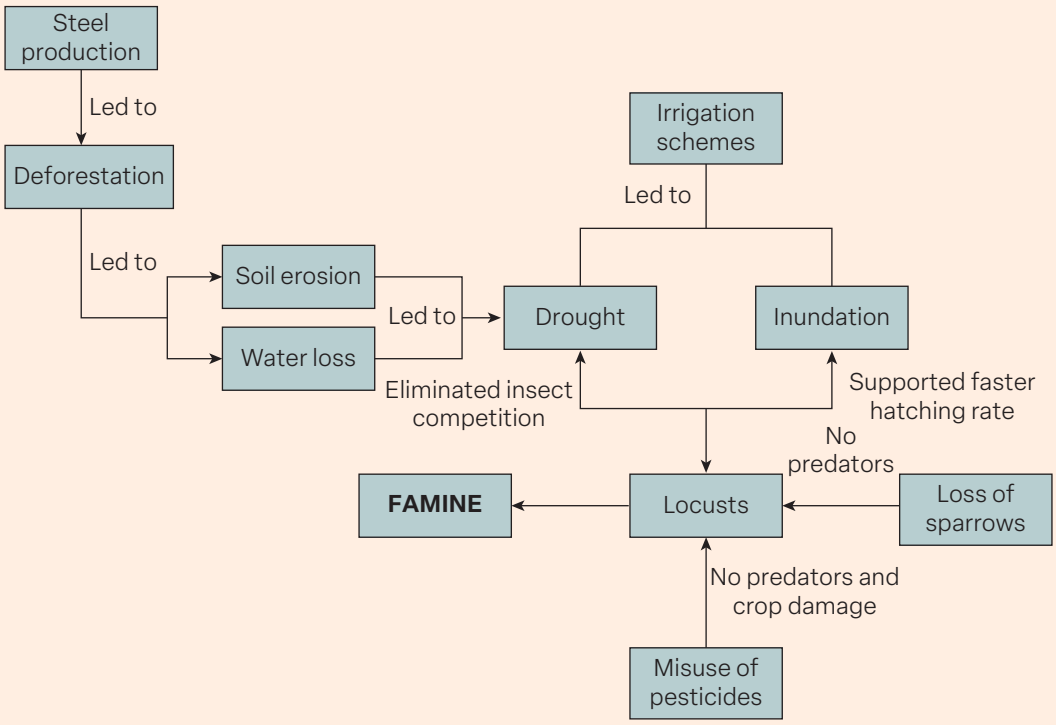
Activity **12.3**

Work with a mind map showing causes of the Great Famine

The mind map that follows is a visual interpretation of Dikötter's conclusions regarding the causes of the famine in China.



SOURCE 12.31 Mind map based on F. Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine*, 2010, p. 188

1. Make a copy of the mind map on your digital device or on a piece of paper, leaving plenty of room for expansion.
2. Research the elements not previously covered in this chapter (e.g. loss of sparrows).
3. Use Sources 12.17–12.30 and your information from question 2 to expand the mind map by creating new branches that lead to famine.
4. Does the new mind map lead you to new ideas or conclusions, or does it confirm or undermine any of the existing interpretations of events?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

To what extent did the Great Leap Forward continue the successes of the first five-year plan?

Answer the following questions:

1. To what extent do you believe the reaction to the Hundred Flowers Campaign would instil an understanding of China as an authoritarian state?
2. Use Sources 12.22–12.26 to answer the following question: *To what extent did the Great Leap Forward succeed in its intentions?*
3. Use Sources 12.27–12.31 to answer the following question: *What were the social and political repercussions of the Great Leap Forward?*

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SUB-QUESTION 3: What impact did Mao Zedong have on China between the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution?

How was leadership contested following the Great Leap Forward?

The GLF was catastrophic for both individuals and the nation. However, the leadership of China did not collapse as a result of this result.

SOURCE 12.32 Edmund Valtman, 'By Government Decree Every Member of the Commune is Entitled to a Private Lot', *The Hartford Times*, 9 March 1961

What is the artist's opinion of the GLF? To what extent is Valtman's US perspective valid?

People's Liberation Army (PLA) the name given to the military forces of the CCP from 1945. It was the official army of the PRC and was heavily guided by the Party itself.

The causes of failure and famine in the GLF were contentious even at the time. The extent to which the disaster was natural or human-made became the questioning linchpin of Mao's leadership. The only direct attack on his leadership of the GLF was made by Peng Dehuai, the leading General of the **People's Liberation Army (PLA)** and Minister of Defence. At the Lushan Conference in July 1959, a meeting of the leaders of the CCP, Peng suggested that crop production was not as high as was being reported, and that increasing hardship was developing the GLF into a human-made disaster. While Peng was diplomatic in his criticism – he had raised his concerns in a private letter to Mao – they clearly hit a nerve with the Chairman, who circulated the missive and aggressively attacked Peng in various meetings, calling him a 'revisionist' or 'rightist'. Mao blamed grain hoarding, local incompetence and bad weather for the rapidly worsening situation of the peasants. This view was, unsurprisingly, accepted by the other leaders when he insisted that he would raise a new Red Army to overthrow the government if the government were to blame for their plight. Peng Dehuai was promptly supplanted in his leadership of the PLA by Lin Biao, a close supporter of Mao, as the new Minister of Defence. The GLF continued more aggressively after Peng's removal.

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How did Mao remain relevant?

Mao's reputation as the heroic revolutionary leader was preserved mostly by his proposal at the plenary session in December 1958 that he would not stand as candidate for Chairman of the State for the next term (see Source 12.30). When Mao stepped down, he was succeeded by his long-time ally Liu Shaoqi, supported by Deng Xiaoping as his deputy. The years 1959 to 1966 were an era of two Chairmen in China. Mao retained his position as Chairman of the CCP, and Liu as Chairman of the State (PRC) apparatus. Ideologically, Mao was still powerful, but in practical implementation of policy Liu Shaoqi was now at the helm. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping spent their time in power attempting to recover the worsening situation in the provinces. They scaled back collectivisation and allowed private land to re-emerge in an effort to provide basic subsistence. They also issued practical bureaucratic policies that focused on expertise, modernisation and quality, which went against the ideals of Mao.

Despite being sidelined in the practical running of the state, Mao was not a spent political force, and not without allies. Lin Biao helped to strengthen Mao's reputation within the PLA by compiling and issuing a collection of Mao's teachings, called *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, in 1963, which was better known in the West as *The Little Red Book*.

Sources **12.33** and **12.34** Quotations of Chairman Mao Zedong

SOURCE 12.33 Red Guards at Tiananmen Square holding up *Quotations of Chairman Mao Zedong*, also known as *The Little Red Book*

SOURCE 12.34 Opening line of the foreword to the second edition, Lin Biao, 1966

> Comrade Mao Zedong is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage.

Lin Biao, Foreword, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong*, 1966

Responding to the sources

1. *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* measures 10cm × 7.5cm × 1cm, smaller than many mobile phones of today. Why might it have been made so small?
2. What does Source 12.33 suggest to you about how the people responded to the book?
3. What does Lin Biao's statement reveal about him?
4. Who was the intended audience for this book? Consider Source 12.33 in your response.
5. How would Lin Biao's foreword position the reader in regard to Mao Zedong?

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Publication of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* helped to indoctrinate the PLA in Mao Zedong Thought. According to Jonathan Spence, similar publications earlier in 1962 for Liu Shaoqi and Chen Yun were shelved, leading to the suggestion that the influence of Mao remained strong. Mao also remained effective in developing CCP propaganda through a series of 'Learn from …' campaigns that championed groups or individuals as examples of exemplary communists. Once again, it was Lin Biao who assisted Mao in these campaigns, particularly the 'Learn from Lei Feng' campaign that focused on the *Diary of Lei Feng*. Lei was a posthumous hero of the PLA who had dedicated himself to his comrades rather than military elitism. Similarly, the Dazhai community in the remote province of Shanxi, which had significantly increased its agricultural yields after collectivisation, was used as an exemplar of the commune system. The Dazhai commune became one among many contentious issues for Mao and Liu. Liu's work teams investigating the commune found that much of the success could be attributed to corruption in the manner of the GLF officials, but Mao's repeated declarations of support and calls to 'Learn from Dazhai' undermined any move against the commune leadership, and Liu's investigative team stopped their work.

In 1963, the CCP launched the Socialist Education Movement. The purpose and motives for the movement have been interpreted in different ways, but it seems to have been brought about by a belief that the masses needed a stronger socialist understanding in order to become more dedicated to the cause.

In Sources 12.35 and 12.36, you are presented with two interpretive statements concerning the Socialist Education Movement. In addition to the use of evidence, historians must engage with competing interpretations of that evidence to assess the reliability and usefulness of alternative competing historical narratives. When reading these sources, consider the differences in language that the authors use to describe individuals and their motives. Answer the questions that follow the sources and then discuss your responses as a group.

Sources **12.35** and **12.36** Two historians comment on the Socialist Education Movement

SOURCE 12.35 Dillon, 2010

> The radicals around Mao Zedong decided to launch another campaign, the Socialist Education Movement, to advance their agenda and to counter the bureaucratic style of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. As with many of China's political campaigns, the name is misleading and unhelpful: it had nothing to do with education in the conventional sense. The initial aim of the Socialist Education Movement was to restore the impetus of the drive for collectivisation in the rural areas and to reverse the decision to decentralise commune management that had followed the famines, but it rapidly became refocused on what was seen as a growing problem, grassroots corruption in the countryside.

Michael Dillon, *China: A Modern History*, 2010, p. 320

SOURCE 12.36 Spence, 1999

> So serious were these problems that a range of leaders including Mao, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, and Deng Xiaoping seem to have agreed on a comprehensive new program to reintroduce socialist values into Chinese society. Under the Socialist Education Campaign, class struggle was to be re-emphasised across the land as all joined in the fight for 'four cleanups': in the spheres of accounting procedures, granary supplies, property accumulation, and in the system of allocation of compensatory work points in return for hours and types of labour performed in the communes …

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, p. 561

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Responding to the sources

1. Who instigated the Socialist Education Movement in each account?
2. What were the motives of the instigators according to each author?
3. What was the aim of the movement according to each author?
4. What objective elements appear in each author's accounts?
5. How do Dillon and Spence differ in the way they position the reader in relation to Mao, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

What impact did Mao Zedong have on China between the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution?

Create a summary of the factors that helped to maintain Mao Zedong's relevance and impact on China between 1958 and 1965.

SUB-QUESTION 4: How did the Cultural Revolution affect the unity of China?

What triggered Mao's return to pre-eminence?

Alongside the currents of political change that were circulating between 1959 and 1965, intellectuals and artists were making their mark on the cultural stage. Through art, some intellectuals began to voice thinly veiled social commentary. In 1961, Beijing Deputy-Mayor Wu Han, a historian and writer, created an allegorical play about Minister of Defence Peng Dehuai's dismissal. Wu had written articles for the *People's Daily* that not-so-subtly criticised the management of the GLF; and he continued with a regular satirical piece up to 1965. Coinciding with his continued policy development, Mao also had an eye on cultural output, effectively assisted by his wife, Jiang Qing, a particularly strident activist for Chinese artistic cultural change. In late 1965, Yao Wenyuan, a pro-Maoist, wrote a scathing response to Wu's play in a Shanghai newspaper that subsequently circulated around the country. Academic and political debate on Wu's work swiftly followed.

Two main groups criticised Wu in February of 1966, but the growing antipathy between their respective ringleaders, and conflict over their methods, escalated tensions. The **Group of Five** was a conservative group in support of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping led by Peng Zhen (veteran party leader and Mayor of Beijing). This group urged cautious criticism and stringent academic debate of the works. A more radical group known as the **Gang of Four**, led by Jiang Qing, was more fundamental in its attacks on Wu as being anti-socialist. They declared that Mao's writings on culture were a 'new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook' and announced a desire to revolutionise culture in China. Competing visions of China's future trajectory would result in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: a movement launched by Mao with the aim of removing the traditional and capitalist aspects of Chinese society, and maintaining 'true' communist ideology.

Group of Five a conservative group in favour of moderate cultural change in support of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, led by Peng Zhen

Gang of Four a radical group formed to initiate and carry out aggressive cultural change, led by Mao's wife, Jiang Qing

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In Sources 12.37–12.39, consider how Mao was positioning himself before and during the Cultural Revolution.

Sources **12.37–12.39** Doctoring history

SOURCE 12.37 Mao Zedong on the construction site of the reservoir at the Ming Tombs near Beijing on 25 May 1958. This is the original photo.

SOURCE 12.38 An doctored version of the same photograph

SOURCE 12.39 Detail from Source 12.38

Responding to the photographs

1. Who would have a motive to change the photograph?
2. The central figure missing in Source 12.38 is Peng Zhen, Mayor of Beijing. The image was created in 1958 during the GLF. Do you think that it was modified at that time or perhaps later? Explain your response.
3. Source 12.39 shows a detail from Source 12.38 – a single figure in the crowd behind Mao's head. He is the only figure whose hat has been doctored: why do you think this was done? What does that suggest about the overall message of the photograph?

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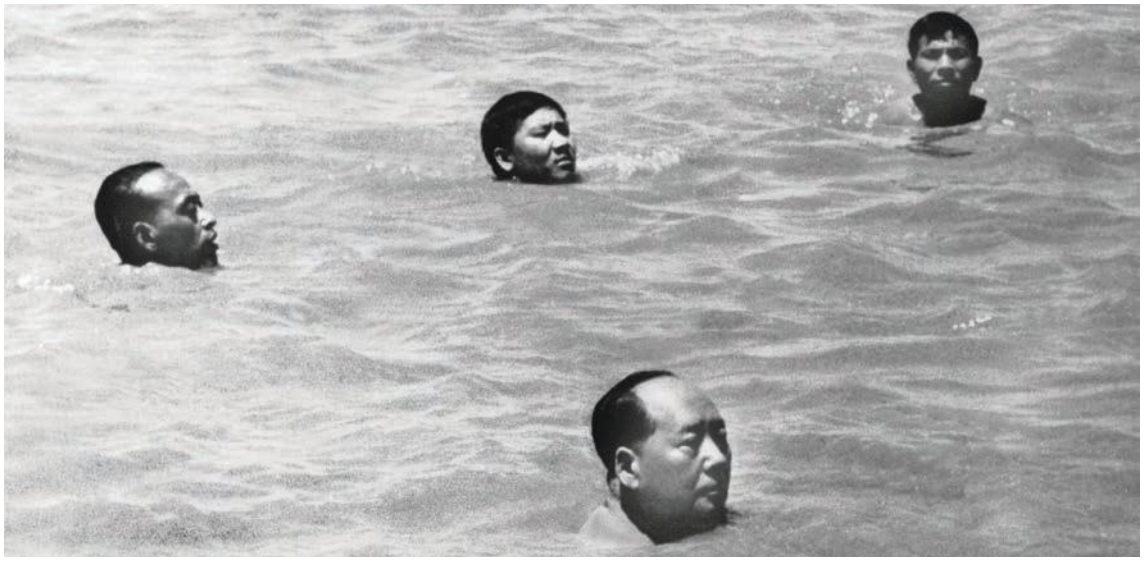

SOURCE 12.40 Mao Zedong swimming in the River Yangtze. This photograph is largely symbolic, with Mao in the foreground and the Yangtze River taking up the rest of the frame.

Use the internet to investigate Mao's swim in the Yangtze River in 1966 and then explain the symbolism of this photograph.

How did the Cultural Revolution progress?

Jonathan Spence provides a fairly comprehensive summary of the factional chaos of the early stages of the Cultural Revolution.

Source **12.41** Spence summarises the factional chaos

SOURCE 12.41 Historian Jonathan Spence on the Cultural Revolution

So were the lines at last drawn, beyond effective mediation, for the cataclysmic central phase of what Mao and his supporters called the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This movement defies simple classification, for embedded within it were many impulses at once feeding and impeding each other. There was Mao Zedong's view that the Chinese revolution was losing impetus because of party conservatism and the lethargy of the huge and cumbrous bureaucracy, which had lost its ability to make speedy or innovative decisions. Mao declared that many party bureaucrats 'were taking the capitalist road' even as they mouthed the slogans of socialism. There were, too, Mao's sense of his advancing age – he was now seventy-three – and his concern that his senior colleagues were seeking to shunt him aside. There were straightforward elements of factional struggle pitting Jiang Qing and the Shanghai radicals against those in the Peking cultural bureaucracy who wanted to maintain their own power bases. There were the political strategies of those who diverged sharply with Mao over the pace and direction of change, among whom were such veteran Communists at the apex of the government as Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, and Peng Zhen. There were the personal political ambitions of Lin Biao and those who supported him in his efforts to expand the role of the army into politics, and make the PLA a centrepiece of cultural change.

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, pp. 572–3

Responding to the summary

What impression does Spence give the reader about the nature of the Cultural Revolution?

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On a wider scale, it would be the students, dislocated urban youth and industrial workers that became the weapons of the Cultural Revolution. Restricted in career change and mobility, they were all disgruntled by the early policies of the PRC government, led by Liu Shaoqi. This was a revolution characterised by the use of the younger generation against the older cadres.

A Central Cultural Revolution Group was created in May 1966 by the Central Committee and was incorporated within the CCP structure by mid-May. This group was set up by the Maoist Gang of Four to steer aggressive cultural reforms. In the same meetings, Peng Zhen, the Mayor of Beijing and Minister for Culture, was denounced and the competing Group of Five was disbanded. On 25 May, a **big-character poster** appeared in Beijing University attacking the education system for deviating from the revolutionary agenda. Initial efforts to suppress the poster by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping proved ineffective, as Chen Boda, Mao's political secretary installed as editor of the *People's Daily* by a coup, republished the poster on 2 June. Students took up the cause at Beijing University with the aid of pro-Mao work teams. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping sent similar teams to other universities, according to Michael Dillon, 'attempting to wrest the initiative away from Mao's group and to retain control of the movement themselves' (2010:330), but according to Jonathan Spence, 'to quell disturbances' (1999:574). Whatever the case, the student movements grew dramatically, and began forming radicalised brigades wearing red armbands – the **Red Guard**.

big-character poster propaganda posters written in large Chinese characters, directing revolutionary action and communication throughout the Cultural Revolution

Red Guard radicalised workers and students, often identified by red armbands, who carried out the most aggressive elements of the Cultural Revolution, including destruction of property, struggle sessions, beatings and executions

On 5 August, Mao published his own big-character poster titled 'Bombard the Headquarters', attacking the work teams of his adversaries Liu and Deng for being reactionary and bourgeois. By 8 August, at Mao's instigation, the CCP adopted a new policy: the 'Decision concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution', also known as the Sixteen Points – a new manifesto for a renewed revolution.

SOURCE 12.42 1966 American newsreel about the Red Guard (00:49)

SOURCE 12.43 Big-character poster in Beijing, 1966. Big-character posters were used by the Red Guard, in particular, as a form of communication to encourage direct action.

What would be the benefit of large characters? Might hand-written posters have had more impact than professionally printed posters?

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On 18 August 1966, a mass rally of approximately one million Red Guards descended from across the country to Tiananmen Square, where they were greeted by Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, Zhao Enlai, Chen Boda and Deng Xiaoping. The Red Guard were charged to attack the Four Olds – old ideas, customs, culture and habits – in a new revolution to sweep away non-socialist remnants within society. To drive home this message, copies of *Quotations from Chairman Mao* were distributed beyond the ranks of the PLA, ensuring Mao Zedong Thought could educate the masses.

Sources **12.44** and **12.45** Greeting the Red Guard

SOURCE 12.44 (L–R) Lin Biao, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai waving copies of the *Little Red Book* at Tiananmen during the Cultural Revolution, 1967

Responding to the photograph and video

1. Consider the doctored image in Source 12.38 and compare it with the clothing of Mao in Source 12.44. What statement is Mao making to his audience through his choice of dress?
2. What are Lin Biao and Zhou Enlai holding? What is the intention of this display?
3. In the video, how would you interpret the emotion generated by Mao's presence?
4. To what extent is the mass rally well-ordered?

SOURCE 12.45 Crowds come together to listen to Mao (01:19). Scan the QR code to watch the video.

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Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping would soon both be purged from the Party and subjected to classic mass criticism and humiliation. While Liu Shaoqi would die in prison a few years later, Deng Xiaoping's fate would be entirely different, as you will discover later in this chapter.

To what extent did the Cultural Revolution reshape Chinese culture?

As a starting point for understanding the Cultural Revolution, it is important to investigate what the official motivations and intentions were. Sources 12.46–12.51 provide a representative and broadly chronological outline of significant features of the Cultural Revolution.

Source **12.46** Sixteen Points issued by the CCP, 8 August 1966

SOURCE 12.46 Extract from 'Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution'

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, and customs, and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds, and endeavour to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and transform education, literature, and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CCP, 'Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' (later known as Sixteen Points), 8 August 1966

Responding to the source

1. What does this source identify as the most important elements of the Cultural Revolution?
2. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were both still nominally in power when this statement was circulated. How do you think they would have felt about this statement?
3. How might this statement serve to solidify Mao's grip on power?
4. What implications might this statement have with regard to the influence of the CCP versus the government of the PRC?
5. What implications might this statement have regarding national unity?

Next, consider the main aspects of the Cultural Revolution by looking at the major chronological elements. Sources 12.47 to 12.51 are five pieces of potential evidence that illustrate significant aspects of the development of the revolution. Source 12.47 exemplifies a particularly common theme throughout the Cultural Revolution.

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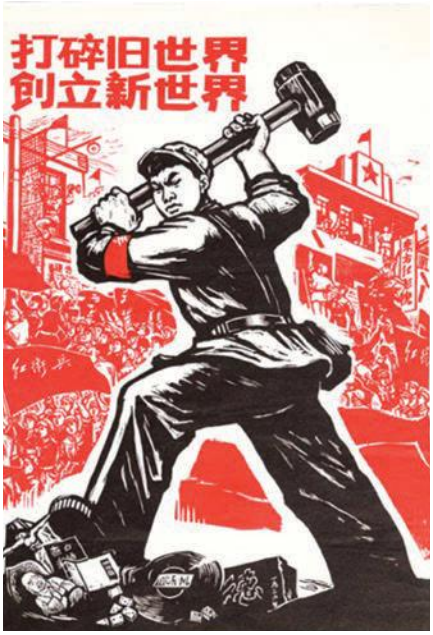
Source **12.47** Poster attacking the Four Olds, c. 1967

Responding to the poster

1. What is represented by the various items depicted in black? How do they relate to the title of the poster and to the caption?
2. How does the large figure also relate to the title and caption?
3. Study the red background action. How does it represent the aims and actions of the Red Guards and the Cultural Revolution?
4. What institutions, groups or individuals might be enthused by or fearful of the poster's message? Why would they feel this way?



SOURCE 12.47 Poster from ca. 1967. The red text at the top says 'Scatter the old world, build the new'.

The ferocity of Red Guard attacks on the Four Olds became legendary. The revolutionary zeal of the younger generation was dangerous for many. Everyone was at risk, and so everyone took precautions to be seen as revolutionary.

Source **12.48** Spence discusses the height of the attack on the Four Olds

SOURCE 12.48 Spence discusses the height of the attack on the Four Olds

> The result was a bewildering situation in which varieties of radical groups, not coordinated by any central leadership, struggled with party leaders and with each other. The battles at the provincial level show this the best. One seizure attempt in Heilongjiang province, northern Manchuria, was led by a former opponent of the Great Leap Forward who now tried to prove his loyalty to Mao by showing his revolutionary fervor. In Shanxi, the vice-governor of the province joined with Red Guards to oust the other party leaders. In Shandong, the secondary secretary of the Tianjin municipal committee worked with a member of the Shandong party committee to found a Provincial Revolutionary Committee. In Guizhou, it was the deputy political commissar of the province who allied with the Red Guards.

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, p. 577

Responding to Spence

1. Based on this interpretation of events, how would you characterise the situation that emerged in the provinces?
2. Why were the various individuals joining with Red Guard factions?
3. What was the key target of the Red Guards mentioned in this source?
4. To what extent do you think the actions described in the source reflect the intentions of Mao and his faction?

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Factionalism, brought about by increasingly competitive revolutionaries, caused warfare to break out among those who claimed to speak for the true revolution. This situation enabled anti-Maoist elements to wage a covert war against the Party while mouthing pledges to the cause, thereby increasing the destruction and the chaos. In Source 12.49, the Committee chaired by Mao has called in the ringleaders of Beijing Red Guard factions. Earlier in the dialogue, Mao had indicated that he was recording the session. The speakers in this extract are Mao, Lin Biao, Han A'i-ching (one of the six Red Guard leaders in the room) and Kang Sheng (a CCP official involved in security and propaganda).

Source **12.49** Ringleaders of Beijing Red Guard factions

SOURCE 12.49 Dialogues with Responsible Persons of Capital Red Guards Congress, 28 July 1968

Lin Biao: You have isolated yourselves from the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Chairman [Mao]: Some people say that public notices issued in Kwangsi are applicable only in Kwangsi, and public notices issued in Shensi are applicable only in Shensi. Now, I am issuing a nation-wide notice. If anyone continues to oppose, fight the Liberation Army, destroy means of transportation, kill people, or set fires, he is committing crimes. Those few who turn a deaf ear to persuasion and persist in their behaviour are bandits, or Kuomintang elements, subject to capture. If they continue to resist, they will be annihilated.

Lin Biao: There are real rebel groups. Some of them are bandits and Kuomintang elements who are using our flag for rebellion. In Kwangsi, 1000 houses have been burned down.

Chairman: Make it clear in the notice and explain clearly to the students that if they persist and do not change, they are subject to arrest. This is for light cases. In serious cases, they are subject to capture and elimination.

Lin Biao: In Kwangsi 1000 houses were burned down, and nobody was allowed to put out the fire.

Chairman: Wasn't the Kuomintang just like this? This is the kind of desperate struggle on the part of the class enemy before his death. Burning houses is a grave error.

Lin Biao: On my expedition in Kwangsi, I fought with Pai Ch'ung-hsi. He used this tactic. He set fire to houses and tried to make believe that it was the Communists who set fire to them. The same old tactic is being used again.

Han A'i-ching: K'uai Ta-fu [a Red Guard leader] is riding on the back of a tiger from which he cannot get down.

Kang Sheng: It is not the kind of situation as you say.

Chairman: If he cannot get off the back of the tiger, then let me kill the tiger.

Dialogues with Responsible Persons of Capital Red Guards Congress, 28 July 1968

Responding to the interview transcript

1. What sort of excesses have the Red Guards been engaged in according to Mao and Lin Biao?
2. Based on this source, to what extent has Mao been in control of the actions of the Red Guards?
3. What has Mao been doing to control the situation?
4. What is the implication in Mao's final words in this extract?
5. Why do you think that Mao tape-recorded this meeting with Red Guard faction leaders? (After answering, check the full transcript of the recording online to see what Mao actually said about this.)

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In Mao's opinion, the Red Guards themselves were not immune from the necessity of a Cultural Revolution. The youth, after all, did need a proper education. The Up to the Mountains and Down to the Countryside Movement involved sending urban youths to countryside areas.

Sources **12.50** and **12.51** Mao on the educated youth, 1968

SOURCE 12.50 Mao quoted in *People's Daily*, 13 September 1968

> Most of the students educated in old schools are able to integrate with workers, peasants, and soldiers ... but they should be led under the right direction and re-educated by workers, peasants, and soldiers, and thus completely change their old mind-set. This kind of intellectual is welcomed by workers, peasants, and soldiers.

People's Daily, 13 September 1968

SOURCE 12.51 Mao quoted in *People's Daily*, 22 December 1968

> It is necessary for Zhiqing [educated youth] to go to the countryside and get re-educated by poor and lower-middle class peasants. We should persuade urban cadres and other people to send their children who are graduates of junior and senior high schools and universities to the countryside, to carry out the mobilisation. Comrades in various rural areas should welcome them.

People's Daily, 22 December 1968

Responding to the newspaper excerpts

1. What is the explicit message of the two statements?
2. To what extent do you think that Mao is correct in his statement that workers, peasants and soldiers would welcome 'this kind of intellectual'?
3. Given that the Red Guards were frequently made up from millions of urban intellectual youth, what do you think is his true intention in sending the youth 'up to the mountains and down to the countryside'?
4. Why do you think these quotes were published in the *People's Daily*?

How did the Cultural Revolution come to an end?

By the early 1970s, the Red Guard factions had been disbanded and scattered, and the most violent part of the Cultural Revolution had subsided. As a consequence, the PLA took up the reins of revolution, ostensibly to control the violence. However, according to Michael Lynch, in 1969–1971 'the PLA squads who replaced the Red Guards were if anything even more vicious in their persecution of "counter-revolutionaries"' (2008:96).

Lin Biao, Mao's newly named successor and strongest supporter, seems to have come under suspicion of ambitious disloyalty. Lin Biao's position as head of the PLA gave him increasing influence and genuine strength to usurp power if he so wished. Mao began to initiate reforms in the CCP that clearly undercut Lin's personal authority in the PLA, culminating in demands for public self-criticisms and attacks on poor management within the military. Spence provides a dramatic interpretation of events.

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Source **12.52** The death of Lin Biao

SOURCE 12.52 Spence on the death of Lin Biao

According to documents later released by the CCP, Lin Biao, driven to desperation by the collapse of his high political ambitions, sought support among his closest friends for an assassination attempt on Mao. Unable to implement this plan, Lin panicked and fled China, along with his wife and son, in a Trident jet. The party documents added that the plane was making for the Soviet Union but was inadequately fuelled for such a trip; it also had on board neither navigator nor radio operator. It crashed in Mongolia on September 13, 1971, burning to death all on board. This story is essentially beyond verification, since the photographs later released by the Chinese authorities are of dubious authenticity, and details of Lin's exact plans and of the other plotters are blurred.

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, p. 585

Responding to the source

1. What evidence does Spence use for his interpretation of events?
2. How reliable would you judge Spence's evidence to be?
3. To what extent does Spence trust his evidence?
4. Why does Spence use this evidence, given the evaluation he presents at the end of the extract?
5. How does Spence's text highlight a challenge faced by historians in interpreting and explaining past events?

Lin Biao's death helped to bolster the position of the longest survivor of the Chinese leadership other than Mao – Zhou Enlai. By being a voice of support and wary moderation, Zhou had survived the various political purges, including those by the Red Guards. Zhou continued to maintain the practical running of the state throughout the period of the Cultural Revolution as Premier of the PRC, and also managed to rehabilitate some of the more important political targets of the movement. The most important rehabilitation was that of Deng Xiaoping, who returned to government in March 1973. By 1975, Mao and Zhou were both too fragile to manage China's government effectively, and it fell to Deng to take up the slack. However, when Zhou Enlai died in January 1976, it was not Deng Xiaoping who would take his place. Instead, Deng was subjected to attacks for being a 'Capitalist Roader' and revisionist by the Gang of Four, led by Jiang Qing. Hua Guofeng, a rising star from Mao's home province, was named as acting Premier. In April, public outpourings of grief for Zhou Enlai in Tiananmen Square turned into demonstrations against the regime. The demonstrations were put down by security forces, causing a deepening of the campaign against Deng. The same old political infighting in the highest ranks of the Chinese leadership continued throughout the year and barely paused for the end of an era – the death of Mao Zedong, on 9 September 1976.

With Mao's death, there were the expected official mourning and mass gatherings to mark the passing of the Chairman. Though the Gang of Four, the clique that instigated the Cultural Revolution, were present at the proceedings, Hua Guofeng had them arrested before a month had passed and consolidated his own position as Mao's successor, being named Chairman of the Central Committee of the CCP, Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission and Premier of the PRC. The Cultural Revolution was over. Deng Xiaoping, both a critic and victim of the Cultural Revolution, took refuge in the south of China in self-imposed exile.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

How did the Cultural Revolution affect the unity of China?

Create a timeline for sub-question 4 from 1966 to 1976. Include reference to the sources in your timeline. Consider the period in question: How would you characterise the overall experience of the nation during this time? How was Chinese identity attacked?

SUB-QUESTION 5: What have historians said about the impact of Mao and the CCP on shaping China's national experience between 1949 and 1976?

Now that we have an understanding of the major national experiences that shaped China in the mid-twentieth century, it is important to consider how they have been interpreted.

What do historians say about the Great Leap Forward?

The historiographical tradition of the GLF is diverse on account of wide variations in source availability, analytical and evaluative accuracy, temporal and geographical distance from events, and ideological and political perspectives. Sources 12.53–12.56 are a sample of differing interpretations of the GLF, from historians Jonathan Spence and Michael Lynch, political scientist Kenneth Lieberthal and Australian economists E.L. Wheelwright and Bruce McFarlane.

Historical analysis often changes over time, based on the available evidence, and societal influences of the historian's contemporary world. Source 12.53 provides a point of view from relatively close to the events, but with limited access to non-official data and evidence. Source 12.54 is a much later historical interpretation, based on evidence released well after the events.

Source **12.53** Wheelwright and McFarlane's 1973 conclusions

SOURCE 12.53 Wheelwright and McFarlane's 1973 conclusions

> In agriculture, 1958 was certainly a good year, though not as good as had been thought. The three succeeding years were extremely bad. In 1959, almost half the cultivated area was affected by heavy floods or serious drought. In 1960, drought, typhoons, floods and pests struck 800 million mou [.0667 hectares per mou], more than half the cultivated area, and seriously affected another 30 to 360 million mou, some of which bore no crop at all. The Yellow River practically dried up for a month in Shandong, an almost unheard-of event. A serious food shortage developed, but famine was avoided by rationing and collective effort. The commune system, by its ability to mobilise large numbers of people, undoubtedly helped in avoiding famine in these difficult years.

E.L. Wheelwright and Bruce McFarlane, *The Chinese Road to Socialism*, 1973, p. 55

Responding to the source

1. According to this source, what were the explicit causes of poor agricultural conditions during the GLF?
2. What feature of social organisation helped in 'avoiding famine' during the GLF, and how?
3. Considering what you have learned about the GLF, what significant factual inaccuracy is stated in the source?
4. Do you think that correcting this inaccuracy would have changed the way the authors interpreted events? Explain your response.

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Source **12.54** Spence on the Great Leap Forward

SOURCE 12.54 Spence on the Great Leap Forward

The grain-production figures had been disastrously overinflated. The announced total for 1958 of 375 million tons of grain had to be revised down to 250 million tons (Western economists later guessed that actual production was around 215 million tons). Not only had no cadres dared to report shortfalls of the procurement quotas they had been given out of fear of being labelled 'rightists' or 'defeatists,' but many of the best-trained statisticians from state bureaus, having been removed in the 1957 anti-rightist campaign (along with most able demographers), were no longer around to issue words of caution even had they dared. Furthermore, the diversion of resources into local backyard steel furnaces – 1 million had been scattered across the face of China – did not pay off, since the furnaces were not able to produce a high-standard product.

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, p. 550

Responding to the source

1. According to Spence, what were the main reasons why the grain production figures had been overinflated?
2. What was the secondary reason given for the failure of grain production?
3. To what extent does this excerpt place the blame for the failure of the GLF on groups or individuals?
4. What evaluative terminology would you use to characterise Spence's interpretation?

Mao blamed three factors for the famine during the GLF: hoarding of grain, mistakes or incompetence of local officials, and exceptionally bad weather producing floods and droughts that destroyed crops. Examine Source 12.55 to see how Mao's explanations have been received.

Source **12.55** Lynch on Mao's explanations of the Great Leap Forward

SOURCE 12.55 Lynch on Mao's explanations of the Great Leap Forward

There was no truth in the first of Mao's explanations, some in the second, and little in the third. But poor weather does not explain the famine. It is true that 1958 was a bad year, although not particularly exceptional by Chinese standards. However, the weather the following three years was notably mild. Whatever Mao might claim, the famine was not a misfortune of nature; it was a direct and fatal consequence of the decisions he took. It may well be true that some of the officials made mistakes when implementing the policies they were given. Yet, no matter how blameworthy those lower down in the Communist hierarchy may have been, the responsibility lay with Mao Zedong. It was in pursuit of his instructions regarding the collectivisation of the Chinese peasantry and in accordance with his mistaken notions of science that his officials had set in motion a process that culminated in the horrific deaths of millions of his people.

Michael Lynch, *Access to History: The People's Republic of China 1949–76*, 2008, p. 69

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Responding to the source

1. According to this source, who is to blame for the famine and failure of the GLF?
2. Why does Lynch blame this person?
3. What do you think is Lynch's opinion of Mao? How can you tell this?
4. What evaluative terminology would you use to characterise Lynch's interpretation?
5. In what way does Lynch differ from Spence in his conclusions?

Multiple sources of evidence are necessary to form a comprehensive argument, but multiple interpretations of that evidence must also be considered. Variant interpretations can be used to question source usefulness and reliability, and to confirm or challenge a potential hypothesis. They can also be used to help us understand which are the accepted scholarly interpretations of evidence. Consider Lieberthal's interpretation.

Source **12.56** Lieberthal on the Great Leap Forward

SOURCE 12.56 Lieberthal on the Great Leap Forward

> **The Great Leap thus failed because of flaws in its basic policies and the inherent dynamics of China's political system, including incentives to falsify information from the grass roots. The withdrawal of Soviet aid and three years (1959–1961) of particularly inclement weather deepened the failure. As a result, the Communist party, which had previously proved itself rough, violent, but above all successful, had now demonstrated that it could err catastrophically. Mao Zedong himself, moreover, bore a large part of the responsibility for the disaster.**

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, 1995, p. 108

Responding to the source

1. What are the main reasons for the failure of the GLF, according to Lieberthal?
2. Investigate when Soviet aid was withdrawn. Does this fit with Lieberthal's assertion? Explain your response.
3. What do you think Lieberthal means by the 'inherent dynamics of China's political system'?
4. What evaluative terminology would you use to characterise Lieberthal's conclusions in relation to those of Lynch and Spence?

What do historians say about the Cultural Revolution?

Interpretations of the Cultural Revolution have posed numerous problems for Chinese and Western historians because of the inextricable links between Mao Zedong's cult of personality and his ideological influence over the entire history of the CCP and PRC. Insufficient criticism can create a misleading or an untrue narrative of people and events and limit potential reforms that may be required. Too much criticism could lead to undermining the stability of the state and Party founded on the common national experiences of continual revolution and Mao Zedong Thought.

Read Sources 12.57–12.60 to help you understand how the Cultural Revolution has been interpreted. Source 12.57 was written by the famous contemporary, colleague, rival and victim of Mao – Deng Xiaoping.

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SOURCE 12.57 Deng Xiaoping comments on questions of official historical interpretation, 1980

And, in the 'Cultural Revolution', Comrade Mao Zedong did not intend to overthrow all the veteran cadres. For instance, from the very beginning Lin Biao was bent on persecuting Comrade He Long, but Comrade Mao Zedong wanted to protect him. Despite the fact that Comrade Mao wanted to 'rectify' anyone who disobeyed him, he still gave some consideration to how far he should go. We cannot say that he bore no responsibility for the intensified persecution of veteran cadres that occurred later, but he was not the only one to blame. In some instances, persecutions had already been carried out by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, while in others they took place behind Comrade Mao's back. This notwithstanding, it must be said that the overthrow of a large number of cadres was one of the biggest tragedies of Comrade Mao Zedong's later years.

In those years, Comrade Mao Zedong was in fact not so consistent in his thinking as he previously had been, and some of his statements were mutually contradictory ... We should unequivocally criticize mistakes, including those by Comrade Mao Zedong ... When we write about his mistakes, we should not exaggerate, for otherwise we shall be discrediting Comrade Mao Zedong, and this would mean discrediting our Party and state. Any exaggeration of his mistakes would be at variance with the historical facts.

Deng Xiaoping, Remarks on successive drafts of the 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China', 25 October 1980

SOURCE 12.58 Weigelin-Schwiedrzik questions Chinese master narrative production, 2006

The only solution all authors come up with (and which surpasses the fragmentation) is to focus on the role of Mao Zedong and implicitly repel that CCP leadership's idea of continuity with the Maoist era. No matter what the Party resolution says, recent discussions reveal how complicity is re-interpreted into victimisation. By now, everybody is Mao's victim, no matter whether beaten, thrown into prison, criticised or re-educated, no matter whether once an ardent supporter, a fellow-traveller or an observer. Everybody is assumed to have gone through an initial phase of admiring Mao and his idea of launching a Cultural Revolution followed by disillusionment as a common experience related to the second phase. Through the experience of disillusionment even those who were not victimised in the literal sense can be regarded as deceived, if not trapped, by Mao Zedong. They are victims of their own idealism and hope and disillusion can be found in all the different genres of publications on the Cultural Revolution ... Even official Party history accounts cannot do without it, and internet publications which speak in favour of a more positive assessment of the Cultural Revolution reiterate the idea that it was Mao who destroyed it when he turned against his own intentions and all those who had supported him.

Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, 'In Search of a Master Narrative for 20th-Century Chinese History' in *The China Quarterly, No.188, The History of the PRC (1949–1976)*, December 2006, pp. 1085–6

SOURCE 12.59 Moise's interpretation, 2008

At the time the Cultural Revolution was going on, some people puzzled that it seemed to be so much the personal creation of Mao Zedong. His name was repeated endlessly in the documents of the Cultural Revolution ... Great historic movements do not normally spring from the head of an individual; they arise from the logic of a situation. It seemed incredible that the social, economic, and political structure of the largest

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nation on earth was being drastically revised because one man willed it. Today, after the failure of the movement, the pattern of events makes more sense. While Mao was able to find a certain natural base of support for the Cultural Revolution in Chinese society, this natural base was weak enough so that nothing remotely resembling the Cultural Revolution would have been likely to occur if Mao had not decided to make it occur. That is why it ended in failure.

Edwin E. Moise, *Modern China*, 2008, p. 169

SOURCE 12.60 Mitter's interpretation, 2004

The Cultural Revolution in China was largely caused by the obsessions of one man concerned both with the purity of his revolution and his own personal position. However, the patterns of thought that defined the path he took were largely ones that had shaped him in [the May Fourth Movement]. Mao's Cultural Revolution is an explicable end-point of the darkest side of May Fourth – obsession with youth, destruction of the past, arrogance about the superiority of one's own chosen system of thought – without the enlightenment that tempered the original – cosmopolitanism, critical enquiry, and universalism.

Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*, 2004, p. 208

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

What have historians said about the impact of Mao and the CCP on shaping China's national experience between 1949 and 1976?

1. You have been provided with four historical interpretations of the GLF (Sources 12.53–12.56). Synthesise the sources to answer the following question: *To what extent do the four authors agree in their interpretations of the GLF?* Answer with reference to specific points made in the sources.
2. You have been provided with four historical judgements of Mao and the Cultural Revolution (Sources 12.57–12.60). Synthesise the sources to answer the following question: *To what extent do the four authors agree in their interpretations of Mao's impact on the Cultural Revolution?* Answer with reference to specific points made in the sources.

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: How did Mao Zedong and the CCP shape China's national experience between 1949 and 1976?

Propose a hypothesis in response to the question. Then, for each of the movements covered in this depth study (the first five-year plan, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution):

- explain the vision/aim of the movement
- list some of the key effects/outcomes
- identify whether the outcome was consistent with the vision
- explain how the movement shaped China's national experience.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Did Mao Zedong create a firm national identity for modern Chinese leaders such as Xi Jinping to project a neo-Imperial China onto the twenty-first century?

Significance at the time

Mao Zedong waged wars that led to the creation of the PRC, and the ultimate victory of the CCP made him an incomparable hero to his nation. The first five-year plan (1953–57) was characterised by measured and logical growth of the fledgling nation. Despite this early heroism and success, disasters followed, particularly the Great Leap Forward (1958–62) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–76). Controversy and debate still surround these dramatic events, with some blaming Mao alone for the disasters and others pointing to the complexity and intrigue of the historical context and its many players. Either way, China was left with a monolithic government under the iron control of the Chinese Communist Party. He left a united nation, as opposed to the chaos of 1911 to 1949. He left a nation firmly re-educated in socialist philosophy, with a particularly Chinese flavour, ready to re-engage with the international community.

Legacy – significance for today

The question that lies before you now is whether Mao Zedong's leadership in generating a new national identity had a lasting impact into the twenty-first century. While his successors made important changes, and certainly employed both similar and divergent methods of social and political change, it is still contestable whether Mao's influence remains in any substantive form. Source 12.61 suggests that his legacy is still felt by the Chinese people.

SOURCE 12.61 Pictures of Xi Jinping and Mao Zedong inside a home, 2020

What does the image suggest about the legacy of Mao Zedong in relation to Xi Jinping's China?

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What aspects of Mao's China remained in place after his death in 1976?

Activity **12.4**

Cooperatively research 1976 to the present day

Split the class into three groups. Each group is to conduct research into one of the four significant figures of the post-Mao era:

- Deng Xiaoping
- Jiang Zemin
- Hu Jintao
- Xi Jinping.

Your goal is to create a detailed summary of the significant achievements of each of the four individuals.

China has seen many changes, largely in the economic and foreign policy spheres, in the decades following Mao's death. But there are several continuities that might point to the underlying influence of Mao on China's long-term identity.

Foremost is the Marxist-Leninist basis of China's national ideology. Socialism 'with Chinese characteristics' is how the modern socio-political identity is described by China's contemporary leadership. This idea speaks to the long tradition of a particularly Chinese version of ideology born during the Sino-Soviet split under Mao; Marxism-Leninism was reinterpreted and updated, and continues to be modified by necessity. This is not to say that Mao is the only one who had a hand in shaping the socialist identity – far from it – but he was its strongest mentor.

The political structures of the government and Party are largely based on the original structures built into the 1954 constitution, with the CCP and the PRC inextricably entwined. While some individual organs and positions of the structure have gained or lost relative power, the fundamental symbiosis of party and state remains. The Maoist idea of a democratic dictatorship is also still enshrined in the Constitution of the People's Republic, harking back to the lessons learned from the crisis years of 1911 to 1949. Party membership still forms a basis of social status and identity, and is a gateway to respectability and recognition in state systems. Deng Xiaoping's political (as opposed to economic) conservatism meant that few significant reforms were made to the system. His main aim seems to have been a more pragmatic approach to leadership through an attempt to prevent future leaders from gaining the top position in the main three pillars of the system; namely, the party, the state and the military. This system remained in place for 30 years before the emergence of Xi Jinping.

Modern perspectives on Chinese politics, economy and society

The biggest changes to China since Mao have been in the realm of economic development, with private industry and commerce now accepted under state-controlled circumstances. It is often suggested that China has been moving away from the ideals of Mao's communist dream, but it could also be argued that all that has changed is the pace and style of change, not its intent. Economic reform was important because China had been so poor. The setback of the GLF and the chaotic attempt at a deep Cultural Revolution did not help. Deng Xiaoping is well known for his Four Modernisations in the areas of industry, science and technology, defence and agriculture.

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These modernisations have transformed China's economy and turned the nation into an economic powerhouse that was the second-largest economy in the world in 2023. However, even these are a reiteration of ideas and goals that had been espoused in a variety of forms by the CCP since the 1920s.

Democratic changes to mirror economic ones were not forthcoming. In 1989, pro-democracy demonstrations were militarily suppressed in what came to be known in the Western world as the Tiananmen Square Massacre. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of protesters are estimated to have been killed in the crackdown; the exact figure is unknown due to Chinese censorship. This event effectively set the limits of political expression for the Chinese people and confirmed the iron control of the CCP. The actions of the Chinese Government drew the vehement condemnation of the international community and resulted in economic sanctions. Source 12.62 shows a famous moment the aftermath of the military intervention, with an insistently defiant man inhibiting the movement of tanks.

Source **12.62** Stopping the tanks in Tiananmen Square, 5 June 1989

SOURCE 12.62 During the Tiananmen Square protests, this man temporarily halted the advance of tanks, moving to prevent the tanks manoeuvring around him.

Use the following link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/11128 to watch the video.

Responding to the video

1. From watching the video, how would you describe the actions of the protestor? How would you describe the actions of the tank commander/driver?
2. Given your study of China, are you surprised by any aspects of what you've viewed?
3. What possible explanations might there be for the way the scene unfolded?
4. This happened the day after hundreds, possibly thousands, of Chinese protestors were killed in the same square. Does that change the way you think about this event?
5. Why do you think images of this event went 'viral' globally, and have remained remarkable still?
6. Find out how the Chinese authorities attempted to turn the event to their advantage.

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Another important change was stylistic. Mao's preference for mass-militaristic, even autocratic, direction of the revolutionary process had been largely abandoned, along with – at least officially – cults of personality. That was, until Xi Jinping's constitutional amendment in 2018 that saw him become a Mao-esque figure with potential presidential tenure for life. Mao wanted a strong, modernised communist China; his successors have wanted the same thing and have worked towards the same end. Marxism-Leninism is still the fundamental basis for societal change but, as under the leadership of Mao, it has developed with the times to possess characteristics particular to the circumstances of the contemporary Chinese nation.

Activity **12.5**

Make a judgement about significant changes to the Chinese nation post-Mao

Your goal is twofold:

1. Investigate the significant changes to the Chinese nation post-Mao.
2. Decide whether those changes were fundamental departures from Mao's vision, or simply stylistic.

Consider completing Activity 12.4 as a starting point for this activity. Create a PowerPoint presentation to share your judgement with your class.

How does China's twentieth-century national experience impact the contemporary world?

The ideological statements made by President Xi Jinping at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of China (October 2017) – broadly summarised by ideas of national unity, Communist Party control, military loyalty, international stability, environmental management and socialist ideology with Chinese characteristics – are not coincidental. They are the historical themes of twentieth-century Chinese history and they underpin Xi Jinping Thought in the twenty-first century. They are the experiences of the Chinese state and people that have continued to impact Chinese development. These ideas have a strong contextual relevance to Australian interaction with East Asia and are crucial to remember. While white Australians of the early to mid-twentieth century were preoccupied with a fear of Japanese imperialism, so too was China. While white Australians of the mid-twentieth century were attempting to assert a new nationalist identity, so too was China. And while white Australians were creating a society that claimed to give everyone a 'fair go' through hard work and social welfare, China was immersed in a socialist experiment of unprecedented scale, with a gigantic population and little expertise.

The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China returned Xi Jinping for a second term as General-Secretary of the Communist Party. The Congress also enshrined 'Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era' into the Party constitution, raising the prestige of Xi Jinping near to that of Mao Zedong. Xi Jinping Thought is one in a series of ideological manifestos created by the political leaders of China to guide the development of the nation. A particularly interesting development in twenty-first-century China is Xi Jinping's role as head of the state apparatus, the Party and the military, a situation – mirroring that of Mao – that Deng Xiaoping had tried to prevent through constitutional change. President Xi's consolidation of power and extension of influence, both within China and internationally, are based on a history that has been interpreted and repeatedly reinterpreted in light of political developments throughout the twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries.

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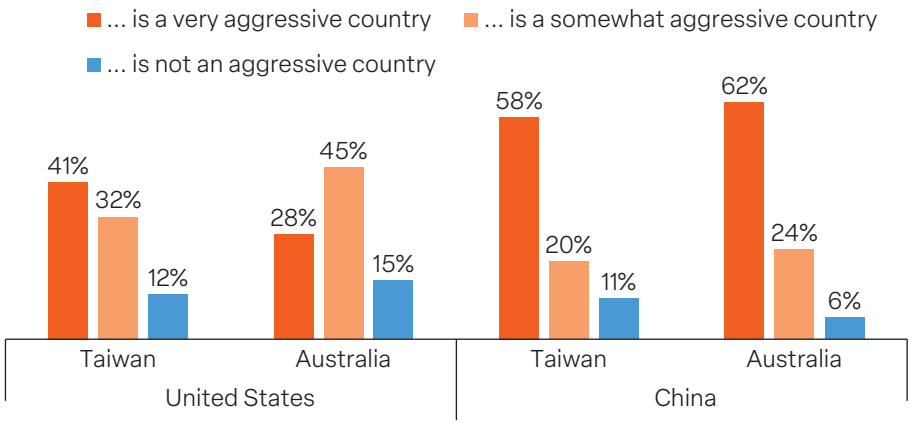
The 20th National Congress (October 2022) similarly emphasised Xi Jinping's personal authority. He retained the presidency for a third time, breaking with precedents set by his predecessors. The constitution was also amended to include 'two upholds' that make loyalty to Xi Jinping and loyalty to the Party synonymous. This projection of power internally parallels China's image on the international stage. Military interventions and confrontations in the waters around China push a military strongman perception onto China's neighbours. The Belt and Road Initiative weaves the economic clout of China's industry and trade throughout Asia, Africa and the Pacific, making China hard to ignore and essential to engage with. Finally, the diplomatic role that China increasingly plays in contemporary conflicts, such as those in Ukraine and Israel, could signal the supplanting of US leadership as a responsible actor in international affairs.

Australia's relationship with China

In the contemporary world, Australia and China have a mixed relationship. Australia has repeatedly voiced strong concerns regarding issues linked to China's strategic goals that have led to economic and political repercussions, and increased fears of China's growing power in the region. These issues include freedom of navigation in the South China Sea where Australia (alongside the United States and other countries) regularly moves military vessels through waters that China considers its sovereign territory rather than international zones; this issue is parallel to China's long-standing assertion that Taiwan is a rogue province that will always be part of China (recognition of this fact is usually a prerequisite for entering into diplomatic and economic negotiations with China).

Source **12.63** Contemporary Australian views on China and the United States



SOURCE 12.63 Views in Taiwan and Australia on whether the United States and China are aggressive countries, 2022

Source: The Australian Institute (2022). Figure 3: Views on whether China/United States is an aggressive country. In *Polling – Australian and Taiwanese Attitudes to China*. Polling-Australian-and-Taiwanese-Attitudes-to-China-2022-update-Web.pdf (australiainstitute.org.au)

Responding to the graph

1. What are the similarities and/or differences in Australian and Taiwanese attitudes to the United States? Do any of these surprise you? Discuss.
2. What are the similarities and/or differences in Australian and Taiwanese attitudes to China? Do any of these surprise you? Discuss.

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3. What might explain the high level of Australians' perception of China's 'aggressiveness'?
4. Find out what Australian–Chinese relations were like in 2022. Would you expect today's statistics to be different? If so, how and why?
5. In evaluating these statistics, what questions would you like answered about the polling process itself?
6. Do you have any reasons to doubt the accuracy of any statistics in the graph? Explain.

The expansion of Chinese influence through 'soft power' (i.e. trade relationships and the construction of trade infrastructure via the Belt and Road Initiative) has also led to community unease. These fears may not be unfounded, as many facilities can be considered dual-use (meaning both commercial and military). Facilities often come equipped with Chinese digital networks and satellite technology that are also seen as a cyber threat, as they collect sensitive data, both civil and military. The increased Chinese interest in Pacific nations raises issues of trade, military and digital security for Australia due to their proximity to Australian national interests. Partly in response to the perception of increasing Chinese power, Australia has entered the AUKUS Partnership with the United Kingdom and the United States to realign strategic defence interests in the Indo-Pacific region for mutual protection. Logically, China sees itself as the target of the partnership.

The concerns for security must be balanced with the fact that China is Australia's largest trading partner, making the relationship especially important to the national economy. This lesson has been particularly evident since 2019–2020, when China imposed unilateral sanctions and blocks to trade with Australia because of Australian criticisms of China's national interests. It is only more recently that some of the limits on Australian trade have been eased. Many in the Australian community remain wary of Chinese influence, not only in economics but in politics as well. Consider Source 12.64 and what it suggests about Australian fears.

Source **12.64** China in Australian politics

SOURCE 12.64 Xi Jinping's image used in an anti-Labor political poster in the 2022 federal election

Responding to the source

1. What does this image suggest about the projection of Xi Jinping's personal power and the CCP's power?
2. Regardless of who authorised this poster, what do you think their intention was?
3. Try to find out whether, in 2022, there were claims of Chinese interference/influence in the Australian federal election.
4. Could this poster strengthen the call for 'truth in political advertising'? Discuss.

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Activity **12.6**

Research modern China's place in the world

Choose one of the following topics to research. Focus on the significance and implications for Australia. Prepare a report to share with classmates:

- Australia's current political/diplomatic relationship with China
- China's Belt and Road Initiative
- the current trade relationship between Australia and China
- Chinese policy on the future of Taiwan
- concerns about Chinese technologies in the Australian community
- the Chinese diaspora in Australia.

Conclusion

Now that you have explored the post-Mao era, it is important to reflect on what you have learned. The questions in Activity 12.7 will help you to reflect on the issues in this concluding study.

Activity **12.7**

Reflect on what you have learned

1. What aspects of Mao's China remained in place after his death in 1976?
2. How does China's twentieth-century national experience impact the contemporary world?
3. How would you characterise Australia's relationship with China?
4. In an extended response, answer the question: *To what extent did Mao Zedong create a firm national identity for modern Chinese leaders such as Xi Jinping to project a neo-Imperial China onto the twenty-first century?*

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Chapter 13

ISRAEL SINCE 1917

Aspect: The impact of the creation of Israel

STEPHEN POWELL
and
SONIA ACKERMAN

SOURCE 13.1 An Israeli soldier walks through the remains of the Supernova Music Festival, Re'im, Israel, 12 October 2023. The festival ended when Hamas fighters launched a surprise attack from nearby Gaza, killing at least 350 festival goers and taking over 40 hostages.

SOURCE 13.2 Buildings destroyed during the Israeli bombardment of Khan Yunis, in the southern Gaza Strip on June 11 2024. The attack began on 1 December 2023, and Israeli forces withdrew on 7 April 2024. Over 500 people were confirmed killed in this phase of Israel's war on Hamas, but thousands of civilians remained missing.

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Naomi* presses her blood-stained T-shirt to the wound in her ribs with one hand and, with the other, rubs her *hamsa* charm for luck. She tries to stifle her gasps for breath as she peeks out from her hiding place beneath an old van, piecing together what has just happened. A few steps away, under the trees, she sees the water bottles and blankets that were abandoned in panic, and, for the first time in her young life, she sees dead bodies. Her stomach groans and she stifles the urge to vomit. Another tear drips into the dust. It wasn't supposed to be like this. She just came here to dance. Supernova – sometimes she called it a dance party, a hippy festival, a trance rave – but more often she just described it as a community. There is no music now. Everyone ran as soon as they heard the first shot. Some of them didn't get far. Naomi can only think of questions: What went wrong? Why are they doing this to us? A truck rumbles into view, and one of the guys she was dancing with limps onto its tray, hands raised, pushed by a man in green, carrying a semi-automatic. The truck revs its engine and turns towards Gaza. Naomi shuffles further back and clutches her charm. She closes her eyes and silently prays, 'Please make it end, please keep me safe.'

Two weeks later, a short drive away but in a different world, Fatima* crouches beneath a dining table and draws a circle in the plaster dust. She strokes the *hamsa* that her mother pressed into her hand when she left the apartment that morning to search for bread. She is out there somewhere, stepping between crevasses torn into roads and rubble fallen from buildings. On the far side of the room, where she had looked over the peaceful river with her brother, there is no more window and no more wall. Just a jagged hole, five storeys above the street. There is a screaming sound and she sees another Israeli rocket hit its mark, two blocks over, and an entire apartment building is heavily damaged. That looked like her cousin's home. She sobs. It wasn't supposed to be like this. When other Australian kids visit their grandparents, they don't find themselves in a war zone. She tries to remember the last time the light switch worked. Tuesday? When did she last shower? Why are they doing this to us? She hears a creak downstairs and hopes it is her mother returning with some flatbread, and not part of the building giving way. Fatima rubs her *hamsa* for luck. She can't bring herself to move from under the table. Instead, she squeezes her eyes shut, and prays, 'Please make it end, please keep me safe'.

Reader advice:

Some resources in this chapter may be confronting, and contain images of deceased people or acts of violence.

*The characters Naomi and Fatima are fictional characters devised for this opening story. However they are based on media reports of individuals affected by the events in Israel and Gaza during October and November 2023.

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

What plans were made for Palestine and Israel between 1917 and World War II?

Naomi's and Fatima's stories remind us that the history of Israel and Palestine includes waves of conflict, and many innocent victims. Numerically, the majority of the victims have been Palestinians. The clash of peoples and aspirations reached a new intensity on 7 October 2023, when the militant group **Hamas** broke through Israel's high-security border fence, and within hours killed over 1100 people and took over 240 back to Gaza as hostages. In response, Israel declared war on Hamas and placed all two million residents of the Gaza Strip under a choking blockade, more severe than any of the many other Israeli actions against Gaza in the past, causing a humanitarian crisis. Israel's air strikes and ground forces had by late 2024 killed over 43 000 people, according to Gaza health authorities, many of whom were children, and left much of Gaza unliveable. The long history of this conflict, and the search for solutions, is the focus of this chapter.

Origins of Israel-Palestine

The creation of Israel in 1948 was both long-awaited and immediately controversial, in part because competing claims to the land began millennia ago.

Jewish origins and the biblical promised land

Jewish ancestry and identity originate with the Israelites, a tribe who spoke the Semitic language of Hebrew from what was called Canaan in ancient times, and is now Israel and the Palestinian territories. The religion of Judaism is identified in the Hebrew Bible as starting with Abraham, who would eventually also be regarded as the father of the two other great monotheistic religions, Christianity and Islam. According to the Bible (Genesis 15:18), God promised Abraham that his people would have their own land, between the Nile and Euphrates Rivers. This came to be known as 'the promised land' and the Jews were known as God's 'chosen people'. Around 1280 BCE, the prophet Moses led a tribe of Israelites out of slavery in Egypt. The Bible says that God told Moses that his new nation would stretch from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, and if there were other tribes living in the promised land, the Israelites would 'drive them out' (Exodus 23:31).

Hamas the Islamic Resistance Movement, a political and military organisation that has governed the Gaza Strip section of the Palestinian territories since 2007, and is a listed terrorist organisation by many countries, including Australia

antisemitism hostility to or prejudice against Jewish people, which is often the basis for persecution and oppression

diaspora a people that has scattered or dispersed from their original homeland

The Jews' conquest of what they regarded as the promised land was complete by around 1000 BCE, when King David captured the city of Jerusalem, where his son Solomon built a vast temple. In about 586 BCE, the temple was destroyed by soldiers of the neo-Babylonian Empire (in the area of modern Iraq), which ended seven centuries of independent Jewish rule. The next foreign ruler was the Persian Kingdom (modern-day Iran) from 538 BCE, which allowed the Jews to rebuild a 'Second Temple', and from 63 BCE the Jews became subjects of the Roman Empire, whose Marcus Tullius Cicero said that the Jews were 'born to be slaves'.

Tensions with Rome peaked in the first century CE. Jesus of Nazareth was welcomed by some Jews as the Messiah whom God had promised to send to save their people, but the Christians' perceptions that it was Jews who called for the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, to crucify Jesus in around 33 CE would become a basis of **antisemitism**. In 66 CE, the Jews revolted against Roman rule and, in retaliation, the Romans destroyed the Second Temple in 70 CE, leaving only one wall standing – the Western Wall, which remains today. Jews were once more expelled from their 'Zion', and became a **diaspora** throughout North Africa and Europe, always as a minority, and frequently facing persecution.

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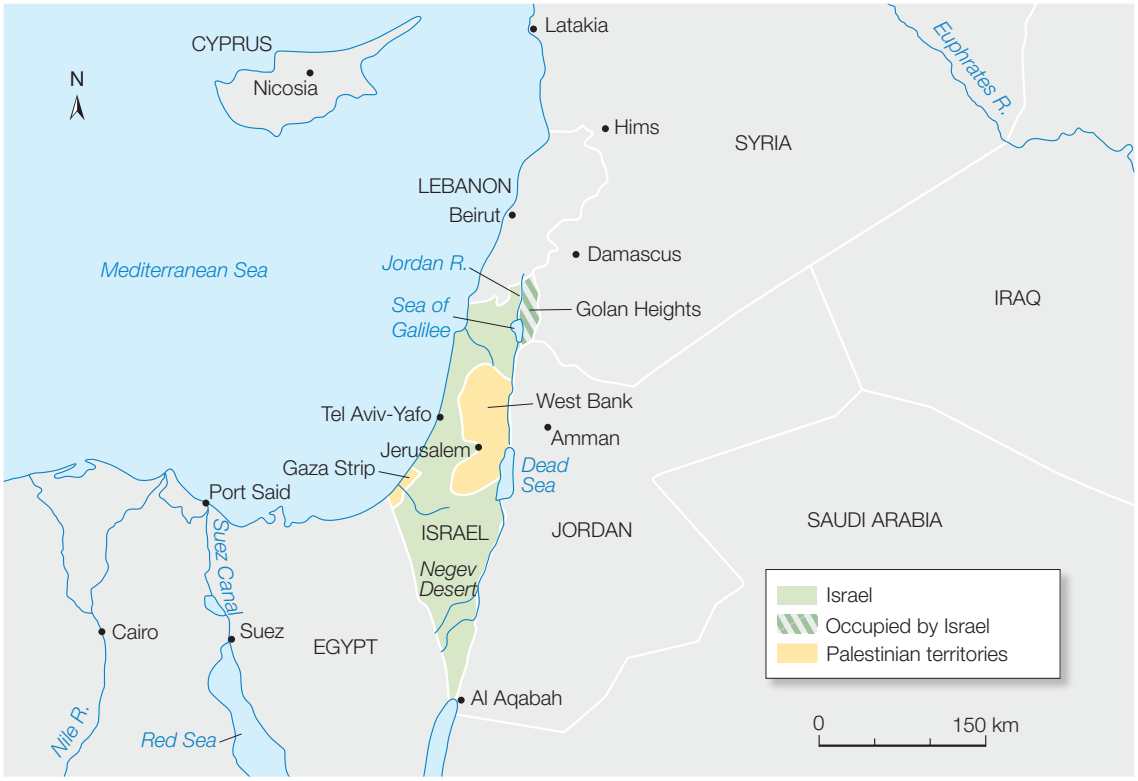
Source **13.3** The modern boundaries of Israel and its neighbours



SOURCE 13.3 A map of modern Israel and the Palestinian territories

Responding to the map

1. Compare the landmarks that Jews believe their God discussed with Abraham and Moses with the modern boundaries of Israel. What differences do you notice?
2. The borders of Modern Israel have changed several times, and remain in dispute. Why might some Israelis, for instance, believe that labels such as 'occupied by Israel' or 'Palestinian territories' make a map biased against Israel? Some Israelis refer to the West Bank by its ancient Jewish names of Judea and Samaria. Who might dispute the use of those names?

Small Jewish communities remained in the province the Romans came to call Palaestina. After Rome converted to Christianity in the fourth century CE, Palaestina – or Palestine – was under the rule of Christians, many of whom saw Jerusalem as their holy city.

Muslim Arab origins

Muslims acknowledge Abraham's first son, Ishmael, as an ancestor of the Prophet Mohammed, the founder of the religion of Islam. Born in Mecca, now in Saudi Arabia, Mohammed is said to have first heard the word of Islam's God Allah in 610 CE and to have heard revelations for the next 22 years. In the Prophet's lifetime, Islam spread through Arabia, Persia and Egypt. In 636, Muslims conquered Jerusalem, which, according to the Quran (Islam's holy book), Mohammad visited on his Night Journey before ascending to the heavens. In 691, they built a shrine known as the Dome of the Rock to mark the place, directly upon the site of the Jewish Second Temple. This is the world's third most holy site for Muslims.

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SOURCE 13.4 Jerusalem today, showing the Ottoman-era city walls, the golden Dome of the Rock, and modern Israeli buildings in the background

Research who controls access to the Dome of the Rock/Temple Mount, and who is permitted there and under what conditions. What does this reveal about the site?

Over the centuries, the Muslim Empires allowed some minority groups, including Jews (who were considered along with Christians to be from the family of those who believe in the 'correct' holy books, 'Ahl al-Kitab', the Bible and the New Testament), some rights, but only in return for paying special taxes. Fierce battles over Jerusalem and the 'Holy Land' would continue, particularly when Christian 'crusaders' attacked Muslims from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. From the sixteenth century, the Islamic governors of the Ottoman Empire (modern-day Türkiye) ruled Palestine, built the walls of Jerusalem and encased the Dome of the Rock in magnificent coloured tiles. Jerusalem became a city of ethnic/religious neighbourhoods: Muslim, Jewish, Christian and Armenian quarters. World War I ended the Ottoman Empire and, with it, nearly 13 centuries of Muslim control of the area.

Today, Muslims comprise around one-third of the population of Jerusalem (60% are Jews), and over 90% of the population of the Palestinian territories (which includes the West Bank and Gaza). Both Arabs and Jews claim that their community is indigenous to the area, and present claims and evidence to support this.

Activity **13.1**

Analyse the historical foundations of the claims to Palestine

1. Summarise the historical foundations of different peoples' connections to Palestine.
2. Control of the area passed from one conquering and/or occupying group to another at various times in history. How does this complicate the competing claims to ownership?

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What are the origins of Zionism and Palestinian nationalism?

Zionism

Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, Jewish populations were expelled from England, France, Germany, Spain and Portugal. In many places Jews were segregated from society in walled-off ghettos. Zionism – the nationalist movement to create a state where Jewish people could live free from such discrimination – developed in Europe in the late nineteenth century. The movement worked to generate support, identify a location for a new state, and revive the ancient language of Hebrew in a modern form.

Zionism was popularised by Austrian-born Theodor Herzl. As a journalist in Paris, Herzl witnessed a surge in antisemitism, and organised widespread support for creating a homeland for Jewish people. Herzl's World Zionist Organization first met in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897.

Source **13.5** Herzl explains his aims and concerns, 1896

SOURCE 13.5 Herzl explains his aims and concerns, 1896

Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves.

... Should the [World] Powers declare themselves willing to admit our sovereignty over a neutral piece of land, then the Society will enter into negotiations for the possession of this land. Here two territories come under consideration, Palestine and Argentine. In both countries important experiments in colonization have been made, though on the mistaken principle of a gradual infiltration of Jews. An infiltration is bound to end badly. It continues till the inevitable moment when the native population feels itself threatened, and forces the Government to stop a further influx of Jews. Immigration is consequently futile unless we have the sovereign right to continue such immigration.

Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 1896

Responding to the source

1. What external assistance does Herzl say will be needed for the Jews to achieve a homeland?
2. Why does he suggest that the pace of immigration into a Jewish state will be a significant factor? What is he concerned could happen?
3. Herzl was a secular (non-religious) Jew. He never spoke Hebrew, and only briefly visited Palestine once. What does that reveal about the origins of modern Zionism?
4. Why do you think Herzl did not say that Palestine was the only possible land for a Jewish state?

In the 1870s, Palestine's population was 87% Muslim, 10% Christian and 3% Jewish. Jewish numbers doubled over the next two decades, thanks to Zionist efforts and worsening antisemitism in Europe and Russia. Zionists refer to Jewish migration to Israel/Palestine as *aliyah* (ascendance), reflecting the idea of a moral and spiritual regeneration of the Jews when returning to their ancestral homeland.

Arab nationalism

Modern Arab nationalism, or pan-Arabism, developed at a similar time to Zionism. This movement encouraged Arabic speakers across the Middle East to develop a shared political identity. They wanted their own nation to liberate Arab peoples from imperial control, particularly that of the Ottoman Empire.

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During World War I, the Ottoman Empire sided with Germany and Austria-Hungary, making the Allies enemies of 'the Turks'. In October 1915, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, pledged to Sharif Hussein Ibn Ali of Mecca that Britain would support future Arab independence if Arab guerrilla fighters helped the British against the Turks. Coordinated by British intelligence officer T.E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia), the Arabs helped the Allies in the Sinai-Palestine campaign to push the Ottomans north-east along the Palestine coast, until an eventual victory in Damascus (capital of modern-day Syria) in October 1918.

While the Allies made wartime promises to Arabs, secret talks between British, French, Russian and Italian diplomats were designing what should happen if the Allies defeated the Ottomans. The British diplomat Mark Sykes and the French colonial official Georges Picot wielded their coloured pencils across a map, filling in areas to be claimed by France (in the north) and Britain (in the south). Their true plan was to give Arab chiefs limited self-rule, and they imagined Jerusalem and its environs as an international zone.

Source **13.6** The Sykes-Picot Agreement

SOURCE 13.6 The Sykes-Picot Agreement, with areas to be claimed by the French Government (A) and the British Government (B), 15–16 May 1916

Responding to the map

1. By drawing almost straight lines across the map, what did Sykes and Picot reveal about imperial attitudes?
2. On face value, the agreement seems to promise Arab nationalists the independence that they wanted. However, Arab chiefs or princes would only rule as a 'protectorate' or 'suzerain'. Research the meaning of these terms, and then comment on how they might affect the intention of the plan.
3. The brown/yellow zone was to be under 'international administration'. What modern borders does this zone relate to, and what does it reveal about plans for the region during World War I?

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How did colonial powers influence the future of Palestine?

Separately from imperial planning in the Middle East, in November 1917 British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour wrote publicly to banker Baron Walter Rothschild, a Zionist leader in Britain, to express the British Government's 'sympathy' for Zionist aspirations. The Balfour Declaration was the result of months of negotiations between Jewish representatives and British Government ministers. The heart of the short declaration is a single sentence whose true meaning would be debated for the next century.

Source **13.7** The Balfour Declaration

SOURCE 13.7 The Balfour Declaration

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Balfour Declaration (excerpt), published in *The Times*, 9 November 1917

Responding to the Balfour Declaration

1. What words support the claim that the Balfour Declaration was a promise to the Jewish people? What words question this?
2. Zionists wished for a Jewish sovereignty in Palestine and here Britain supports the creation of 'a national home for the Jewish people' in Palestine. To what extent is that the same thing?
3. Which other people's interests does the declaration seek to protect? Why might Britain have included this provision in the declaration? How might communities living in Palestine have felt about not being named, but labelled simply as 'non-Jewish'?
4. How consistent was the Balfour Declaration with British promises to Arab nationalists?

The Allies finally defeated the Ottoman Empire in October 1918. The fate of the areas previously under Ottoman (and German) control would be decided in Paris over the course of 1919. The difficulty was that, by the time World War I was over, the British had promised Palestine to the Arabs, to the Jews and also to themselves.

How did the British Mandate affect the future of Israel-Palestine?

The end of World War I

Zionists and Arab nationalists both looked to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 with hope, based on the promises made to them during the war.

British, American and Russian Zionists proposed that the conference establish a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, initially under British 'trusteeship', in accordance with the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Chaim Weizmann, a Russian-born scientist who had been crucial to the British war effort, claimed that the land of Palestine was in a neglected state and Jewish immigrants could revive it and bring prosperity.

Arab nationalists from Iraq and Syria were led by Prince Faisal, who set his hopes on fulfilment of the 1915 McMahon Pledge for Arab independence given to his father. At his side was T.E. Lawrence. However, as the negotiations continued, the prospects for Arab independence decreased.

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Neither the Jews nor the Arabs would achieve autonomy for their people in Paris. The Paris Peace Conference created the League of Nations in 1920, under which colonies of the defeated powers – 'peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world' – were placed under the 'mandate' of the victorious Allies, who called themselves 'advanced nations'. France took mandatory control over Syria and Lebanon, and Britain over Iraq and Palestine.

Mandatory Palestine, 1920–48

Jews, who comprised just 10% of the population of Palestine in 1920, were encouraged by the fact that Mandatory Palestine was under the great power whose Balfour Declaration indicated support for a national home for them. An 'ingathering' of Jews from the diaspora occurred.

Over 100 000 European Jews migrated to Palestine in the decade after World War I. They bought land from various Arab landlords, including from the Arab urban elite who resided far away from the land they owned (absentee landowners). In some cases, Jews bought deserted or unwanted vacant land tracts; in other cases Arab tenant peasants were evicted, or left when they learned of properties being sold to Jews. While British authorities were responsible for law and order, the Jews were busy establishing their own proto-state institutions, including self-governing socialist farming communities called kibbutzim (singular = kibbutz); Jewish schools to revive usage of Hebrew – the Jewish national language – in everyday life; universities, technical and scientific institutions; medical services; and a National Assembly of the Jews of Palestine. Chaim Weizmann established The Jewish Agency, which galvanised the support of Zionists across the diaspora, particularly through fundraising in Britain and the United States, and lobbying for political support for the nation-building efforts of Jews in Palestine. Jewish settlers also established a new city on the coast, called Tel Aviv, which, by the end of the first decade of British mandatory rule, had a population of nearly 50 000. According to Israeli historian Ilan Troen (2007), this creative energy was crucial in building international support for Zionism.

SOURCE 13.8 Jewish settlers near the mouth of the Jordan River, 1910

What does this photo suggest about some characteristics of a 1910 kibbutz? For what purposes might this obviously posed photo have been taken? Why might this structure have had quite different symbolic significance for Jewish settlers and Palestinian Arabs? Research the first kibbutz these people built, called Degania. What did the settlers plan to establish? When researching the kibbutz movement, decide whether this photographic scene is typical.

Angered by the new arrivals and frustrated that their own ambition for self-determination was not progressing, Arabs in Palestine began protests. Hostility deteriorated to violence as early as 1920, when Arabs attacked and killed Jews in Jerusalem and the Galilee. It has been argued that the Arabs saw themselves as fighting a new threat: Zionist Jews who were colonising their land. Many historians, including Joseph Massad (2006), have argued that the Zionists had a racist intent to cleanse the land of Arabs – a claim vehemently rejected by Israeli historians. British policing of Arab demonstrations became harsher, and the Labor Zionist Party formed the Haganah (Hebrew for defence), an underground militia intended to protect the Jewish population, which many Jewish men joined. Haganah showed the determination of Jewish settlers to protect their land, and came to be regarded as a terrorist organisation by British authorities.

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In 1930, following hundreds of deaths in riots triggered by disputes over access to the Western Wall, a British inquiry published a **White Paper** that proposed suspending Jewish immigration and land sales to Jews until tensions settled down. This was not put into effect. In fact, the pace of immigration increased, as Jews sought a refuge from a surge in antisemitism, particularly as the German Nazi Party's plans to exterminate the Jews began to unfold. In what is called the Fifth Aliyah, nearly a quarter of a million Jews migrated to Palestine between 1929 and 1939.

White Paper a government report that outlines policy options on an important issue

partition a division of a country into separate parts

In 1936, the Arabs responded by embarking upon a nationalist uprising, the Arab Revolt, in a general strike, followed by attacks upon Jewish settlements and British infrastructure. The Palestinian side, led by the increasingly provocative Mufti (Muslim cleric) of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, demanded independence from the British and an end to Jewish immigration. The revolt was crushed by 20 000 British troops, leaving Palestinian Arabs in social, economic and political disarray. Al-Husseini was forced into exile in Lebanon. He then moved to Germany and aligned his views with Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party, which revived the Jewish ghetto and commenced an antisemitic genocide. There was, however, no suggestion that al-Husseini was representing all Palestinians when he was in Germany.

Jews were also increasingly frustrated with British Mandate rule. The Jewish terrorist group Irgun (Etzel) attacked Arabs in the late 1930s. While Irgun called a self-imposed ceasefire in World War II, a second group called Lehi splintered off and continued its campaign of assassinations and bombings. One of Lehi's members was Yitzhak Shamir, a future Israeli Prime Minister. Irgun would resume its terrorist activities after World War II, mostly against British targets.

It became clear that the British Government wanted to bring its mandatory rule to an end. In July 1937, the Peel Commission recommended a **partition** of Palestine into three zones: an Arab state, a Jewish state and a neutral territory (Jerusalem, Bethlehem and other holy places).

By 1938, hundreds of thousands of German and Austrian Jews, who had been declared non-citizens in their country of birth, were trying to escape from Nazi persecution. However, an international conference held in Evian, France, to discuss the Jewish refugee crisis showed that governments were reluctant to open their borders. A 1939 British White Paper limited Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine to 75 000 people over five years, and recommended that, in future, Arabs and Jews should 'share authority'. As World War II developed, the status of Palestine was again uncertain.

SOURCE 13.9 Arab prisoners under British guard, Jerusalem, October 1938

Who do you think was most likely to have taken this photo: a British soldier, a Jewish resident, an Arab citizen, a foreign news correspondent or someone else? For the person chosen, explain how you made your decision, and for what purpose they might have taken the photo. What different captions might those different people have given to the photo?

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Sources **13.10** and **13.11** Britain's 1939 White Paper

SOURCE 13.10 The 1939 White Paper

> ... the framers of ... the Balfour Declaration ... could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country ... His Majesty's Government therefore now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State ... It should be a State in which the two peoples in Palestine, Arabs and Jews, share authority in such a way that the essential interests of each are secured ...

British Government, White Paper, 9 November 1939

SOURCE 13.11 The Zionist response to the White Paper

> The new policy for Palestine laid down by the Mandatory in the White Paper now issued denies to the Jewish people the right to rebuild their ancestral home ... The Jewish people regard this policy as a breach of faith and a surrender to Arab terrorism ... It seems only too probable that the Jews would fight rather than submit to Arab rule. And suppressing a Jewish rebellion against British policy would be as unpleasant as the repression of the Arab rebellion has been ...

Jewish Agency, Zionist reaction to the White Paper, 1939

Responding to the sources

1. How does the White Paper compare with previous British promises made to Arabs and Zionists?
2. What sort of state did Britain now plan to create? Given what you know about Palestine in the 1930s, what challenges would that form of state have faced?
3. What tone does the Zionist response take?
4. What threat is embedded in the Jewish Agency's response to the White Paper?

Activity **13.2**

Analyse the status of Palestine at the outbreak of World War II in 1939

1. Summarise the origins of Zionism and what the movement aimed to achieve in Palestine.
2. Discuss the ways in which British Mandatory control of Palestine delivered on the promises made in the Balfour Declaration.
3. Explain the methods used by a) Zionists, and b) Arab nationalists to try to bring the Mandate to an end and achieve their own independence.
4. Analyse the extent to which Zionists had established a 'proto-state' ready to operate as an independent nation by World War II.

Contextual study: Summing up

For millennia before the Jews achieved statehood, the land on which the future Israel would be founded was a source of controversy. The land was treasured as a God-given gift, a prize by a succession of ancient conquerors, the centre of intrigue by modern imperialists, and a homeland for at least two distinct peoples. By World War II, Palestine was at a crossroads. In the depth study that follows, you'll explore how diplomacy and historical events resulted in a complex outcome and further conflict.

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: What have been the ongoing consequences of the development of the state of Israel?

By 1948, there was a new state in parts of what was previously the British Mandate of Palestine, called Israel. On the one hand, Israel was the result of a long-term campaign by Zionists to construct the social and political framework of a new nation and also a series of multilateral efforts by world powers to resolve competing claims to the land. On the other hand, the creation of Israel was a sudden unilateral announcement by a people whose suffering in the horrors of the Holocaust had only recently changed the views of much of the world towards their claims to a homeland in Palestine. The state of Israel appeared to fulfil the desires of some for a safe haven for Jews and a national identity, but at the same time dash the hopes of others.

In this depth study, you will investigate the foundation of the state of Israel, its development and expansion, particularly through conflicts with neighbouring Arab states, and the consequences of this history for Israelis and Palestinians.

This depth study unfolds through a series of seven sub-questions that enable you to build towards your answer to the key inquiry question above.

The seven sub-questions are:

1. How did the Holocaust affect plans for Palestine?
2. How was the state of Israel established, and what were the consequences?
3. How did Arab peoples respond to the expansion of Israel?
4. Can terrorist actions ever be justified?
5. Why have world powers intervened in the Arab-Israeli conflict?
6. How has the state of Israel attempted to achieve security?
7. What have historians and journalists said about the consequences of the development of Israel?

SUB-QUESTION 1: How did the Holocaust affect plans for Palestine?

In 1945, as the Allies concluded their victory over Nazi Germany, the full horrors of the Nazi 'racial purity' program were uncovered. Russian soldiers liberated the starving and traumatised survivors of concentration camps across Poland, including the largest, Auschwitz-Birkenau, in January 1945, and American soldiers liberated camps in the west, starting with Buchenwald in April. It became clear that, through mass shootings, slave labour and gas chambers in death camps, approximately six million Jews had been murdered in what came to be called the Holocaust. This was the Nazis' 'Final Solution', which historian Christopher Browning (Browning & Matthäus, 2003) describes as 'the systematic attempt to murder every last Jew within the German grasp'. Other victims included people with a disability, male homosexuals and nomadic minorities. The Hebrew word for this unprecedented systematic destruction of European Jewry is *sho'ah*, meaning a whirlwind of destruction.

Jewish refugee crisis

The international community debated what to do to help the remaining European Jews. Most Holocaust survivors had no community to return to, and needed to start a new life elsewhere. Many wished to leave Europe. As a temporary measure, they were moved to displaced persons camps around Europe and waited there as refugees. Some found their way onto ships headed for Palestine.

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SOURCE 13.12 Haifa, Mandate Palestine, 15 July 1945. Jewish refugees standing next to an Israel flag on the deck of the ship Mataroa and sailing to Palestine after the war.

Some of the refugees in this photograph are still wearing the striped concentration camp uniform. What does that tell you? How do particular aspects of this photograph suggest that it was deliberately and thoughtfully posed? If posed, who might have been the intended audiences? What messages might have been intended, and how would they have been conveyed? How does the location add significance to the photo? Many ships carrying Jewish refugees were refused entry to Palestine ports and turned back by British authorities. What reasons might have motivated those actions?

The British and American governments commissioned an inquiry into the refugee crisis.

Source **13.13** Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry

SOURCE 13.13 Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (recommendations on the Jewish refugee problem)

Recommendation No. 2. ... 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution ... and that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as conditions will permit. ... We know of no country to which the great majority can go in the immediate future other than Palestine. Furthermore that is where almost all of them want to go. There they are sure that they will receive a welcome denied them elsewhere. There they hope to enjoy peace and rebuild their lives. ...

Recommendation No. 3. In order to dispose, once and for all, of the exclusive claims of Jews and Arabs to Palestine, we regard it as essential that a clear statement of the following principles should be made:

I. That Jew shall not dominate Arab and Arab shall not dominate Jew in Palestine.

II. That Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state.

III. That the form of government ultimately to be established, shall, under international guarantees, fully protect and preserve the interests in the Holy Land of Christendom and of the Moslem and Jewish faiths.

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, *Report to the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom*, 1946

Responding to the source

1. According to the report, why is Palestine a suitable destination for Jewish refugees? Refer to both negative and positive reasons.
2. To what extent are the report's principles consistent with existing plans for Palestine?

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3. What does the report suggest about how the Holocaust influenced international attitudes towards Palestine?
4. The report includes seven pages on unrest and terrorism in the last decade of British mandatory rule, first by Arabs and then by Jews. How might this context have influenced the recommendations?
5. Arab and Jewish organisations and the British Government all rejected the committee's proposal for Palestine. What does this suggest about what might happen next?

While international leaders were discussing what would happen to dispossessed European Jews, British policy remained to limit further Jewish immigration. Between 1945 and 1948, British authorities turned back Palestine-bound ships carrying 50 000 Jews, mostly Holocaust survivors, and sent them to displaced persons camps in Europe or imprisoned them outside Palestine. In Palestine, Irgun resumed its offensive against the British under the leadership of Menachem Begin, another future Israeli Prime Minister. Zionist terrorism had replaced Arab agitation as the main source of public unrest for the British to police in Palestine. Meanwhile, David Ben-Gurion, chair of the Jewish Agency, led the campaign for an independent state. Outraged by a British raid on the Jewish Agency headquarters, Irgun terrorists bombed the British military headquarters at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on 22 July 1946, killing 91 people.

Britain was frustrated by the ongoing violence, and in 1947 decided to end its mandate of the area. It asked for the matter to be referred to the newly formed United Nations (UN). There were two months of discussion at the UN between delegates who had been involved in World War II and were still learning the full scale of the Nazi genocide. Zionist delegates presented the same arguments about their right to a homeland that they had used for generations in an attempt to avoid any suggestion that the only justification for the establishment of a Jewish state was to pay the world's moral debt to them as victims of the Holocaust. However, the revelations of the Holocaust and the refugee crisis it caused gave the discussions new urgency.

SOURCE 13.14 Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, 1948

> **The catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people – the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe – was another clear demonstration of the urgency of solving the problem of its homelessness by re-establishing in Eretz-Israel the Jewish State, which would open the gates of the homeland wide to every Jew and confer upon the Jewish people the status of a fully privileged member of the community of nations.**

English translation of David Ben-Gurion, *Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel*, Published in the Official Gazette, No. 1 of the 5th, Iyar, 5708 (14th May, 1948)

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

How did the Holocaust affect plans for Palestine?

1. Summarise the status of European Jews at the end of World War II.
2. To what extent could the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine be regarded as the international community trying to make amends for the Holocaust?
3. What reasons would Zionists have had for not emphasising the Holocaust as the primary justification for a Jewish state in Palestine?

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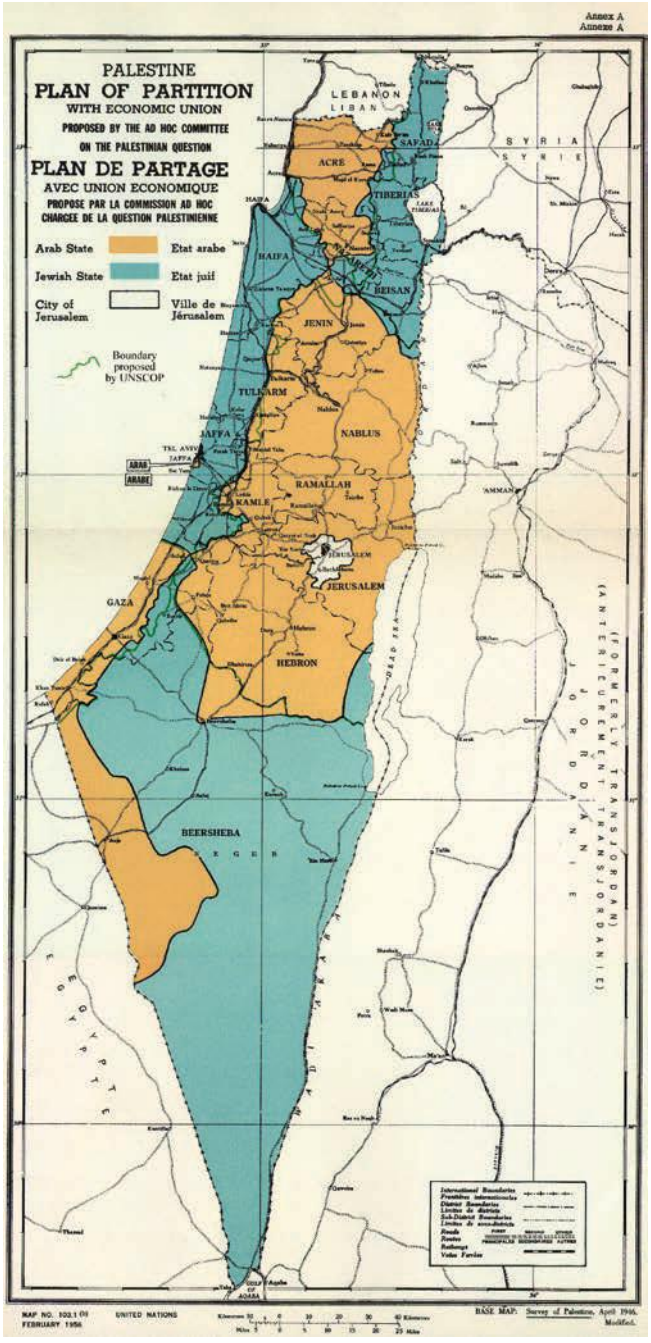
SUB-QUESTION 2: How was the state of Israel established, and what were the consequences?

Partition plans

On 29 November 1947, UN representatives voted to have Palestine partitioned once the British Mandate ended within the coming year. This involved dividing Palestine into three parts: an Arab State for the 1.3 million Muslim and Christian Arabs who lived there, a Jewish state for the 650 000 Jews, and the City of Jerusalem. Making Jerusalem a separate entity under the control of the UN would allow for people of the three Abrahamic faiths to access their holy sites.

Source **13.15** The Partition Plan



Responding to the map

1. Look closely at the areas marked on the map. If the partition was to go ahead, which areas appear likely to create flashpoints between Jews and Arabs living in their respective states?
2. Find out what 'territorially contiguous' means, and then look closely at the borders. Explain how that concept applies to the map.
3. Analyse the merits of the decision to make Jerusalem a neutral zone under UN control.
4. Find at least two other contested places that were partitioned in the twentieth century. To what extent do their histories suggest that partition is a positive solution to disputes over territory?

SOURCE 13.15 UN Resolution 181, adopted 29 November 1947, provided for three distinct areas – an Arab state in yellow, a Jewish state in blue and an international zone in white.

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The vote on partition was 33 in favour, including the United States and the Soviet Union, 13 against, including the regional Arab states, and 10 members abstained, including Britain. Although the result was a compromise that promised neither Arabs nor Jews control of all of Palestine, Jews celebrated in the streets of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, while Arabs began several days of rioting against British police and Jewish businesses.

Declaration of independence/*al-Nakba*

The UN resolution said that the independent Jewish and Arab states would come into effect two months after British forces left Palestine. However, on 14 May 1948, with Britain's mandate due to expire at midnight, Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, declared national independence in Tel Aviv, while standing in front of a portrait of Theodor Herzl.

Source **13.16** Declaration of the State of Israel

SOURCE 13.16 Declaration of the State of Israel

THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be open for Jewish immigration and for the Ingathering of the Exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

... WE APPEAL to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building-up of its State and to receive the State of Israel into the comity of nations.

WE APPEAL – in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months – to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and participate in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions.

WE EXTEND our hand to all neighbouring states and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighbourliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land. The State of Israel is prepared to do its share in a common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

WE APPEAL to the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to rally round the Jews of Eretz-Israel in the tasks of immigration and upbuilding and to stand by them in the great struggle for the realization of the age-old dream – the redemption of Israel.

Declaration of the State of Israel, 1948

Responding to the declaration

1. What aspects of the declaration show that the state of Israel claimed to be a modern democracy?
2. What four groups of people does the declaration appeal to? What does Israel ask of each group, and why is each of those requests important for Israel's future?
3. How does the declaration indicate that struggle and conflict are expected?
4. Only one of the over 20 original signatories to the declaration was born in Palestine. Many of them changed their names to a Hebrew form (e.g. David Ben-Gurion was born in Poland as David Gruen [Green]). What do these facts reveal about the signatories?
5. Consider the origin of the source: a surprise announcement by the leader of the Jews in Palestine to an invited audience of supporters. To what extent can we rely on this source alone as a foundation statement of the new nation?

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Shortly after midnight, against the advice of his Secretary of State, President Harry Truman announced that the United States would be the first country to recognise the new nation. The other Cold War superpower, the Soviet Union, followed within three days.

As auspicious as the day was, Ben-Gurion couldn't bask in the excitement because he knew that a war against the Arabs was now imminent. Indeed, four hours after the declaration, Egypt began bombing Tel Aviv. Arab League nations (namely, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria) launched a united attack. In this First Arab-Israeli War, they sought to destroy the new state before it took root. Some of these nations also held ambitions about controlling parts of Palestine for themselves.

Israelis were prepared for war, however, having established the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), which were partly made up of conscripts together with Haganah, Irgun and Lehi militias. Lasting 10 months, the war ended in a convincing victory for the Israelis. In 1949, armistice agreements were signed, with each side withdrawing to agreed temporary boundaries. These boundaries resulted in a larger state of Israel than the partition plan: rather than 56% of the former British Mandate, Israel covered 78% of the land, all the way to the western parts of Jerusalem. There was no independent Arab Palestinian state: Jordan took control of land around East Jerusalem (later known as the West Bank) and Egypt took control of the Gaza Strip, where it ended a short-lived government known as All-Palestine.

SOURCE 13.17 Provisional borders after the armistice agreement, 1949

What changes do you discern in the locations and borders of the various states compared with the partition plan? Who seems to have benefited, and who lost?

In the midst of the fighting, over 700 000 Palestinian Arabs – half of the population – were displaced from their homes. What caused the Arabs to flee has been the source of much controversy. Initially, the Israelis asserted that the Arabs moved their people out of harm's way. Since then, a number of scholars have examined the evidence, and revealed a more complex reality: a small minority of Palestinians were expelled (Israel claims that it was done in an effort to avoid civilian casualties) while the large majority of Palestinian Arabs fled under fear of violence from the IDF. Irgun and Lehi fighters are alleged to have massacred more than 100 Arab civilians at a small village near Jerusalem called Deir Yassin and the thought of a repeat encounter is said to have sparked terror in the Palestinians.

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Either way, those who fled from the conflict flooded into refugee camps in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. Palestinians call that mass dispersal *al-Nakba*, which translates to 'the disaster' or 'the catastrophe'. At a similar time, approximately 700 000 Jews were expelled or fled from neighbouring Arab countries. Most of these people found refuge and made new homes in Israel.

In Resolution 194, the UN called for Palestinian refugees to be permitted to 'return to their homes' or be compensated for their lost property. In May 1949, after armistice agreements had been signed with Egypt (February), Lebanon (March) and Jordan (April), Israel was admitted as a full member of the UN. Its membership was opposed by a minority of countries, including most members of the Arab League, many of which still refuse to recognise Israel as a nation.

Source **13.18** What happened after the announcement of Israeli independence

Scan the QR code to watch the video.

SOURCE 13.18 *Israel-Palestine for Critical Thinkers* provides a summary of events after the announcement of independence by the Israelis (06:00).

Responding to the video

1. Create and complete a table like the one below and then listen to the video to capture the contrasting perspectives held by Israelis and Arabs.

Perspectives	Aims of the war	How the war came to be perceived	Responsibility for the refugee problem
Israeli			
Arab			

2. Using the information you've gathered, on what points do Arabs and Israelis differ most when they contemplate this conflict?
3. How does the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) define who ought to be considered eligible for refugee status?
4. How is this ruling for Palestine different from what applies elsewhere in the world?

Some scholars have labelled the 1948 dispersal of Arabs during the First Arab-Israeli War an act of **ethnic cleansing** by the Israelis. Israeli scholars have vehemently rejected this definition and presented evidence that the Israeli authorities did not have a pre-meditated plan to remove the Arabs from the areas of Palestine.

ethnic cleansing is defined by the United Nations as 'a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group from certain geographic areas' (United Nations, 2024)

Activity **13.3**

Examine the aftermath of declaring nationhood

1. What factors caused turmoil to follow Israel's declaration of independent nationhood?
2. Given what you've read so far, could that turmoil have been predicted? Explain your response.
3. What long-term problems were created by the events of 1947 to 1949?
4. Create a timeline to highlight the key events, decisions and developments of the period 1947 to 1949.
5. What prediction would you make for any continuation of the timeline beyond 1949? Explain your response.

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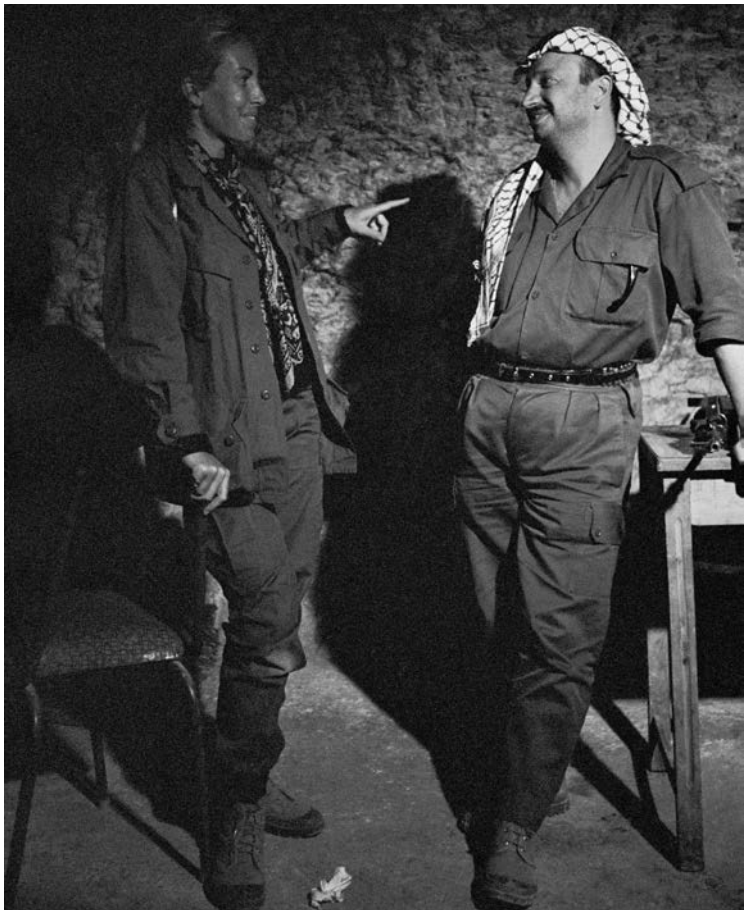
Suez Crisis

After World War II, there was a strong international movement supporting decolonisation. Inspired by the UN and its principles 'of equal rights and self-determination of peoples', nationalistic movements in African, Asian, Latin American and Middle Eastern colonies emerged. These movements were often armed struggles.

In the 1950s, some of those who had fled from Palestine in 1948 took up a nationalistic struggle, becoming militants called *fedayeen*. In an argument mirrored by many resistance movements across the world, these dispossessed people regarded themselves as freedom fighters, while their victims perceived them as terrorists. After *al-Nakba*, *fedayeen* fighters began crossing over Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian borders into Israel to conduct hit-and-run attacks upon military and civilian targets. A veteran of the First Arab-Israeli War in 1948 and a great believer in a united Arab presence in the Middle East, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser began sponsoring the fighters. Israel responded to such aggression with hard-hitting retaliation upon both the *fedayeen* and the countries from which they were launching their attacks. The cycle of attack and counter-attack contributed to the Second Arab-Israeli War (the Suez Crisis) and the third (the Six-Day War).



SOURCE 13.19 Yasser Arafat, 1969, in a cave that he used as a hiding place during his exile in Jordan. By then the Fatah organisation had been active for 10 years.

Why might Arafat have taken the extraordinary precaution of hiding in a cave, even in the Arab state of Jordan? Revisit this question after reading further.

The Suez Crisis was ignited by a fierce expression of nationalism by President Nasser when, in July 1956, Egypt seized control of the Suez Canal from the British and French. Cairo was backed by the Soviets and aligned with Syria. Though the details are unclear, it is widely thought that Israel, Great Britain and France had negotiated secretly to attack Egypt. Israel wanted to respond to *fedayeen* aggression and Britain and France wanted to reopen the canal to shipping, particularly to transport oil, and regain control over the strategically important Suez Canal. In late October, Israel invaded the Sinai desert and two days later, British and French troops were deployed in what the two nations claimed was a move to restore order. The international community, however, did not accept British and French explanations, with US President Dwight Eisenhower being particularly critical of what he perceived as an attempt to hold onto imperial infrastructure. In the end, the British and French had to withdraw troops and accept that the Suez Canal would thereafter be owned by Egypt. After the crisis, with Egypt's approval, UN troops were stationed in the region to 'help maintain quiet'.

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Six-Day War

The third Arab-Israeli war was a brief but highly significant conflict in 1967. Reflecting on the causes of what became known as the 'Six-Day War' on its 50th anniversary, *BBC News* Middle Eastern editor Jeremy Bowen referenced the 1948 war when he said the 'Arabs could not get over the pain of defeat; the Israelis never forgot that their neighbours tried to destroy them. Both sides knew that another war would come, sooner or later' (2017). Certainly, the *fedayeen* had kept on with their attacks and the Israelis always fought back. Among those fighting against the very existence of the state of Israel was a young Yasser Arafat. By 1959, Arafat had donned his trademark chequered headdress (*keffiyeh*) and established Fatah, formed by Palestinian exiles, whose goal was to destroy Israel and liberate Palestinians through 'armed struggle'.

On 19 May 1967, in what he says was meant to be a show of force, Egypt's Nasser expelled the UN troops from the Suez, moved his own soldiers to the Israeli border, and blocked Israeli shipping through the Red Sea. American President Lyndon B. Johnson warned Israel against starting a war. But, with many Israeli men already deployed in readiness for battle, the pressure was on Israel to act rather than wait for diplomacy to play out.

Jordan's King Hussein feared that the Israelis wanted to take over the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and he was concerned that his Palestinian constituents might revolt if he didn't support Nasser and his Arab uprising. Rather than be seen as a traitor to the Arab cause, Hussein signed an alliance with Egypt at the end of May. He fatefully, and disastrously, placed his Jordanian soldiers under Egyptian command.

Israel did not wait to be attacked. With an understanding that the United States would not stand in its way, on the morning of 5 June, Israel launched a pre-emptive strike upon Egypt, wiping out its air force. Three times, Israel warned Jordan to stay out of the battle but, operating under false information that Arab forces were winning, the Jordanian campaign in West Jerusalem was launched. In response, Jordan's air force was attacked and defeated. By the end of the day, Syria's air force had also been defeated and the Israelis had taken a commanding position. In the days that followed, the armies of Egypt, Jordan and Syria were defeated and, in a repeat of the 1948 war, Israel took possession of still more land. On this occasion, Israel took over the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and assumed control of the Golan Heights from Syria. The war was over in just six days.

In addition to those already dispossessed by the 1948 war, a further 400 000 Arabs fled at this time, exacerbating the refugee problem. It is important to note that, unlike in 1948 when the residents of the West Bank and Gaza were ruled by their fellow Arabs, now the occupying force was Israel, their sworn enemy. In late 1967, through Resolution 242, the UN ruled that war was not a legitimate way to acquire territory and that refugees had the right to return home. It also determined that peace in the Middle East should be based on 'withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict' and on 'Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force'.

Israel refused to withdraw from the territories it acquired without an agreement with the Arabs, while the Arabs refused to negotiate with Israel, as part of their ongoing denial of the Jewish state's existence.

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Source **13.20** UN map of territories occupied by Israel since June 1967

SOURCE 13.20 United Nations Department of Public Information (DPI) map of territories occupied by Israel since June 1967, published 11 June 1967

Responding to the map

1. What changed between what the UN called the Armistice line from 1949 and the territories after the 1967 war?
2. Considering the map, how significant was the Six-Day War?

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Jerusalem

In defeating the Jordanians, the Israelis joined the two separate parts of Jerusalem and, for the first time in two millennia, Jews controlled their holy sites in the city.

Sources **13.21** and **13.22** The significance of Jerusalem

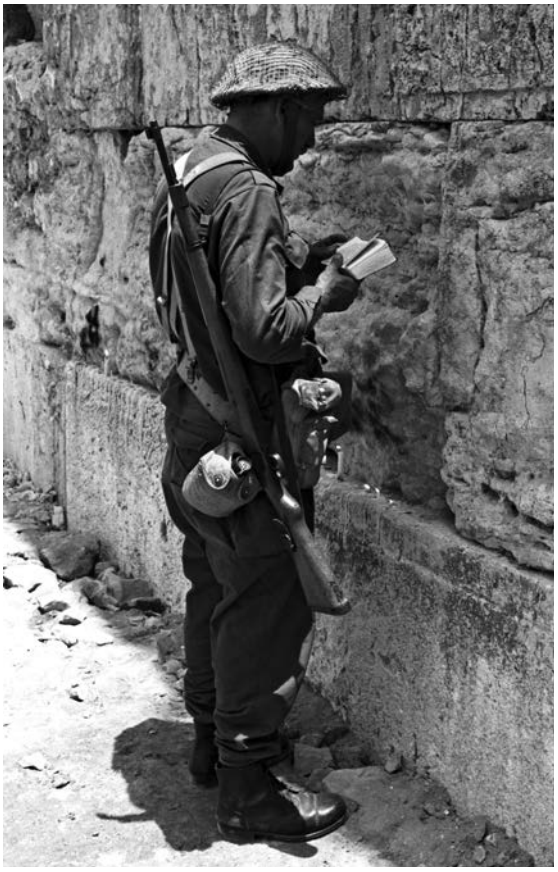
SOURCE 13.21 A historian discusses the UK newspaper coverage of the Six-Day War

From Tel Aviv, Charles Douglas-Home of *The Times* identified problems likely to arise from Israel's military success 'Israel has won another battle', he explained, 'but who can say that she has won the war?' Douglas-Home predicted that the Jewish homeland would exist 'in a cycle of eruption every decade' if it could not solve 'the problem of the refugees'.

Tim Luckhurst, 'UK newspaper coverage of the 1967 six-day Arab-Israeli war foresaw decades of conflict in Middle East', *The Conversation*, 31 October 2023

Responding to the sources

1. Revisit your understanding of the Jews' ancient connection to Jerusalem. Then, referring to both sources, discuss how historic events have embedded Jerusalem in Jewish identity.
2. Study this photo of an Israeli soldier at the 'Western Wall' in Jerusalem in 1967. How is it symbolic of a particular outcome of the Six-Day War?
3. What different reactions to this photo would you expect from a) Zionists in Israel and elsewhere, b) Palestinian Arabs, and c) people in Arab states defeated in the war, especially Jordan?
4. Explain what the journalist Charles Douglas-Home said in 1967 would be a consequence of Israel's victory, and why. To what extent did subsequent events prove him correct?



SOURCE 13.22 An Israeli soldier at the Western Wall, following the Six-Day War

When Israeli Minister for Defense Moshe Dayan walked through Jerusalem after having conquered the city, he decided that Muslims should retain control of the Noble Sanctuary (Temple Mount), with Jews continuing only to pray below, at the base of the Western Wall. Some Israeli politicians raised concerns that occupying these new lands was contentious, but the joyous mood of the people soon made giving the land back very unpopular.

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The 1949 Armistice Agreements had established a demarcation line, known as the Green Line, that separated Israel's forces from those of its neighbours. While Israel's conquering all of Jerusalem meant the end of the Green Line as a political division between Israel and Jordan within the city, that imaginary line on the land remains very important. For Palestinians, the line denotes which part of Jerusalem may one day form the capital of their nation. Israel considers Jerusalem its capital. However, much of the international community has either refused to recognise this on the grounds that it contravenes the spirit of UN Resolution 242, or challenge the borders of the city as Israel defines them. Hence, nations established their embassies in Tel Aviv – until December 2017, when the United States, under President Donald Trump, announced its intention to move its embassy to Jerusalem, followed by a few other countries. More broadly, the UN has said that its preferred solution to the conflict is a 'Two-State Solution' whereby Israel and a Palestinian state can coexist. UN documents consider the pre-1967 boundaries and UN Resolution 242 to be the starting points for a compromise between the sides that would lead to that solution.

Settlements

Any Israeli development on land that Israel claimed in the 1967 war, particularly in East Jerusalem and the West Bank, is regarded by many in the international community as a 'settlement'.

Israel annexed the areas around Jerusalem it conquered in 1967 and considers construction in these locations as part of the capital. Its position about settlements built in the West Bank is more complex. Consecutive Israeli governments enabled the building of towns and cities in the area, including quality roads and attractive modern housing units. This was done despite acknowledging that these territories are, at the very least, disputed. Furthermore, Israel never officially annexed parts of the West Bank nor applied Israeli law on non-Israelis residing there.

Strategically, 1967 commanders, including Moshe Dayan, recognised that Israeli settlements on the land earmarked for a future Palestinian state create 'facts on the ground', meaning long-term residents and expensive infrastructure are facts that would be extremely difficult ever to remove. Palestinians regard settlements as a symbol of occupation and control, as illegal and as land theft, because some are built on what was privately owned civilian property. Some Palestinians in refugee camps still have the keys to their former homes. While the majority of the international community agrees that settlements are illegal, they have grown significantly, to house up to 550 000 people (excluding Israelis living in disputed parts of Jerusalem), or approximately 5% of Israel's population.

SOURCE 13.23 An encampment of nationalist Jews planning to establish a settlement in the occupied northern West Bank, December 1975

How could encampments like this one be used as evidence of how motivated the individual settlers were? How might the planned settlements promote the national interests of the Israeli Government? How might they affect the hopes for the future of many Palestinian Arabs?

Although construction of settlements began soon after the Six-Day War, this process had been accelerated under the right-wing Likud Party (Hebrew for 'Consolidation') since it first came to power in 1977, under Menachem Begin as prime minister at the time. Government support (in the form of road, bridge and tunnel construction; water and electricity supply; and subsidies) helped to make settlements more affordable than comparable houses within Israel's recognised borders.

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In 1980, under Resolution 476, the UN stated that Israel was acting illegally by establishing settlements in East Jerusalem. US presidents, including Bill Clinton in the 1990s and Barack Obama in the 2000s, described expanding settlements as 'obstacles to peace', as have several secretaries-general of the UN.

SOURCE 13.24 A typical Jewish settlement in the West Bank today

Compared with the camp shown in Source 13.23, how permanent does this settlement appear to be? How could this be used as evidence that settlements are obstacles to peace?

The political state of Israel

Israel's development has been shaped by its politics. Under a liberal parliamentary democracy, the President of Israel symbolically signs bills into laws, but the real power lies with a prime minister and ministers of state, chosen by the Knesset (parliament), which meets in Jerusalem. Political parties represent a wide range of political and religious views, ranging from extreme left-wing socialists to extreme right-wing nationalists, and from Arabs to ultra-orthodox Jews. At times, more than a dozen parties have won Knesset seats. No party has won a majority in its own right, so parties have formed government by creating coalitions.

From 1949 to the mid-1970s, mainstream left-wing parties formed government, beginning with Mapai (Workers' Party of the Land of Israel), whose leader David Ben-Gurion was prime minister from 1948 to 1953 and from 1955 to 1963. Mapai-led centre-left coalitions introduced democratic socialist policies, including compulsory education, social welfare and workers' protection. It was a secular, not religious, party. Another notable left-wing prime minister was the Labor Party's Golda Meir (1969–74), who was born in Ukraine, raised in the United States, and then, like Ben-Gurion, moved to Palestine to help build the new nation.

Since 1977, the Likud Party has more often formed government than parties from the centre or left. The first Likud-led coalition of nationalist and religious parties was led by Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Begin's family was murdered in the Holocaust, and he moved from Poland to Palestine and led the Irgun terrorist organisation. Likud has promoted a free-market economy and a more assertive approach to preserving Jewish traditions and cultures. Likud leader Ariel Sharon, a former army commander, promoted controversial Israeli settlements on land won in 1967 when he was a minister, yet after leaving Likud, and serving as prime minister (2001–06) in a new party Kadima ('forward'), he actually evacuated all Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip as part of the 2005 disengagement plan.

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Likud's Benjamin (Bibi) Netanyahu, Israel's longest serving prime minister (1996–99, 2009–21, 2022–), also holds right-wing views and is a strong supporter of settlements. Netanyahu's brother Yoni is viewed as a hero in Israel, after he was killed during a daring rescue operation of dozens of Israeli hostages after their aeroplane was hijacked to Uganda by Palestinian and European terrorists in 1976. Netanyahu takes an assertive approach to international relations, and has close links with right-wing politicians in the United States, including Donald Trump.

Israel is one of the very few nations in the world that does not have a written constitution. Since 1950, the Knesset has passed a series of 'Basic Laws' that may one day form chapters of a constitution. The Basic Laws have a higher status than other legislation, as they can only be created or changed by a two-thirds majority of votes in the Knesset, and are recognised as superior by the Supreme Court. Increasingly, the Basic Laws have required all Israeli governments to protect their citizens' human rights, while one basic law passed in 2018 defines the state of Israel as the Jewish nation state with Jerusalem as its capital, not mentioning Israel's essence as a democracy.

Source **13.25** Summary of Israel's 'Basic Laws'

SOURCE 13.25 Some of the 14 Basic Laws of Israel (not including eight Basic Laws, which outline how the government system and judiciary must operate)

Year	Basic law	Effect
1958	The Knesset	Israel has a democratically elected parliament (Knesset) in Jerusalem, with 120 members elected every four years by proportional representation. Since 1985, candidates cannot run for election if they oppose 'the existence of the State of Israel as the state of the Jewish people'.
1976	The Army	The IDF (Israel Defence Forces) is the only permitted armed force, under the control of the Minister of Defense. Compulsory military service – in place since 1948 – applies to men (32 months) and women (24 months).
1980	Jerusalem, Capital of Israel	Israel declares that its capital is Jerusalem. Within a month, the UN Security Council votes not to recognise this declaration.
1992	Freedom of Occupation	All citizens have the freedom to engage in any profession or trade, based on the human rights principles in the 1948 declaration of independence. This was the first Basic Law to describe Israel as 'a Jewish and democratic state'.
1992	Human Dignity and Liberty	All citizens are entitled to protection of their life, body, dignity and privacy. Some Israelis claim that Israel is the only nation in the Middle East that respects individual human rights.
2018	Israel – the Nation State of the Jewish People	Israel is stated to be: 'the historical homeland of the Jewish people', and that 'the right of national self-determination in the state of Israel is unique to the Jewish people'.

Responding to the summary

1. What features are consistent with Israel's claim to be a modern, democratic state?
2. What rights are legally protected for Israeli citizens, and what obligations are imposed on them?
3. Which Basic Laws might be opposed by Arabs within and outside Israel? Explain your response.

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In addition to the Basic Laws, since 1950 the 'Law of Return' has allowed all Jews everywhere to immigrate freely to Israel and automatically receive citizenship. Since 2003, the 'Citizenship and Entry into Israel' law has made Arabs from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip ineligible for the automatic granting of Israeli citizenship and residency permits that are usually available through marriage to an Israeli citizen.

All Israeli governments have promoted economic growth. This has resulted in a modern economy with strengths in manufacturing, high technology and services, and, more recently, also energy, with the discovery of large gas deposits off the Israel shoreline. Despite the romantic image of Israel being founded on organic agricultural work in rural communes, the Israeli population is highly urbanised and industrialised. Dan Senor and Saul Singer claim, in their 2009 book *Start-Up Nation*, that compulsory military training prepares Israeli entrepreneurs with skills to develop their business start-up ideas at a rate much higher than other countries, despite a relative lack of natural resources.

During periods of security stability, large numbers of Palestinian workers commuted into Israel for jobs. In the mid-1990s, according to the Economic History Association, 40% of Palestinian workers were employed in Israel. This dropped instantly at the outbreak of hostilities in 2000, when borders were hardened and Palestinian labourers were replaced by foreign workers from countries such as Thailand, for jobs which are typically in unskilled and lower-paid sectors.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

How was the state of Israel established, and what were the consequences?

1. Explain the goals of the plans to partition Palestine.
2. Discuss why Zionists declared independence and how the Arab world responded.
3. Which of the first three Arab-Israeli wars had the most significance for people and borders: the first war, the Suez Crisis or the Six-Day War? Justify your response.
4. Why did Israel designate Jerusalem to be its capital, and why is that controversial?
5. Why are Israeli settlements in the West Bank disputed?
6. To what extent does Israel create opportunities for people and protect their human rights?

SUB-QUESTION 3: How did Arab peoples respond to the expansion of Israel?

The first three wars waged between the Arabs and Israel resulted in convincing victories for the Jewish state. With those victories came two waves of land acquisition and a much expanded new state. But the following two decades saw the balance of power shift somewhat, as Arab peoples developed new strategies to challenge Israel and support Palestinian nationalism.

Palestinian Liberation Organization

Initially, Arab nationalists believed that regional Arab unity would best help dispossessed Palestinians. This was seen in the Arab-Israeli wars and in Egypt's leadership of a pan-Arab movement, including a short-lived unification of Egypt and Syria as the United Arab Republic (1958–61). However, militant Palestinian **factions** believed that the 'liberation' of Palestine should be directed by Palestinians themselves. After an Arab League summit in Cairo in 1964 established the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Palestinian nationalists had a united voice and a way to coordinate their armed struggle.

faction a subgroup, usually with slightly different views from the main group

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The 1964 PLO charter forcefully declared that the partition of Palestine and the creation of Israel were 'illegal and false', and that Zionism was 'colonialist', 'racist' and 'fascist'.

Yasser Arafat, who was related to the prominent Palestinian Husseini family (Haj Amin al Husseini was from the same *Hamula*, or clan) and who had moved from Egypt to Kuwait and then Jordan, established the Fatah faction, and by 1969 had taken over the PLO's leadership. Arafat ran his operations from Lebanon, after being expelled from Jordan in 1970. The range and scale of Palestinian terrorist attacks from Lebanon increased immensely, with each PLO faction seeking to outdo the other. Palestinian terrorists began to hijack planes, which achieved enormous global attention and publicity for their cause.

SOURCE 13.26 Jordan, 1969. Leila Khaled, one of two hijackers of an American TWA jetliner in Damascus, smiles after returning to her guerrilla base.

How might the image of Leila Khaled have challenged stereotypes about terrorism? How might this photo have been editorialised in different ways in newspapers in Jordan, Israel and the United States?

In a dramatic display of force and horror, 11 Israeli athletes and coaches were murdered at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games by the Palestinian terrorist group Black September. There was enormous international concern and media coverage. Later, Black September terrorist Jamal al-Gashey would profess his pride for what he had done: 'Before Munich the world had no idea about our struggle, but on that day the name of Palestine was repeated all over the world' (interview in Cohn, 1999). The Israelis responded by ruthlessly pursuing the perpetrators around the globe. Increasingly, Israel and the PLO engaged in attack-and-reprisal actions. In the months following the massacre, the number of Palestinian civilian casualties spiked, with some beginning to publicly counter-accuse Israel of terrorism.

In 1974, the Arab League recognised the PLO as the 'sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people'.

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Later that year, Arafat delivered a landmark speech to the UN General Assembly.

Source **13.27** Arafat's inaugural address to the UN

SOURCE 13.27 Arafat's inaugural address to the UN

> Those who call us terrorists wish to prevent world public opinion from discovering the truth about us ... The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist lies in the reason for which each fights. For whoever stands by a just cause and fights for the freedom and liberation of his land from the invaders, the settlers and the colonialists cannot possibly be called terrorist ... This is actually a just and proper struggle consecrated by the United Nations Charter and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As to those who fight against the just causes, those who wage war to occupy, colonise and oppress other people, those are the terrorists ... I appeal to you to enable our people to establish national independent sovereignty over its own land. Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom-fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

Yasser Arafat, address to UN General Assembly, November 1974

Responding to the source

1. Arafat was the first non-government representative to address the UN General Assembly. Why was the invitation for him to speak controversial?
2. In what way does this speech mark a deviation from Arafat's previous position on relations with Israel?
3. Arafat told the UN that Palestine could be a democratic state for Muslims, Jews and Christians. Research what the Israeli delegate, Yosef Tekoah, said in response, and compare the claims.
4. What is the implied threat in the last two sentences of the source?
5. Arafat's 'olive branch and gun' speech lasted for 90 minutes, but most historical references only include the final two sentences. Discuss whether this longer source is more useful for your understanding of Arafat's cause.
6. Identify at least three other combatants who have been considered 'freedom fighters' by some and 'terrorists' by others. What were their causes? In each case, decide which description you think is more justifiable.

Yom Kippur War (Harb Ramadan)

A year after the Munich Games massacre, Egypt and Syria (and to a much lesser degree Jordan and Iraq) launched a surprise attack upon Israel on 6 October 1973, aiming to reclaim territory lost in 1967. Nasser's presidential successor, Anwar Sadat, and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad timed the attack to occur on Yom Kippur, Israel's holiest day, when Jews pray and fast. It was also during the Muslim month of fasting, which is why Egyptian and other sources refer to the event as the Ramadan War, or Harb Ramadan. Initially, the surprise tactic worked, and Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir was widely criticised for being unprepared. After significant successes for Egypt and modest gains for Syria, Israel eventually prevailed, but there is evidence to suggest that they would not have been able to, or at least not within the 19 days that the conflict lasted, without the military backing of the United States. Arab allies regarded themselves as having secured a symbolic win, while the Israelis now knew themselves to be vulnerable – living in a region dominated by Arab nations, and increasingly relying on American military aid. Within months, Meir resigned.

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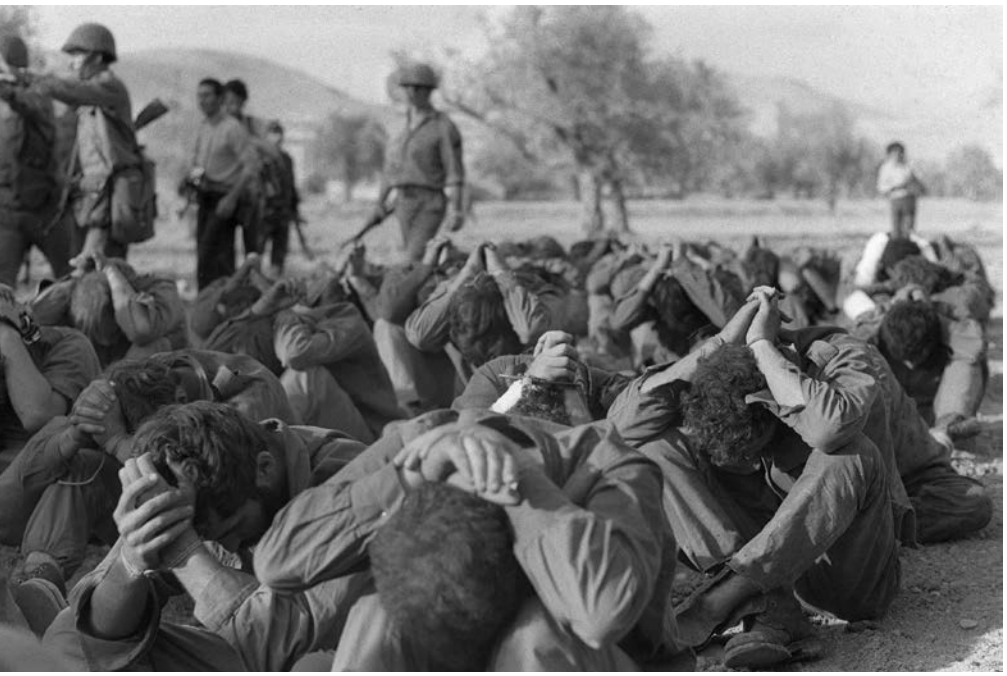

SOURCE 13.28 Damas, 16 October 1973. Israeli prisoners captured by Syrian troops on the Golan front during the Yom Kippur War are presented to the press.

How might Israelis have responded to this image, six years since their victory in the Six-Day War?

There were two key consequences of the Yom Kippur War. Globally, in retaliation against US military intervention, oil-producing Arab nations raised the price of their exported oil by more than half and threatened to reduce production every month thereafter until their political concerns were taken seriously. This had a crippling effect on economies. In the United States, petrol was rationed and long queues formed at petrol stations, where customers had to pay over $1 per gallon of petrol for the first time. Regionally, Egypt's President Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Begin opened peace talks, mediated by US President Jimmy Carter at Camp David, which in 1979 ended 30 years of war and produced a peace agreement that involved Israel handing back the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt.

Israel's invasion of Lebanon

By the 1960s, about 400 000 Palestinians were living in Lebanese refugee camps to the north of Israel. Arafat and his Fatah faction PLO fighters joined these Palestinians after being forcibly deported from Jordan. In Lebanon, the PLO established a 'state within a state' nicknamed Fatahland, and used it as a base to launch attacks upon Israel. Terrorist attacks such as the Ma'alot Massacre in 1974, which killed 25 Israelis, and the Coastal Road Massacre of 1978, which killed 38 more, are cited as giving Israeli authorities the sense that Israel had to act in order to remove the threat from Lebanon.

In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon in 'Operation Peace for Galilee'. Lebanon had already suffered through a bloody civil war, and the Israeli invasion was specifically planned to crush the PLO, install a pro-Israeli president in Lebanon and sever the country's ties to Syria. When Bashir Gemayel, the Lebanese presidential candidate preferred by Israel, was assassinated in 1982 and Arafat fled to Tunisia, Israel curtailed its invasion. During the war Christian Lebanese Phalangist militia forces committed a horrific massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila, murdering up to 3500 Palestinian refugees and Shiite Lebanese. Israel has acknowledged that IDF soldiers facilitated the Christian forces' entry into the camps. To what degree the IDF soldiers knew what was planned, or were aware of the massacre as it transpired, is a source of contention. Either way, Israel accepted partial responsibility for the deaths and, in so doing, experienced much international criticism.

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SOURCE 13.29 Bodies being recovered after the Sabra and Shatila Massacre, Lebanese refugee camp, 19 September 1982

How could this event have affected international attitudes towards Israel?

Israeli historian and Palestinian human rights activist Ilan Pappé recalls Israel's invasion of Lebanon as a 'light bulb moment' for him.

Source **13.30** Pappé on Israel's invasion of Lebanon

SOURCE 13.30 Ilan Pappé expresses doubts about Israeli action

> For us who grew up in Israel, [the invasion of Lebanon] was the first non-consensus war, the first war that obviously was a war of choice: Israel was not attacked, Israel attacked. These events were eye-openers in many ways for people like myself who already had some doubts about Zionism, about the historical version we learned at school ... When you are brought up in a certain way and the policies and actions of your own government push the other side to take some violent actions as well ... It is very difficult for Israelis to separate between the violence and ... the reasons for that violence.

Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé, *On Palestine*, 2015

Responding to the source

1. Why did the invasion of Lebanon, in particular, cause Pappé to question his country's actions?
2. What could an Israeli Government spokesperson have told Pappé that might have lessened his doubts?

First Intifada

In 1987, a grassroots movement erupted among the Palestinian people. After an Israeli checkpoint truck ran over and killed four Palestinians returning to Gaza from their daily work in Israel, civilians in Gaza and the West Bank began an **Intifada**. Disillusioned Palestinians spontaneously staged demonstrations, passive resistance and strikes. Then Palestinians – many of them youths – began throwing stones at Israeli soldiers and tanks.

Intifada an Arabic word for shaking off, or an uprising against oppression

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SOURCE 13.31 West Bank, February 1988. Palestinian demonstrators throw stones at Israeli soldiers during a protest in the streets of Beit Ummar during the First Intifada.

While the Palestinians might have seen themselves as 'powerless victims', how might the Israeli soldiers have labelled them? Given what you know about this situation, do think 'powerless victims' is an appropriate description? Explain. Look up murals created more recently by graffiti artist 'Banksy', inspired by such scenes. Judging by the murals, how do you think Banksy sees the conflict?

Within a few months the protest deteriorated into full-scale Palestinian armed violence, which included wide-scale use of weapons, terror and even executions of alleged 'collaborators' with Israel. The first Intifada saw the rise of a new generation of leaders within the Palestinian camp. From 1989 onwards also came the rise of the Islamist extremist organisations Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

While the figures are contested, it is estimated about 1500 Palestinians were killed over the course of the Intifada, a fifth of these being children. Government statistics say about 150 Israelis were killed over the same period. The Intifada generated unprecedented public sympathy for the Palestinian cause. Long-time Middle Eastern correspondent for *The Guardian*, David Hirst, said, 'the stones that youngsters hurled at Israeli soldiers were more potent than Kalashnikovs' (2004).

Does Hirst's comment change your answer to the question about 'helpless victims'? Explain.

Arafat's PLO unsuccessfully tried to coordinate the protest, and in November 1988 the Palestinian National Council met in Algeria, where Arafat proclaimed that the Intifada was a revolution and there was now a 'State of Palestine'. This was understood to mean within the pre-1967 Arab territories, now under Israeli occupation. Arafat was selected as 'President of Palestine', and called for international peace talks. The violence continued until the end of 1991, when the Madrid Peace Conference commenced.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

How did Arab peoples respond to the expansion of Israel?

1. Summarise the origin and purpose of the PLO.
2. Discuss what the Yom Kippur War revealed about the relationship between Israel and the United States.
3. Discuss the consequences of Israel's invasion of Lebanon.
4. Discuss what the First Intifada revealed about the relationship between Israel and Palestinians living in occupied territories.
5. To what extent was the resistance of Arab peoples against Israel caused by long-term factors relating to Zionism or by recent factors following the 1967 war?

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SUB-QUESTION 4: Can terrorist actions ever be justified?

Terrorism

A 1970s UN study found that the term 'terrorism' was first used in the eighteenth century to refer to policies and actions of governments that were 'designed to spread terror among a population for the purpose of ensuring its submission to and conformity with the will of those Governments'. However, in the twentieth century, terrorism came to be defined as violent actions by non-state 'individuals, or groups of individuals', designed to intimidate civilians and bring publicity to a cause. Many sides in Israel and Palestine have at times used tactics that can be labelled 'terrorism' in pursuing their political agendas. Can the consequences be justified?

From the mid-twentieth century in Mandatory Palestine, terrorism increasingly became seen as a viable strategy that, according to Birmingham Southern College Professor of History Randall Law, could be 'used to sway the behaviour of the many by targeting the few' (2016). Disaffected groups, who felt as though they had exhausted other options, viewed terrorism favourably because they did not need to finance an army in order to fight their enemies according to traditional conventions on how to conduct war. Potential justifications for terrorist actions include an argument that some civilians – such as Israeli settlers – are not necessarily 'innocent' or 'non-combatants'. Such citizens, it is argued, benefit from the questionable actions of their state, and thus terrorism is an understandable method of last resort for stateless people to fight for their independence, just as declaring war is the last resort for states.

Israelis have suffered from many terrorist attacks, often involving single bombings or shootings of civilian targets. According to the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, more than 4600 people have been killed by terrorists in Israel since 1948. When the victims are women and children, people at bus stops, shopping centres, places of worship, or in their homes, the act attracts widespread criticism and seems difficult to justify.

Nevertheless, Pro-Palestinian commentators argue that Palestinians living in occupied territories frequently suffer fear and intimidation in their daily life, caused by the presence of heavily armed Israeli security forces. Law (2016) stated: 'Israel has long-maintained a double-standard when identifying terrorism in its history', having elected former terrorists as prime ministers (including Yitzhak Shamir and Menachem Begin), and naming streets, issuing stamps and creating medals in honour of Irgun fighters.

Should there be limits on counter-terrorism military responses to terrorism?

In response to terrorist attacks, it has been Israel's policy to act swiftly to neutralise the threats. Locally, this has involved hunting down the alleged perpetrators in occupied territories and, where deemed necessary, sealing off or destroying their family homes or neighbourhoods. Beyond that, Israeli responses can amount to full-scale military combat. The influential anti-Zionist socialist Noam Chomsky, raised by a Jewish family in the United States, argued at the time of the First Intifada that the main origin of terrorism was still governments, as per the original eighteenth-century definition. Chomsky, and many others, drew attention to the actions of Israel, saying that, with the support of the United States, Israel was engaging in unjustified attacks on civilians and in war crimes on an enormous scale, particularly in Lebanon and the West Bank in the 1980s. Therefore, they argued that it was wrong to excuse state acts of terrorism as 'counter-terrorism'.

Sometimes, counter-terrorism includes pre-emptive actions to arrest or fire at individuals who are believed to be planning terrorist attacks. International observers have raised concerns, however, that many such Israeli actions are designed to exclude or expel Palestinians from land.

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According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, between 2009 and 2023 10% of the nearly 7000 Palestinian fatalities in the occupied territories occurred during search and arrest operations or were the result of Israeli settler violence (not including casualties in the war in Gaza which began in 2023). The UN office also recorded that the IDF had destroyed over 10 000 Palestinian structures and displaced over 15 000 people in the West Bank alone in that time.

There is considerable international debate about the laws relating to the conduct of war, war crimes, terrorism and counter-terrorism. Palestinians claim that Israeli occupation and counter-terrorism actions have broken sections of the 1949 Geneva Conventions that set out the rules of war and protect civilians and prisoners of war. Israel claims that it applies the Geneva Conventions to its security operations and that Palestinians engage in terrorism, war crimes and crimes against humanity. Palestinians counterclaim that they do not engage in criminal acts but in acts of resistance.

International legal principles that have been raised during the debate about the armed conflict justifying terrorism and counter-terrorism in Israel and Palestine include the following:

- *The right of self-defence:* states may resort to war if an armed attack occurs, subject to limits imposed by the rules of war.
- *Protection of civilians:* non-military personnel should not be targeted, directly or through hostage taking.
- *Protection of property:* property should not be damaged unless that is demanded by the necessities of war, and must not be damaged as a preventive means or to take revenge.
- *Proportionality:* states should avoid incidental loss of civilian life, injuries and damage that exceeds the military advantage anticipated.
- *Crimes against humanity:* murder, rape, torture and the forcible transfer of population as part of an attack on a civilian population are international crimes.
- *War crimes:* torture of prisoners of war and deliberate attacks against hospitals, educational and religious buildings are examples of war crimes.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

Can terrorist actions ever be justified?

1. Review the following events in this chapter and explain the role of terrorism in each:
   - Arab Revolt
   - end of the British Mandate
   - development of the PLO
   - invasion of Lebanon
   - First Intifada.
2. Research recent media coverage of the Arab-Israeli conflict. To what extent does the coverage engage in a debate about whether terrorist actions can be justified?
3. Use the attitude scale below to reflect upon whether any end result warrants the use of terrorist means to achieve it. Choose a personal position on the scale and compare arguments with a classmate who has chosen a different personal position.

The injustice associated with terrorism tactics is warranted if it is done in the pursuit of just outcomes				The injustice associated with terrorism tactics is never warranted even if it is done in the pursuit of just outcomes
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree	strongly agree

4. To what extent should government counter-terrorism measures be governed by the rules of war if non-state terrorist actions are not measured in the same way?

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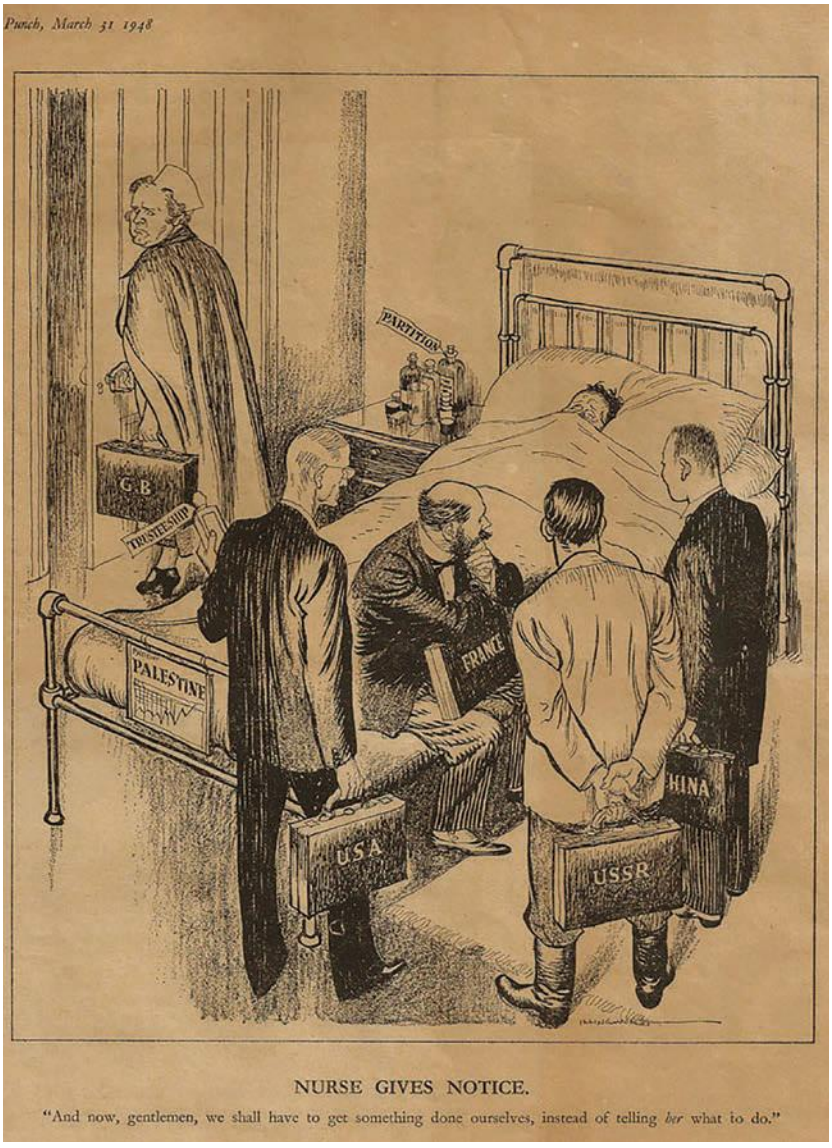
SUB-QUESTION 5: Why have world powers intervened in the Arab-Israeli conflict?

Source **13.32** Palestine the patient, March 1948

Responding to the cartoon

1. What could justify Palestine being depicted as a patient in March 1948?
2. Why, in 1948, had the five nations present become probably the most influential in the world?
3. Why would Britain be depicted as a departing nurse, and how does the cartoon's caption explain her departure?
4. What is the patient's current medication?
5. What alternative treatment (which would be authorised by the UN) does the United States seem to be proposing?
6. To what extent was this cartoon a reasonable comment on the situation in Palestine in early 1948?
7. Could the cartoonist have misled his audience by portraying Palestine as a single patient for whom a single treatment could restore health? Explain your response.
8. How could the cartoon be used as evidence of the concerns that world powers have had for Palestine in the twentieth century?



SOURCE 13.32 Palestine the patient, March 1948

9. Review your understanding of Arab responses to the creation of Israel. Which of the five world powers depicted in the cartoon were still intervening in Arab-Israeli conflicts in 1956 (Suez), 1967 (Six-Day War) and 1973 (Yom Kippur)?

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Cold War

During the Cold War, nations aligned themselves either with the Communist Bloc led by the Soviet Union or the Western alliance led by the United States, and thus benefited from the support and protection of a superpower. Although both superpowers were quick to recognise Israel in 1948, at other times the Middle East was regarded as one of the theatres of the Cold War. This is due to the influence of Soviet and American financial aid and military hardware on opposing sides of conflicts in the region. Indeed, some of the conflicts were seen as **proxy wars** between the superpowers.

proxy war a war instigated by, or fought on behalf of, a major power that is not directly involved

From the 1950s, the Soviet Union aligned with socialist-leaning states, including Egypt and Syria, while the United States committed to protect and support anti-communist states, including Turkey (now Türkiye), Israel and Saudi Arabia. After the 1967 Six-Day War, US President Johnson warned that a wasteful and dangerous arms race had been developing in the region, and that 'the larger states outside the area' shared responsibility for finding a better course. Johnson claimed that US shipments of arms to the Middle East had been 'severely limited' (Johnson, 1967). However, neither superpower wanted to allow the other to gain an advantage, and therefore they continued to send arms to the region.

The 1973 Yom Kippur War was made possible by the Soviet military resources sent to Egypt over the preceding years, and when the Soviets resupplied Syria and Egypt with tens of thousands of tonnes of materiel, US President Richard Nixon responded with America's largest ever airlift of military equipment. As discussed, this enabled Israel to fight off the challengers. Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir described the American aid as a 'miracle' and credited Nixon with saving Israel.

In Source 13.33, Jeremy Sharp (US Specialist in Middle East Affairs at the Congressional Research Service) comments on US support for Israel in recent times.

Source **13.33** Jeremy Sharp comments on US support for Israel

SOURCE 13.33 Jeremy Sharp explains US military aid to Israel

> Israel is the largest cumulative recipient of U.S. foreign assistance since World War II. To date, the United States has provided Israel $142.3 billion (current, or noninflation-adjusted, dollars) in bilateral assistance and missile defense funding. Almost all U.S. bilateral aid to Israel is in the form of military assistance, although from 1971 to 2007 Israel also received significant economic assistance.
>
> [From 2019 to 2028], the United States pledges to provide $38 billion in military aid ($33 billion in Foreign Military Financing grants plus $5 billion in missile defense appropriations) to Israel.
>
> ... U.S. military aid for Israel has been designed to maintain Israel's 'qualitative military edge' (QME) over neighboring militaries. The rationale for QME is that Israel must rely on better equipment and training to compensate for being much smaller in land area and population than its potential adversaries.

Jeremy Sharp, 'US Foreign Aid to Israel', Congressional Research Service, August 2019

Responding to Sharp

1. What does the information show about the relationship between Israel and the United States?
2. What is the meaning of 'QME'?
3. Has QME been a decisive factor in the Israeli-Arab conflicts that you've learned about? Give some examples of actual events or actions.

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Camp David Accords

In the late 1970s, the United States asserted its role as a peace-maker in the Middle East by mediating discussions between Egypt's President Anwar Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin. Both leaders were renowned military men who had fought for their nations' independence, but they showed an interest in ending decades of hostility. They showed their friendly intentions by visiting each other's countries, and then came together for two weeks in September 1978 in the United States at Camp David, the president's private rural retreat, to work on a peace deal.

SOURCE 13.34 Egyptian President Sadat, US President Carter and Israeli Prime Minister Begin at Camp David, September 1978

What does the setting suggest about how the Camp David process differed from typical international negotiations?

President Carter pressed both leaders not to leave without a deal, and, ultimately, the compromise 'Camp David Accords' made progress on several sensitive fronts. Egypt and Israel committed to end their conflict, and Sadat and Begin shared the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize. In 1980, Egypt became the first Arab nation to recognise Israel and conduct normal diplomatic ties with it.

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The Camp David Accords proposed:

- to establish a self-governing authority in the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank
- full implementation of UN Resolution 242, including the withdrawal of Israeli forces and civilians from West Bank lands acquired during the Six-Day War
- recognition of the 'legitimate rights of the Palestinian people' and steps towards full autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza within five years.

However, the Accords were silent on the problem of Jerusalem, and because they were agreed to without official Palestinian input, the UN did not officially endorse the deal. In 1981, President Sadat was assassinated in Cairo by Egyptian Islamist extremists who opposed his dealings with Israel.

To what extent do you think the Camp David commitments would have satisfied Palestinian Arabs in Gaza and the West Bank?

Oslo Accords

The next major effort to resolve the conflict in the Middle East did include a Palestinian voice. The Oslo Accords of 1993 saw Israel and the PLO recognise each other for the first time. This was made possible for various reasons – for example, the election in Israel of a Labor government in 1992, headed by Yizthak Rabin, who was open to negotiations with the PLO.

Another factor was Arafat's policy. Since his 1974 'olive branch and gun' speech to the UN, Arafat had increasingly looked to diplomacy to address the protracted conflict, although the PLO did not abandon the strategy of armed struggle against Israel. In 1988, Arafat declared he was renouncing terrorism. The PLO turned away from the Arab policy of denying the right of Israel to exist, and began to acknowledge that any peaceful future would have to recognise the other party's right to statehood.

The United States had been drawn into a Middle Eastern conflict in August 1990, in the First Gulf War, after Iraq invaded Kuwait. In January 1991, US forces, in the largest deployment of American troops since World War II, pushed Iraq's army from Kuwait. (11 years later, in the second Gulf War, US toppled the dictatorial President Saddam Hussein). Later in 1991, the United States returned to the thorny issue of Israel and the Palestinian territories. Three days of talks in October and November, known as the Madrid Peace Conference, were significant because it was the first time that Palestinians (as part of a Jordanian delegation) and Israelis had officially met face-to-face to discuss peace.

Other channels of negotiation between the parties began in secret in 1993. The Oslo Accords, which were the end result of these secret negotiations, planned to take steps towards the Palestinians' long-held goal of independent statehood. This was to be achieved over a five-year transitional period, where Palestine would exercise limited self-government over some parts of the West Bank and Gaza, while Israel was to incrementally withdraw. It was hoped that, by progressing in stages, trust would be built between the parties so that the more difficult final-status issues of Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements and borders could be discussed later.

To what extent did the 1993 Oslo Accords echo the commitments made at Camp David in 1978? Did anything suggest that the Oslo Accords had more chance of success?

By September 1993, Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin were communicating via letters. Arafat told Rabin that the PLO had renounced the use of terrorism and would remove the section of the Palestine National Charter that called for the destruction of Israel.

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In return, Rabin recognised the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and US President Clinton removed the PLO from the United States' list of terrorist organisations. This process paused with the famous White House lawn handshake between Rabin and Arafat, watched on by the visibly pleased Clinton. Arafat, Rabin and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In 1994, Jordan recognised Israel and established normal diplomatic ties.

SOURCE 13.35 The media crowd in to cover the momentous Israeli-PLO Peace Accord, Washington, DC, 1993. After the photo opportunity on the White House lawn, Palestinian National Authority President Yasser Arafat puts his hand on the back of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin as they walk beside King Hussein of Jordan.

Search the internet for the official handshake photos and then compare them with this candid image. Which photograph gives you the greatest confidence that the participants that day were acting sincerely? In your explanation, comment upon the varying reliability associated with our public and personal personas.

Today, however, many consider the Oslo peace process as a failed attempt. Trust was not built between the sides. From the outset, both the Palestinians and the Israelis breached the agreement. Palestinian terror did not fully cease, and Israeli settlement building continued, some on the land that was discussed to form part of a Palestinian state. The Palestinians did not feel the fruits of peace – their economy did not improve and the Israeli army was still patrolling their streets and at checkpoints. In 1995, Rabin was shot dead in Tel Aviv by a Jewish extremist.

Road map

In mid-2000, President Clinton hosted Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, again at Camp David, but the talks did not make progress. The peace process and Arafat's Palestinian administration in the West Bank then collapsed after the outbreak in September 2000 of the Second Intifada. Following a visit to the highly sensitive Al-Aqsa/Dome of the Rock compound by prime ministerial candidate Ariel Sharon, flanked by 1000 Israeli police, waves of Palestinian terrorist attacks and suicide bombings struck Israel, which used these attacks to justify increasing its military control of areas that the Oslo Accords placed under Palestinian control.

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In 2003, a new 'Quartet' of world powers – the United States, Russia, the European Union and the UN – proposed a new 'Road Map' for peace, with targets and milestones for three phases until a final settlement of peace would be achieved in 2005. The destination of the road map was a yet-to-be-negotiated solution to long-standing 'final status' points of contention.

SOURCE 13.36 Road Map for peace

> **Parties reach final and comprehensive permanent status agreement that ends the Israel-Palestinian conflict in 2005, through a settlement negotiated between the parties based on UNSCR 242, 338, and 1397, that ends the occupation that began in 1967, and includes an agreed, just, fair, and realistic solution to the refugee issue, and a negotiated resolution on the status of Jerusalem that takes into account the political and religious concerns of both sides, and protects the religious interests of Jews, Christians, and Muslims worldwide, and fulfills the vision of two states, Israel and sovereign, independent, democratic and viable Palestine, living side-by-side in peace and security.**

Excerpt from Phase III of *Performance-Based Road Map to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, April 2003

This excerpt describes the destination to be reached by 2005. Identify the four final status issues that the road map left to be negotiated in the next two years. How significant and complex were those issues?

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon surprised many by endorsing the road map, and Mahmoud Abbas, who was considered at the time a pragmatic member of the Fatah party, became the Palestinian Prime Minister. Some steps were made towards the first phase of the road map, but the process eventually stalled.

Sharon unilaterally decided to evict all of the nearly 10 000 Israeli settlers from the Gaza Strip in 2005 and bulldoze their settlements, leaving Gaza and its surroundings to Palestinian control. His right-wing rival, Benjamin Netanyahu, resigned from the cabinet in protest.

Despite winning a majority of seats in the 2006 Palestinian elections, the extremist Hamas faction was blocked by President Mahmoud Abbas from taking power. In 2007, Hamas staged a bloody coup d'état in Gaza, killing dozens of Fatah officials and civilians, and proceeded to take over the control of the strip, creating what analysts labelled as 'Hamastan'.

Fatah remained in power of the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank. Prime Minister Sharon supported further Israeli settlement building in the West Bank, and began the process of constructing a controversial 700-kilometre-long 'separation barrier', or 'security wall', mostly along the so-called Green Line, to protect Israelis from attack, which Palestinians regard as a racist 'apartheid wall'. The wall restricts Palestinians' movements and access to land and water, and has attracted a great deal of criticism.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

Why have world powers intervened in the Arab-Israeli conflict?

1. Identify the main world powers that have intervened in the conflict and the peace processes.
2. Explain the strategic reasons why superpowers intervened in the region during the Cold War.
3. What were the most significant outcomes of the 1979 Camp David Accords? What was left unresolved?
4. What were the most significant outcomes of the 1993 Oslo Accords? What was left unresolved?
5. How was the 2003 Road Map intervention different from previous efforts? What changed for Palestinians?
6. Discuss what the peace processes reveal about international interest in Israel-Palestine.

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SUB-QUESTION 6: How has the state of Israel attempted to achieve security?

'Separation Barrier'

In 2002, Israel began one of its largest-ever infrastructure projects, known variously as the Security Fence, the Separation Barrier and the West Bank Wall. It is about 700 kilometres long, and is aimed at eliminating terrorist attacks on Israelis by West Bank Palestinians. In places, the barrier is a chain-link fence with pyramids of barbed wire, but in the areas where there is the greatest concern about snipers firing into Israel, it is a 9-metre-tall concrete wall. Underground sensors, trenches, landmines, surveillance cameras, drones and guard towers were put in place, and the IDF patrols a cleared section within Israel.

Israel claims that the barrier is a last-resort effort to keep its citizens safe, and points to a dramatic reduction in deaths from terrorist attacks since its construction. Palestinians claim that the barrier makes them feel like they are in prison. They experience the effects of the wall daily: in some places, villages are divided by the wall, while in others farmers are cut off from the lands they once tended, and some people can no longer reach their traditional water source.

Despite Israel's claim that the barrier is not a border and could be removed, it has drawn widespread criticism, including from the International Court of Justice. In 2004, the UN asked the Court to provide an advisory opinion on the wall. The Court found that the construction was contrary to international law because, in restricting Palestinians' movements, it deprives them of the rights to work, health, education and an adequate standard of living, and 'severely impedes the exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination'. US President Trump, however, praised the wall, and cited it as an inspiration for his own wall to deter illegal Mexican immigration to the United States.

Source **13.37** The West Bank 'Separation Barrier'

Responding to the photograph

1. What does the photograph show about the nature and scale of the 'separation barrier'?
2. These Palestinians were seeking to cross the barrier to worship during the holy month of Ramadan, possibly at the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. At other times, the crossing is necessary to go to work in Israel. They need to present their papers and be searched. What does this show about the effects of the barrier?
3. On this occasion, the crowd was told that the checkpoint was closed due to security concerns. At other times of heightened tension, entry has been barred to men under the age of 35. To what extent is that an understandable measure to keep Israelis safe?
4. Search online for West Bank Wall graffiti. What political statements have been made by artistic activists on the barrier? Discuss three examples and explain your choice.

SOURCE 13.37 The West Bank 'Separation Barrier'; Palestinians wait at a checkpoint, Bethlehem, 2006

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'Iron Dome'

Since 2011, Israel's populated areas have been protected from rockets and missiles by a system called the 'Iron Dome', jointly developed by Israel and the United States. The system was created after the 2006 battle with Hezbollah in southern Lebanon saw thousands of missiles fired at northern Israel in the, and rockets were fired from Gaza, by Hamas, at civilians in southern Israel. With over US$2.9 billion of aid from the United States, Israel has successfully tracked and intercepted rocket attacks, particularly from Gaza. In November 2023, Prime Minister Netanyahu visited an Iron Dome battery in southern Israel and described the men and women there as 'the shield of the State of Israel' who were 'doing sacred work in saving the citizens'.

SOURCE 13.38 Israeli interceptor missiles shoot down rockets fired from Gaza, May 2021

When Israelis see the 'Iron Dome' in operation, how might that affect their sense of security and their feelings about their nation?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 6

How has the state of Israel attempted to achieve security?

1. Explain the arguments for and against the Security Barrier.
2. What effects has the Security Barrier had on Israel's international reputation?
3. Explain the rationale for the Iron Dome system.
4. Discuss the effects of the Security Barrier and the Iron Dome on Israeli security in the twenty-first century.
5. How did Israelis' sense of security change with the 7 October 2023 Hamas attacks?

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SUB-QUESTION 7: What have historians and journalists said about the consequences of the development of Israel?

Here are two Jerusalem-born American historical perspectives on Israel.

Sources **13.39** and **13.40** Two Jerusalem-born American historical perspectives on Israel

SOURCE 13.39 Eric Gartman concludes his 2015 book on the history of modern Israel

How was it possible that a scattered, stateless, and powerless people was able to reconstitute itself and overcome repeated threats of annihilation at the hands of its more numerous neighbors?

... The single greatest factor in the Zionists' triumph over the Arabs was their more advanced development. The Jews, coming from Europe, were a modern, literate, scientific people, whose level of development reflected the society from which they came. Once in Palestine, they were able to re-create a modern society similar to those in Europe, complete with financial institutions, universities, industries, and – most conspicuously – a strong military. ...

Dedicated to their very core to securing a safe haven for the Jews, they accomplished monumental feats, reclaiming the land, creating a new language, building towns and cities, and fighting to defend themselves.

Eric Gartman, *Return to Zion: The History of Modern Israel*, 2015, pp. 323–31

SOURCE 13.40 Edward Said comments on the 2001 Israeli election

[T]he old and thoroughly discredited policy of bashing Arabs ... has made Israel a more and more isolated and discredited country than it has ever been.

Of course, life goes on within it just as it does everywhere else, and in all sorts of ways it should be obvious that most Israelis are normal people who want to live normal lives, bring up their families, prosper in their work, and carry on without fear of catastrophe or war. Yet, as a people, their collective history has been very much an unwelcome part of modern Arab history and, for Palestinians in particular, an almost unmitigated disaster. There is nothing quite like this equal and opposite relationship anywhere else in the world, and in fact, I have yet to meet a Palestinian to whom even the most benign aspect of Israel's existence has not simultaneously also meant something quite concretely negative for Palestine and Palestinians. It is difficult to look at an Israeli landscape, for instance, without also seeing the obliterated Palestinian farm or village which it has replaced; hard to hear of someone immigrating to Israel from Romania or Russia without also feeling the anguish of an exiled Palestinian prevented from returning home.

And so it has gone for over 50 years: life in one community has meant frustration and suffering in the other, measure for measure, tit for tat, inexorably and remorselessly. No Palestinian needs reminding that every Israeli triumph has been a symmetrical Palestinian loss.

Edward Said, 'Where Is Israel Going?', *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, 2001, 20(3), p. 11

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Responding to the sources

1. How does Gartman frame his narrative about the achievements of Zionists? To what extent does his narrative match your understanding of the situation, having studied this chapter?
2. Consider the origin of Source 13.39: Gartman is an intelligence analyst for the US Department of Defense, born in Jerusalem in 1975 to a Jewish American family, and raised in the United States. He has blogged for the Israel Forever Foundation, based in Washington, DC. How likely does it seem that his identity and experiences have influenced his perspective? Which phrases indicate his perspective?
3. How does Said frame his narrative about what makes the Israel-Palestine situation unique? To what extent does his narrative match your understanding of the situation, having studied this chapter?
4. Consider the origin of Source 13.40: Said was a university academic in New York who was born in Jerusalem in 1935 into a wealthy Palestinian and Lebanese Christian family, and completed his education in the United States. He was commenting on an election campaign that was under way in Israel. How likely does it seem that his identity and experiences have influenced his perspective? Which phrases indicate his perspective?

If you have been paying attention to the international news while studying the history of Israel and Palestine, you will have noticed that journalists engage in ongoing debates, not only about how to verify the facts of current events, but also about the history of the long-running conflict. Many individual journalists uphold high ethical standards. However, different reporters make different decisions about which facts to include in their reports and whose voices should be heard. This may depend on where the reporters are from, what they believe and who employs them. Is it relevant, for example, that the Al Jazeera television network is owned by the state of Qatar, which is a key donor to Hamas operations in Palestinian territories? How significant is it that the *Times of Israel* was founded by an American billionaire investor? Why has the BBC's Jeremy Bowen faced several inquiries into bias against Israel? It is crucial not to rely on a single source of news, but rather to take into account a range of perspectives about which side is to blame, and whether anyone can claim the high ground.

Like journalists, historians of Israel and Palestine engage in debates. Historians follow the daily reports issued by the media, and, in turn, journalists read the books and articles published by historians to place current events in a longer context. Historians too may be influenced by the context of what is happening in the times through which they live. Neil Caplan, of Concordia University, Canada, in 'The Historiography of the Israel-Palestine Conflict' in *Routledge Companion to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (2022), identified competing narratives. Perhaps more than any other debate about modern history, historians of Israel and Palestine face intense scrutiny: which narrative do they support?

One historical narrative takes the view that the history of Israel and Palestine is best understood to be a conflict between two peoples, both of whom are in search of a homeland, and both with valid claims to the right to build themselves a nation. The central problem has been that Israelis and Palestinians have sought to build their respective nations on the same territory. This paradigm of a clash of nationalisms emerged in the 1970s. Jacob Talmon, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for instance, emphasised that Zionists were re-establishing a Jewish civilisation with deep roots in the area.

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The argument was that, unlike colonial powers, Zionists purchased land, rather than conquering, and they were not exploiting resources to enrich the capital of any empire. Similarly, other historians state that the Jews are the original people of the land of Israel.

SOURCE 13.41 S. Ilan Troen, an American scholar who moved to Israel, writes about Zionism

> **Zionists did not see themselves as foreigners or conquerors. For centuries in the Diaspora they had been strangers. In Eretz Israel [the communities on the land before the modern nation] they expended enormous creative energy to feel at home, as if they were natives. It was this rejuvenation that convinced a large portion of the world community that Jews were entitled to independence within that portion of the country they had so distinctively marked.**

S. Ilan Troen, 'De-Judaizing the Homeland: Academic Politics in Rewriting the History of Palestine', *Israel Affairs*, 2007, 13(4), p. 875

Some historians may accept this claim and still argue that it is valid for Palestinians to say that Arabs had occupied that land for centuries, and were ready to move towards their own liberation from colonial domination when they were displaced by Israeli settlers. Caplan makes the point that this historical narrative supports the idea that only a 'two-state solution' can end the conflict, when both Israelis and Palestinians 'enjoy self-determination, each in a *part* of the disputed territory' (2022:15).

A second historical narrative takes the view that the cause of the conflict was the establishment in 1948 of Israel as a colonial power, or a settler-state, which imported Europeans to dispossess the Arabs. Concerns about this colonial settler-state model began before Israel became a state.

SOURCE 13.42 George Antonius, a Lebanese Christian diplomat who lived in Jerusalem during the British Mandate, writes about the creation of a Jewish state

> **The cure for the eviction of Jews from Germany is not to be sought in the eviction of the Arabs from their homeland; and the relief of Jewish distress may not be accomplished at the cost of inflicting a corresponding distress upon an innocent and peaceful population. ... no room can be made in Palestine for a second nation except by dislodging or exterminating the nation in possession.**

George Antonius, *Arab Awakening*, 1939, pp. 411–12

Edward Said, a Palestinian-American scholar at Columbia University, New York, wrote extensively about Israeli colonialism and Palestinians as victims. His Palestinian Christian colleague at the same university, Joseph Massad, goes so far as to describe Zionism as racism. Indeed, in 1975 a majority of United Nations members passed a resolution that determined 'zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination'. The UN later revoked this determination (1991).

A third trend in histories of Israel and Palestine is a willingness among some Jewish scholars to criticise and question the ethics of Israeli policies. When sealed archival documents from the 1940s became declassified in the 1980s, Ilan Pappé, Benny Morris and other 'new historians' used the evidence to challenge heroic accounts of early Zionists. Pappé concluded that Israel had planned the 'ethnic cleansing' of Palestine, and that Zionists were so determined to keep any land gained that they missed opportunities to finalise agreements with Arab neighbours. Critics of this approach point to numerous missed opportunities on the part of Arab leaders, who turned down various compromise offers of partial statehood.

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Beyond academic historians, attempts have been made to help students to understand the complexity of the conflict and to appreciate arguments on all sides. In 2006, the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East published 'Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative: Palestinians and Israelis', which presents two versions of twentieth-century history: the Israeli on the left of the page and the Palestinian on the right. Students are invited to read both sides, and write their own 'bridging' narrative in the blank space in between. This experiment in parallel narratives has been used by high schools in Israel and the Palestinian territories. In Britain, the non-profit organisation 'Solutions Not Sides' has run workshops in schools using parallel narratives, with a goal to combat rising trends of antisemitism and Islamophobia.

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 7

What have historians and journalists said about the consequences of the development of Israel?

1. Summarise three trends or narratives among historians writing about Israel.
2. Which of the narratives do you find most compelling so far? Why?
3. Discuss the value of 'parallel narratives' in helping students appreciate different perspectives. To what extent would such an approach help your historical understanding?
4. Identify a recent event in or involving Israel, and find reports about the event on the websites of a) Al Jazeera and b) the *Jerusalem Post*. Compare and contrast the content and tone of the respective reports, noting the different origins of the media outlets.

Depth study: Summing up

In this depth study, you have looked at what happened in Palestine and the movement to establish the state of Israel in the wake of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. You have seen how the British came to relinquish control of their mandate, and you have analysed and evaluated sources to form arguments relating to the influence of the Holocaust and the effects of Israel's declaration of national independence. You have also considered issues and concepts relating to the Six-Day War, the balance of power between the Arabs and the Israelis in the 1970s and 1980s, and how historians have debated the issues. Your study of the ongoing conflict and of the intervention of world powers through peace initiatives has ended at a point where peace between Israelis and Palestinians still remains elusive.

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources of evidence and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: What have been the ongoing consequences of the development of the state of Israel?

Create an annotated timeline. Name the key events relating to Israel from 1948 to 2011. For each, write a brief note about the event's significance to the overall depth study question, and allocate a score of 1–5 to indicate the relative importance of that event.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

How does Israel relate to regional and global peace and security?

Significance at the time

When David Ben-Gurion declared the state of Israel in May 1948, the new nation was greeted with rejoicing among some and fury among others. The UN's approval of the development of a modern Jewish state in the ancestral homeland of the Jews marked a turning point for the history of a people who had experienced unprecedented levels of persecution. However, Zionists did not wait for a final international agreement and official start date, and instead made a unilateral declaration of independence. From that point on, the status of Israel has been unlike any other modern nation.

Source **13.43** The significance of the creation of Israel

SOURCE 13.43 Nir Kedar writes about the creation of Israel

The 1948 War, during which Israel was born, utterly changed the demography, politics, and economy of Palestine-Israel. Before the war, a total of 870,000 Arabs had lived in the part of Mandate Palestine that became the state of Israel, but by the end of the war, only 160,000 of them remained – a small, wounded, depleted, and destitute population lacking effective leadership. For them, the war had been a catastrophe – the Nakba, as they called it. The Jews, who had just recently been a minority, became the rulers of the land, held most of its soil, and imposed military rule over the Arab inhabitants. But after long years of struggle and violence, culminating in a harsh war for survival, the majority community was also battered, exhausted, and apprehensive about what the future would bring. The Arab world refused to recognize Israel's existence, and its leaders continued to declare their intention to liberate Palestine from its Jewish conquerors and to return the Arab refugees to their homes and land. The Arab countries also supported terror attacks on the new country.

... The war created a new reality in the country but did not end the conflict. The two wounded communities both bore memories of humiliation, discrimination, and persecution and the harsh feeling of being a minority. The Arabs saw themselves as a defeated minority, dispossessed and dishonored in their own homeland. The harsh and inequitable military regime they lived under exacerbated and justified these feelings. While the Jews became a majority in their country, they saw themselves as a threatened minority in the midst of a hostile Arab and Muslim region.

Nir Kedar, *David Ben-Gurion and the Foundation of Israeli Democracy*, 2021, pp. 179, 181

Responding to the source

1. According to this source, during what event was Israel 'born'? How appropriate is this interpretation, compared with a claim that Israel was born before that event began?
2. In this historian's view, what was the impact of the birth of Israel on Arabs?
3. In this historian's view, what was the impact of the birth of Israel on Jews?
4. The source does not discuss in detail the views of the UN on the creation of Israel. How might that omission affect its perspective?
5. Considering what you have learned about Israel and Palestine, to what extent does this historical account seem to be informed by hindsight (i.e. knowledge of events that occurred after 1948)?
6. Nir Kedar is a professor of legal history at Bar-Ilan University in Israel and the text was originally written in Hebrew. How likely does it seem that his identity and experiences have influenced his perspective? Which phrases indicate his perspective?

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Antisemitism and Israel

It is widely agreed that antisemitism, like other forms of prejudice and discrimination, is unjustifiable and harmful. Does it follow that those who criticise the actions of Israel, or the existence of the state of Israel, must be antisemitic? Those who argue that opponents of Israel are antisemitic point to the dangers of allowing antisemitism to rise again, contending that rejecting Israel's right to exist is antisemitic as it denies Jewish peoplehood and self-determination. Some defenders of Israel equate the anti-Zionist position with extremist organisations like Hamas, which called on its followers not only to destroy Israel as a state, but also to kill Jews and end an alleged worldwide Jewish conspiracy that it claims is behind many evils in the world, ranging from communism to Lions Clubs (according to the 1988 Hamas covenant). Others are concerned that there are dangers in giving one country a special status, particularly if it leads to all criticism of Israel being labelled as racism or prejudice. They argue that it is possible to criticise Zionism without expressing a hatred towards Jews, and that Jews and non-Jews alike should have the freedom to criticise Israel's status and actions. We have seen this recently in the involvement of anti-Zionist Jewish people in protests in Australia and around the world against Israel's war in Gaza, which began in 2023.

Source **13.44** Is it antisemitic to criticise Israel?

SOURCE 13.44 The International Holocaust Memorial Alliance on antisemitism

IHRA non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism

Adopted by the IHRA Plenary in Bucharest

In the spirit of the Stockholm Declaration that states: "With humanity still scarred by ... antisemitism and xenophobia the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils" the committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial called the IHRA Plenary in Budapest 2015 to adopt the following working definition of antisemitism.

On 26 May 2016, the Plenary in Bucharest decided to:

> Adopt the following non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism:
>
> 'Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.'

To guide IHRA in its work, the following examples may serve as illustrations:

Manifestations might include the targeting of the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic. Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for "why things go wrong." It is expressed in speech, writing, visual forms and action, and employs sinister stereotypes and negative character traits.

Contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere could, taking into account the overall context, include, but are not limited to:

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.

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- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

Antisemitic acts are criminal when they are so defined by law (for example, denial of the Holocaust or distribution of antisemitic materials in some countries).

Criminal acts are antisemitic when the targets of attacks, whether they are people or property – such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries – are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish or linked to Jews.

Antisemitic discrimination is the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others and is illegal in many countries.

International Holocaust Memorial Alliance, *Non-legally Binding Working Definition of Antisemitism*, 2016

Responding to the source

1. Summarise what attitudes to the state of Israel could be regarded as antisemitism under this definition.
2. How might this definition cause controversy? Search for media reports about Kenneth Stern, one of the definition's original authors, who has raised concerns about how the definition has been used.
3. While studying this topic, what examples have you seen in media coverage of Israel or in public protests that could be described as antisemitic under this definition?
4. Australia joined the Alliance in 2019. What are the implications for Australians of belonging to an organisation with this definition?
5. Find the list of country members of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance on the IHMA website (available via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10536) and explain what the Alliance's membership shows.

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Controversial comparisons between Gaza and the Holocaust

Shortly after the Hamas attack on Israel in October 2023, some commentators (including Professor Irfan Ahmad of Ibn Haldun University, Türkiye) said that the attack was comparable to the uprising of Jews against Nazis in the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943, and that neither the Jews in Warsaw nor the Hamas from Gaza should be regarded as terrorists: in fact, both groups were victims of terror.

Source **13.45** Criticism of comparisons between Gaza and the Holocaust

SOURCE 13.45 A journalist's criticism of comparisons with the Holocaust

> **Berating Jews with their own history, disinheriting them of pity, as though pity is negotiable or has a sell-by date, is the latest species of Holocaust denial … Instead of saying the Holocaust didn't happen, the modern sophisticated denier accepts the event in all its terrible enormity, only to accuse the Jews of trying to profit from it, either in the form of moral blackmail or downright territorial theft. According to this thinking, the Jews have betrayed the Holocaust and become unworthy of it, the true heirs to their suffering being the Palestinians. Thus, here and there throughout the world this year, Holocaust day was temporarily annulled or boycotted on account of Gaza, dead Jews being found guilty of the sins of live ones.**

Howard Jacobsen, 'Let's See the "Criticism" of Israel for What It Really Is', *Independent*, London, 2009

Responding to the sources

1. The Gaza-Warsaw comparison is deliberately controversial. According to Howard Jacobsen, what motivates the comparison?
2. What does the debate about Gaza reveal about international attitudes to Israel and Palestine?

Legacy – significance for today

Since its creation, through waves of immigration and multiple conflicts, the state of Israel has expanded its territory and developed into a powerful modern nation. Its continuing conflicts, with Palestine and other neighbours, have had significant regional ramifications. The foreign policies of nations in the Middle East have been shaped, at least in part, by their position on Israel. Around 15% of UN member states refuse to recognise Israel, including all the nations of the Arabian Peninsula (excluding Jordan), much of northern Africa (notably excluding Egypt and Morocco) as well as Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Lebanon and Syria. Therefore, Israel is surrounded by hostility. Questions over the status of Israel also have global implications. In the UN, strategic alliances between member states have been influenced by their policies towards Israel and Palestine. Jerusalem resident and Middle East analyst Jonathan Spyer explains that, '[the Israeli-Palestinian] conflict has an enormous symbolic significance for populations in the broader Arab and Muslim world and beyond, who have no tangible and practical involvement with it' (2017).

Tensions between Israel and Palestine have also led to international conflicts. In addition to his much-enunciated hatred of the West, Osama Bin Laden cited this conflict as his inspiration for the 9/11 attacks of 2001 on the United States. He said in 2008 that 'the Palestinian issue is the first basic issue of my Ummah [community]', and that the 9/11 terrorists sought 'to defend the oppressed and to punish the Jew aggressors and their supporters'. Subsequent to 9/11, US President George W. Bush controversially launched a so-called war on terrorism, sending a coalition of forces from nations far distant from the Middle East into Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Libya, Yemen, North Africa, the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea. In doing so, whatever else he may have achieved, this military campaign further destabilised the region.

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The Hamas terrorist attacks on Israeli communities in October 2023, and the war that Israel declared on Hamas in Gaza in response, marked a new tragic intensity in the conflict. At the time this textbook went to print, Israeli hostages remained trapped in Gaza and Israel had expanded its war to the near-complete destruction of Gaza. These events have resulted in levels of civilian and children casualties, displacement and starvation not seen before in the region. Media reportage in the year following October 7 charted a reduction in sympathy and support for Israel, so much so that significant portions of public commentary were expressions of outrage at the aggressive stance taken. In 2024, the International Criminal Court (which prosecutes individuals for certain international crimes) issued arrest warrants which would see the prime minister of Israel and three Hamas leaders put on trial for war crimes. The International Court of Justice (which hears disputes between states) directed Israel to cease its offensive in order to prevent genocide, and its president said that Israel's actions were tantamount to apartheid (the segregation policy historically used in South Africa). However, the views of the international courts seemed unlikely to be put into effect or to alter any policies. Israel's war in Gaza showed several realities that your study of this history has revealed: the region remains a flashpoint of great concern to the global community; Palestinian lives continue to be shaped by Israeli policies; some Palestinians remain convinced that terrorism is their only viable strategy to draw attention to their cause; Israelis remain vulnerable, even after constructing 'security barriers' and imposing severe restrictions on the movements of Palestinians; Israel's military is far more powerful than the forces of its neighbours; and the international community remains divided over the situation.

SOURCE 13.46 UN Resolution 77/25, 'Peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine'

Reaffirming the permanent responsibility of the United Nations with regard to the question of Palestine until it is resolved in all its aspects in accordance with international law and relevant resolutions,

Convinced that achieving a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the question of Palestine, the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict, is imperative for the attainment of comprehensive and lasting peace and stability in the Middle East,

... [The UN General Assembly] *Reiterates its call for* the achievement, without delay, of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 2334 (2016), the Madrid terms of reference, including the principle of land for peace, the Arab Peace Initiative and the Quartet road map, and an end to the Israeli occupation that began in 1967, including of East Jerusalem, and reaffirms in this regard its unwavering support, in accordance with international law, for the two-State solution of Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security within recognized borders, based on the pre-1967 borders ...

UN Resolution 77/25, November 2022

Activity **13.4**

Consider the role of the global community

1. In Source 13.46, how significant does the UN General Assembly say the Arab-Israeli conflict is?
2. What would be the basis of a peaceful solution, according to this resolution?
3. Of the 193 member states of the UN, 153 voted in favour of this resolution. What does the vote reveal about international opinions?

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4. The wording of the resolution was largely unchanged from numerous previous resolutions about the Arab-Israeli conflict, discussed more or less annually. How does this affect the significance of the resolution?
5. Australia typically joins a small number of member states who 'abstain' from voting on resolutions about Israel and Palestine. Find out what reasons Australia gives for abstaining, and discuss how justifiable Australia's abstaining seems.

Source **13.47** West Bank Separation Barrier graffiti

SOURCE 13.47 Graffiti on the West Bank Separation Barrier

Responding to the photograph

1. What famous French painting does this graffiti reference, and why might that be appropriate?
2. Note the panel apparently painted by someone from Wheaton College. Look at the online presence of the two prominent Wheaton Colleges in the United States. From which college, given its history, values and goals, was the artist likely to have come? Justify your decision with evidence.
3. The graffiti shown here expresses revolutionary fervour and determination. Study some of the numerous examples of West Bank wall graffiti online, and compile a folio including at least one of each expressing hope, anger, love, suffering, hatred, solidarity and humour.
4. To what extent might the primary audience of the wall art be people living outside the region, rather than the Palestinians living nearby? Explain your response.

There are those who believe that neither Israeli nor Palestinian leadership, or indeed any government, can be trusted to advance the goal of a just peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Such people use the South African example to illustrate that Apartheid did not end on account of internal governmental reform, but because of pressure from Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and the international community, through such methods as boycotts of economic, sporting and cultural connections. With that point of view, the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement emerged in 2005, presenting itself as pursuing a peaceful way forward for Palestinian activism. However, Israel does not agree with this portrayal, with Zionists and supporters stating that the BDS movement hinders peace, or that it is an expression of antisemitism.

In 2017, invoking a cultural boycott, New Zealand pop star Lorde cancelled her concert in Israel. By contrast, acclaimed Australian singer-songwriter Nick Cave denounced the movement's call for boycotting, and scheduled concerts in Israel. In May 2024, over 125 artists booked to take part in The Great Escape festival in the UK, withdrew in protest of sponsorship by Barclays, who invest in companies that supply weapons to Israel.

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Activity **13.5**

Consider the role of individuals in national and international decision-making

1. Research the current BDS campaigns encouraging consumers to boycott specific companies with links to Israel, via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10537. What companies are targeted? What does this show about the movement?
2. Consider this pro-Israel source arguing that BDS is antisemitic: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10772. On what basis does this group argue that the BDS movement is antisemitic?
3. To what extent do you believe that individuals, working on their own or together, can play a meaningful role in national and international decision-making?

This chapter began with the stories of Fatima and Naomi, which were intended to help you empathise with young people who have been caught up in the conflict between Israel and Palestine. The conflict, as you have learned, has a long history, and has proven extremely difficult to resolve, particularly as the world views underpinning the conflict become increasingly entrenched. A gain for one side is often a loss for the other. The recent flashpoint of the war between Israel and Gaza was far from the first conflict. However, is it possible that its terrible consequences might become a catalyst for change? Can you imagine ways in which new generations of Israelis and Palestinians might introduce new world views and strategies that make more progress towards peace?

There are some who claim that the conflict in the Middle East is beyond a solution. Others believe that a solution will be found, whether through the efforts of world leaders, the strength of international sentiment or the work of individuals, groups and communities directly involved. Any path to a peaceful and just solution will depend on people having a deep understanding of the historical origins and current trajectories of the conflict. The aim of this chapter has been to promote that deep understanding.

Activity **13.6**

Reflect on your learning

1. Reflect on your learning through this simple thinking routine by completing the following sentences:
   - Before studying this topic, I thought that Israel was ...
   - Now I understand that Israel is ...
   - Before studying this topic, I thought that Palestine was ...
   - Now I understand that Palestine is ...
2. You considered seven sub-questions in the depth study. Select three that you now believe are the most significant questions to pose about this topic, and explain why you chose them.
3. You have reviewed dozens of sources. Select one source that you found particularly memorable (e.g. because it was insightful or controversial or powerful). In a paragraph, analyse what makes that source so significant.

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Chapter 14

AUSTRALIAN ENGAGEMENT WITH ASIA SINCE 1945

Aspect: Australia and the Vietnam War

JULIE HENNESSEY
and
BRIAN HOEPPER

SOURCE 14.1 Australian soldiers from B Company Royal Australian Regiment (7RAR), South Vietnam, 26 August 1967

company a military unit containing 100 to 225 soldiers

7RAR 7th Battalion (a military unit of 550 to 1000 soldiers) Royal Australian Regiment, which served two tours in Vietnam in 1967 and 1971

home base the place where someone or something lives or operates; in this instance, Nui Dat in Phuoc Tuy province

private a military rank; the lowest grade of enlisted personnel

The distinctive sound of thudding blades from US Army helicopters chops the air as the tired men from B **Company 7RAR** patiently wait to be airlifted back to their **home base**. They have just completed an intense day of cordoning off and searching a South Vietnamese village for enemy weapons. While the operation didn't yield any significant finds, there is relief in knowing that no one was injured or killed. One **private**, deep in his own thoughts, kneels holding on to his rifle like a crutch. Another leans over, weighed down by an ammunition belt slung over his shoulder. They huddle together with five of their fellow soldiers, waiting in pensive silence for instruction from the helicopter marshall. It's only the third year of the ground war – 1967. Clouds on the horizon suggest a pending storm but could they portend what's ahead – controversy and ultimate defeat – in one of the longest military engagements in Australia's history?

Reader advice:

Some resources in this chapter may be confronting, and contain images of deceased people or acts of violence.

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Vietnam War: Representations and background history

Context and significance of the photograph

The Vietnam War has been variously described as 'the most photographed war' and 'the television war'. The Australian War Memorial holds some 10 000 Defence Public Relations negatives from Vietnam, and the photograph in Source 14.1, taken by Sergeant Michael Coleridge, on 26 August 1967, is one of them. As an Australian Army public relations photographer, Coleridge's mission was to build public support for the Australian forces in Vietnam. This meant capturing images that showed war as the army wanted the public to see it, not necessarily as it was. For Australia, this photograph has become the definitive photo of the Vietnam War, achieving the status of an icon. It was chosen and is etched on the Vietnam National Memorial on ANZAC Parade in Canberra, dedicated in 1992.

There was a time when public perception of photographs deemed them a factual record – a moment of unquestionable reality suspended in time. But, of course, a photograph capturing a single moment only tells part of the story, and photographs, like other images, are open to manipulation. While the photograph in Source 14.1 has not been staged or manipulated, journalist Peter Vincent (2022) and others have noted that it is imbued with the ethos of mateship and camaraderie, while the dependence it shows on US helicopters is a reminder of Australia's reliance on the US military. But for Simon Forrester, from the Australian War Memorial (n.d.), 'The image is also non-confronting. There is a safeness about it that almost belies the fact it was taken in a war zone; it could be from any training exercise in Australia. What it ultimately reveals is that Australians have claimed an image that is comfortably familiar in a popular culture influenced by American stereotypes to represent their actions in Vietnam'.

Historians have written at length that Coleridge's photo doesn't even hint at the true horrors of war. This contrasts with other celebrated Vietnam photos such as Eddie Adams's image of the execution of a Viet Cong prisoner during the Tet Offensive in 1968 (see Source 14.31) or Nick Ut's 1972 image of a young Vietnamese girl running naked after being burnt by napalm (see Source 14.49). Thus, when dealing with historical sources, particularly visual sources like photographs, it is imperative that they are placed in a wider historical context and thoroughly interrogated so that complex, multifaceted events are not misrepresented. This chapter on Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War seeks to do this.

Source **14.1** Australian soldiers in South Vietnam, 1967

Responding to the photograph and text (see previous page)

1. Analyse the photograph to determine what aspects suggest mateship and camaraderie. Use evidence from the photograph to support your answer.
2. According to Simon Forrester, the photograph is non-confronting and safe. Is this how you would interpret the photo? Explain by using evidence and sound reasoning to support your conclusion.
3. How might the Australian public reconcile the contrasting images of the Vietnam War – that is, the photograph by Australian Army public relations photographer Michael Coleridge – with those of other international photojournalists such as Eddie Adams or Nick Ut?

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A history of Australia's engagement with Asia 1901 to 1970s

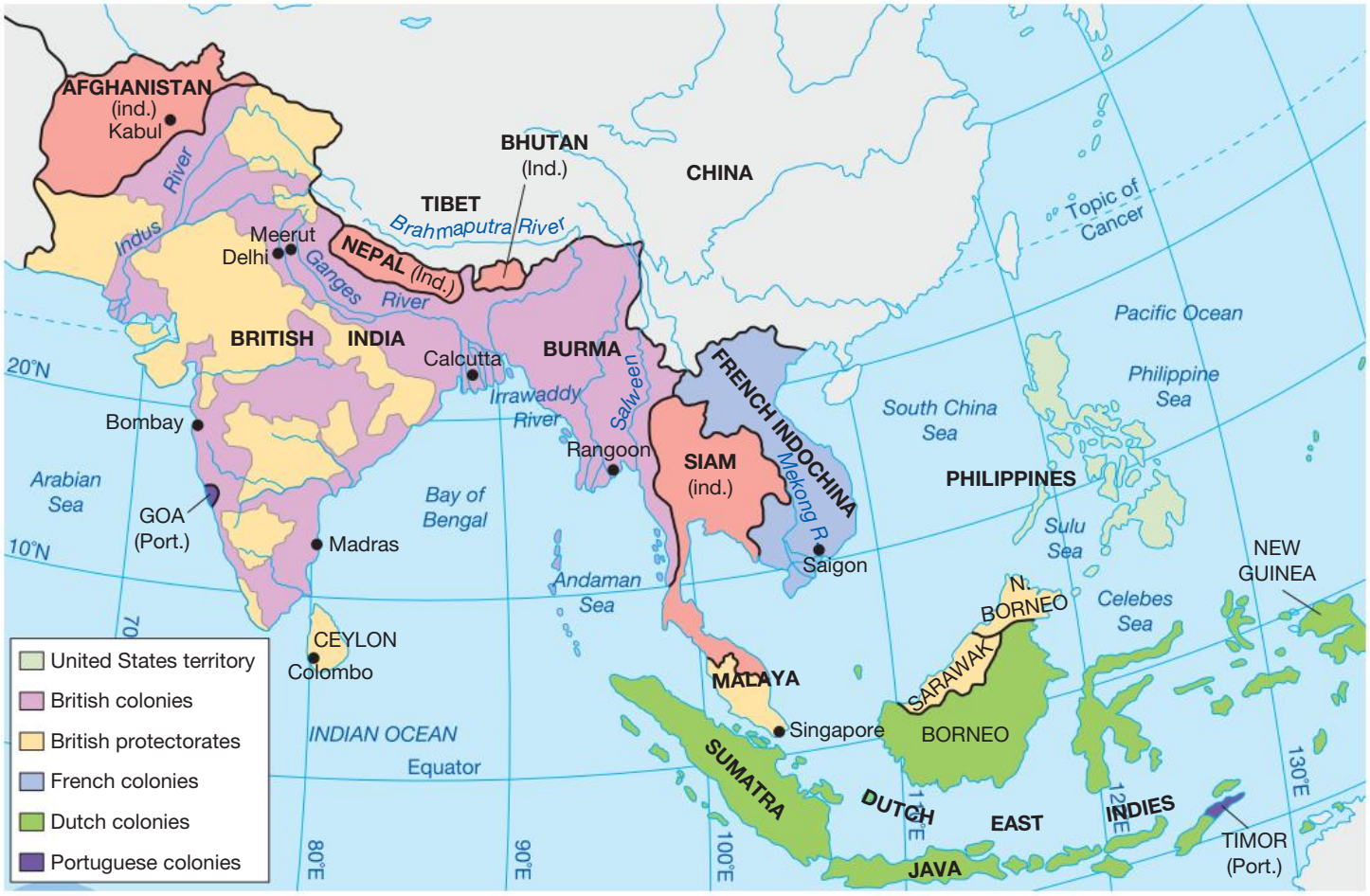
Throughout its history, Australia has not had a comfortable relationship with Asia. From 1950 until 1973, which is when Australia withdrew the last of its troops from the Vietnam War, the nation's engagement with Asia was characterised by ongoing involvement in Asian wars: the Korean War (1950–53), the Malayan Emergency (1950–60), the Indonesian Confrontation (1963–66) and the Vietnam War (1962–73). To understand why, you need to understand the history of Australia's engagement with Asia.

What was Australia's early relationship with Asia?

When Australia became a nation in 1901, large parts of Asia were controlled by Western powers.

DOC

Source 14.2 Imperialism in India and Southeast Asia, 1900



SOURCE 14.2 Map showing imperialism in India and Southeast Asia in 1900. Note that Siam is the historical name for Thailand, Ceylon is now called Sri Lanka, Burma is now known as Myanmar, the Dutch East Indies is now Indonesia, and French Indochina comprised Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

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Responding to the map

1. Create a table like the one below. Complete the table by identifying the Asian territories controlled by the listed Western nations in 1900.

Imperialist/colonial nation	Imperialised/colonised territory
United States of America	
Britain	
France	
Netherlands	
Portugal	

2. In the table, colour-code all the Asian territories classified as colonies. (Note the difference between **imperialism** and **colonialism**.)
3. Why might Australia, in the early part of the twentieth century, have been comfortable with large swathes of Asia being controlled by Western nations?

Historically, when Australia refers to 'engagement with Asia' it is often shorthand for engagement with a particular Asian country. At the turn of the twentieth century, Australia had few significant links with Asia, other than trade with some of the many European colonies in the region.

imperialism formal or informal economic and political domination of one country over the other

colonialism where one country physically exerts complete control over another country

But people from Asia had played important roles in Australia, most notably the thousands of Chinese who flocked to the goldfields in the mid-1800s and the many Afghan camel drivers who played a vital role in some outback areas. Prejudice, born out of ignorance and fear, against those immigrating from Asia was common. Sometimes this prejudice turned into violence, as in the goldfield riots at Buckland River (Victoria) in 1857 and Lambing Flat (New South Wales) in 1861. Newspapers were openly racist, with cartoons depicting the Chinese as vicious, immoral, disease-carrying aliens, and a threat to Australia's racial 'quality'. So taken-for-granted were the racist beliefs that, in 1901, Australia's first Prime Minister, Edmund Barton, confidently asserted – during the parliamentary debates on Australia's immigration policy – that 'the doctrine of the equality of man was never intended to apply to the equality of the Englishman and the Chinaman' (Parliament of Australia, n.d.).

In the first half of the twentieth century, three national policies framed the relationship between Australia and Asian countries: the so-called 'White Australia' policy (designed to restrict non-European immigration to Australia), economic protectionism (tariffs that shielded manufacturing and agricultural sectors and their workers against foreign competition) and a foreign policy that relied on Britain for security. Author and academic David Goldsworthy notes that all three policies 'entailed a largely exclusionary attitude toward Asia' and that Asia was seen largely as 'a potential source of problems' (2001:5, 6). These problems included non-white immigration, especially from China, economic competition and military threats, especially from Japan.

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In 1901, Japan was the only modern independent state in Asia. Since dramatic upheaval and rapid reform after 1867, Japan had become a major naval and economic power and was 'observed with both wonder and trepidation in Australia' (Dutton, 2001:22). Japan was the only Asian nation to protest officially against the White Australia policy, and after Japan's resounding victory over Russia in 1905, Australia's fear of Japan became acute. Nevertheless, in the field of commerce, Australia's trade with Japan was steadily increasing.

Despite this, in the early part of the twentieth century there were relatively few opportunities and incentives to engage with many areas of Asia. Two world wars, the Great Depression, decolonisation, communist revolution and the Cold War fundamentally changed this situation.

What was the impact of World War II?

yellow peril an offensive phrase referring to the perception that Asian populations would expand and Western culture would be overpowered; 'yellow' was a racist term for people from East Asia

Australia's attitudes towards Asia were particularly affected by World War II. For many Australians, fears of the '**yellow peril**' became a reality in the first half of 1942, with the Japanese bombing of Darwin (19 February) and Japanese midget submarines attacking vessels in Sydney Harbour (1 June). Wartime propaganda posters claimed that Japan was 'coming South' and Australia was 'ringed with menace' by the Japanese fleet.

Activity **14.1**

Hold a classroom discussion

Based on Australia's relationship with Asia in the first half of the twentieth century, discuss the following statement: *Australia's attitude towards Asia was based on fear.*

Historians disagree about whether Australia faced a real threat of Japanese invasion in World War II, but agree that the war alerted Australians to the challenges and opportunities – security, trade and immigration – of the nation's location in the Asia-Pacific region. As the Right Reverend E.H. Burgmann, the Anglican Bishop of Goulburn, said in 1947, 'we have to remind ourselves that geographically we are Oriental, we are not European. We are an island just off the south-east coast of Asia, and are part of the Oriental world … We are there geographically and there we will stay. We are not bound up with the fate of Europe, but with the fate of Asia'.

The Australian Government, under the Australian Labor Party's Ben Chifley (1945–49), had demonstrated this new thinking two years earlier when it supported the bans placed by the Waterside Workers' Federation on Dutch shipping in Australian ports in late 1945. The bans were in support of the Indonesians' struggle for independence from their Dutch colonial masters; independence was finally recognised by the Dutch in 1949. That year, Prime Minister Chifley acknowledged that '80 million Indonesians could not continue to be governed by 10 million Europeans whose sole interest in Indonesia was to extract from the country as much wealth as they could and give in return as little as possible'.

nationalism advocacy of or support for the political independence of a nation or people and their support for the nation's interests

However, the new thinking displayed by the Chifley government was not shared by most colonial powers. After the defeat of the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) in 1945, the British, French and Dutch governments expected to reassert their pre-war control over their respective colonies. However, people from these territories, inspired by **nationalism**, resisted and sought to overthrow their colonial masters.

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Some colonised people succeeded. India gained its independence in 1947 and Indonesia in 1949. The newly elected Liberal government of Robert Menzies (1949–66) and other conservatives saw the post-1945 dismantling of the European colonial empires as a threat to Australian security. This was exacerbated when various parts of Asia (Korea, Malaya/Malaysia, Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam) threatened to fall to **communism**, which was seen to be a threat to Australia's way of life. Consequently, military engagement was a key feature of Australia's involvement in Asia after 1945.

? How did the events of World War II, the decolonisation of Asian nations and the rising threat of communism affect Australia's engagement with Asia? (Note the different responses of the Chifley Labor government and the Menzies Liberal government.)

Why did the Cold War change Australia's focus and attitude to Asia?

During the 1950s and 1960s, Australia's relationship with Asia was dominated by Cold War imperatives. The Cold War developed after World War II between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies. While it had many features of a war, it stopped short of a 'hot war' between the two superpowers (a hot war involves actual military conflict between the two sides). The Cold War was waged by the United States and Soviet Union on ideological, political, economic and propaganda fronts rather than physical fronts on the battlefield. Alliances were formed, an arms race developed and both sides sought diplomatic, economic and military advantages in various regions. Australia was firmly in the US camp. While the Cold War was depicted as the democratic/capitalist West against the authoritarian/communist East, the United States and its allies sometimes supported political dictators and repressive regimes, provided they opposed communism. This was the case in South Vietnam. Similarly, the often-brutal authoritarian states of the Communist Bloc were a far cry from the classless utopia that **Karl Marx** had envisaged. These inconsistencies on both sides did not prevent scare campaigns based on crude caricatures of both capitalism and communism.

Russia, later known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union), was the first country to become communist in 1917. The post-World War II period (1945–49) saw the countries of Eastern Europe (East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania) come under communist governments behind the **Iron Curtain**. In Asia, China became communist in 1949 after a long **civil war**. The following year, communist North Korea invaded anti-communist South Korea, sparking a three-year war that pitted a United Nations (UN) force, including troops from the United States, Australia and Britain, against North Korea, which was backed by China and the Soviet Union. When an **armistice** ended the fighting in July 1953, Korea remained divided, with the communist North Korea proving a destabilising influence for decades to follow. From a Western perspective, it appeared that communists were seeking world domination. This prompted the emergence of a new theory – the domino theory (Source 14.3).

communism a political and economic system in which land, industry and other means of production are owned and controlled by the society as a whole and the total wealth of the society is distributed according to need

Karl Marx German philosopher and political theorist (1818–83) who is known as the Father of Communism. His best-known works are *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Das Kapital* (1867).

Iron Curtain term used in the West to refer to the boundary line that divided Europe during the Cold War into two separate areas of political influence: the Eastern Communist Bloc and its Western capitalist counterpart (Western Bloc)

civil war a war fought between the citizens of the same country

armistice an agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting. It is not permanent, but it suggests that both sides are seeking peace.

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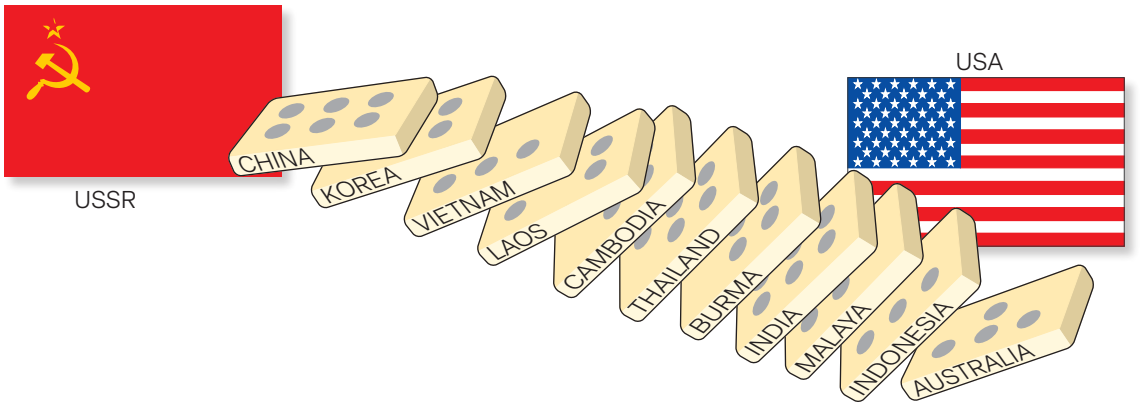
Source **14.3** The domino theory



SOURCE 14.3 A depiction of the domino theory

Responding to the depiction of the domino theory

1. With reference to the diagram, explain the domino theory.
2. Why would Australia be particularly worried about the domino theory?
3. How could Western nations such as Australia and the United States try to prevent the dominoes falling and communism spreading?

The domino theory stated that if one nation fell to communism, the neighbouring nations would follow in a chain reaction. Fear of communism, and particularly of the People's Republic of China, meant that Australia became concerned about defence and security issues in Asia.

The concern about threats from Asia propelled Australia into the defensive regional alliances of ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand and United States Security Treaty) in 1951 and SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) in 1954. While security concerns and military conflicts in Korea, Malaya, Indonesia and Vietnam dominated Australia's relations with Asia from 1950 to 1972, genuine efforts were made to establish positive and constructive relations with Asian nations during this time. A centrepiece of those genuine efforts was the Colombo Plan of 1951. This provided Asian countries with Australian assistance, such as expertise, food, equipment and the education of Asian students in Australia. At the same time, Australia forged trade ties in Asia, particularly with Japan. The Australia-Japan Agreement on Commerce in 1957 was the first major trade agreement with any Asian country, and became the cornerstone of bilateral relationships between the two countries. However, trade with South-East Asia was slow to develop until the mid-1970s, following the end of the Vietnam War.

How and why did the Cold War impact on Australia's relationship with Asia?

What two defensive alliances did Australia enter in the 1950s?

Identify and explain two examples of Australia's positive and constructive relations with Asia during the 1950s.

From 1962 to 1973, Australia's support for US military intervention in Vietnam dominated Australia's engagement with Asia.

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What is the background to the Vietnam War?

The quest for independence

The history of Vietnam is marked by the struggles of its people against foreign invaders: the Chinese (111 BCE – 939 CE), French (1858–1940), Japanese (1940–45), French again (1946–54) and Americans (1955–73).

The French ruled Vietnam, along with Laos and Cambodia, as an Indochinese colony for almost 100 years, ending 900 years of Vietnamese independence. Paul Ham, in *Vietnam: The Australian War*, describes the French occupation of Vietnam as 'a bloody catalogue of French crimes against the Vietnamese people' (2007:16). The Vietnamese resisted the French frequently, but the resistance was unsuccessful until the 1930s, when a communist wing of the nationalist movement developed. Communism came to be seen by many as a vehicle for nationalist hopes. In 1940, when Vietnam fell to Japan, the communists gained further popularity by leading the resistance against the Japanese. This resistance was supported in a limited way by the United States. On 2 September 1945, Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the communist national resistance movement, proclaimed the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The constitution borrowed directly from the United States' Declaration of Independence: 'All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.' Ho sought recognition from the West, cabling Washington but receiving no reply.

Provide evidence to support the assertion that the history of Vietnam is marked by a struggle against foreign invaders.

What was the relationship between nationalism and communism in the struggle for Vietnamese independence?

Are you surprised that Vietnam's 1945 constitution borrowed directly from the US Declaration of Independence? Explain.

The French return but are defeated

Independence was short-lived, as in 1946 Ho Chi Minh agreed to French demands that Vietnam return to French control. This was a strategic decision to thwart Chinese aggression, since France was seen as the lesser of two evils. Chinese rule of Vietnam had lasted for a thousand years and Ho Chi Minh knew that colonialism was on the wane. Ho had notably said, 'Colonisation is dying. The white man is finished in Asia. But if the Chinese stay now they will never go. As for me I prefer to sniff French shit for five years than eat Chinese shit for the rest of my life' (Tao, 2017). The French promised that Vietnam would become a free state within the French postwar empire; however, they broke this promise and took full possession of the territory. Within months, Vietnam was at war with France. This war, known as the First Indochina War (1946–54), was fought during the early years of the Cold War. Aid from the United States flowed in to help the French to oppose the Viet Minh (the name given to the communist-led national resistance movement). The United States' involvement was part of a strategy to contain communism and secure active French involvement in the defence of Western Europe as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military alliance, formed in 1949 to combat the communist expansion of the Soviet Union. Despite US military aid, the French were defeated by the Viet Minh at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in North Vietnam in 1954, effectively ending France's colonial presence. In Australia, the battle made front-page news and was received with a sense of crisis. Three days after the Viet Minh victory, *The Age* headlined its editorial 'Indo-China Disaster Is Critical for the World', continuing 'with the fall of the French fortress of Dien Bien Phu, Asia and the Western world are again brought to a point of crisis'. Instead of seeing the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu as the end of colonialism, it was seen in Cold War terms as the encroachment of communism threatening the Western world.

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Activity **14.2**

Stage a paired-debate on the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu

Stage a paired-debate with a table partner on the following statement: *The defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu marked the end of colonialism rather than the encroachment of communism threatening the Western world*.

One student argues the case that the defeat at Dien Bien Phu represented the end of colonialism, and the other that it represented the encroachment of communism. A third student judges the merits of each argument and decides the winner. All three students rotate through each of the roles – for, against and judge.

The Geneva Conference and Accords

The French defeat did not produce an independent Vietnam. Even before Dien Bien Phu fell, an international conference had convened in Geneva, Switzerland, to propose a way forward for Vietnam. Representatives attended from the United States, United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, China, Laos, Cambodia, and both North and South Vietnam. The conference recognised a dilemma: that while Ho Chi Minh and his supporters had strong support in the north of the country, there were populations opposed to the Viet Minh – and even supportive of French rule – in the south. From April to July 1954, the Geneva Accords were formulated. The most important decisions were that Vietnam would be divided temporarily by a demilitarised zone (DMZ) between north and south, and that democratic elections would be held by July 1956 to reunify the country. The Accords emphasised that the partition line at the 17th parallel 'should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary'. The Accords were weakened from the outset. Within days of the Geneva meeting, the US National Security Council declared the Geneva decisions a disaster and, within weeks, determined 'to maintain a friendly non-Communist South Vietnam' and 'to prevent a Communist victory through all-Vietnam elections' (Office of the Historian, n.d.). While most representatives pledged support for the Accords, the United States and South Vietnam declared they would not be bound by them. In the end, no one signed the Final Declaration.

- What important decisions were made at the Geneva Conference?
- Why were the Geneva Accords likely to fail?

Role of US presidents in the escalation of conflict in Vietnam

As a consequence, the 1956 elections were never held. US President Dwight Eisenhower later conceded privately that if they had been staged, possibly 80% of the population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh. Thus, the temporary division of Vietnam created at Geneva became more permanent. North and South became separate de facto states – the South supported by the United States and the North by communist China and the Soviet Union. Both North and South Vietnam emerged as repressive regimes.

In the South, a succession of political leaders failed to offer a model of democratic government. In November 1963, the United States actively encouraged a military coup that deposed and then assassinated South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem (1955–63). During his rule, there were protests against the government's authoritarian and repressive actions.

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Buddhists were prominent in this dissent, and horrific images of Buddhist monks self-immolating (setting themselves on fire) on Saigon streets highlighted this despotism. After the assassination of Diem, Vietnam was ruled by a series of military **juntas**.

junta a military or political group that rules a country after taking power by force

At the beginning of Diem's rule in 1955, President Eisenhower had sent military advisers to assist the South Vietnamese Government. The Second Indochina War (or the American War) dates from this action. President John F. Kennedy steadily increased the US presence and by 1963 there were 16 500 advisers in Vietnam. However, it was President Lyndon B. Johnson who committed the United States to an undeclared war in Vietnam, after an incident in August 1964 when the US destroyer *Maddox* was allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese patrol boats in the Gulf of Tonkin. This led to the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (7 August 1964), which gave Johnson the authority to increase US involvement in the war between North and South Vietnam. In February 1965, the Viet Cong (southern-based communist successors of the Viet Minh) attacked the US base at Pleiku in South Vietnam and Johnson ordered Operation Rolling Thunder to begin: the large-scale bombing of targets in North Vietnam. This bombing, which lasted for three-and-a-half years, was intended to reduce the capacity of the communists to wage war. In March 1965, a decision was made to send US ground forces to Vietnam. The United States was thus committed to a large-scale war in Vietnam.

Australia's involvement in the political affairs of Vietnam began in mid-1962, when 30 advisers were sent to help train South Vietnamese soldiers. Aid in various other forms was also sent and by 1965 there were over 100 Australian advisers in Vietnam. In April 1965, the Menzies government decided to send an Australian infantry battalion. Like the United States, Australia became committed to a large military involvement in Vietnam. The first deployment of US troops landed in Vietnam in March 1965; Australian troops followed in May.

Trace the role of US Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson in the escalation of the conflict in Vietnam.

Do the different names given to the 'Vietnam War' (i.e. 'Second Indochina War' and 'American War') change your perception of the war? Explain.

How did Australia's involvement in Vietnam imitate that of the United States?

Watch the first 13½ minutes of 'The Vietnam War explained in 25 minutes' (A Life Guide video) on YouTube to reinforce and build upon your knowledge; access the video via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10538.

Activity **14.3**

Discuss a hypothetical about the Geneva Accords

Discuss the following hypothetical questions: *What may have happened if the Geneva Accords had been implemented in 1956? Is it likely that the reunited Vietnam might have developed as suggested above, or might it have collapsed into instability and possibly a civil war or even a wider war?*

Note that the Geneva Accords laid the basis for democratic nationwide elections in 1956 to reunify Vietnam as an independent nation. If all parties had honoured that agreement, it is possible that Vietnam would have become a united country, albeit one with an authoritarian one-party government, implementing a mixture of nationalist and communist policies and programs. It is also possible that the Vietnam War could have been avoided.

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Source **14.4** Map of Vietnam

SOURCE 14.4 Map of Vietnam

Responding to the map

Access an outline of this map via the Interactive Textbook and complete the following tasks to clarify and reinforce the basic facts about the history of Vietnam and foreign intervention.

1. By the 1890s French Indochina comprised Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. Mark each of these countries on your map.
2. In 1954, the French were defeated by the Vietnamese communists at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. Mark Dien Bien Phu on your map. What do you notice about its location?
3. Mark China on your map. What advantage does its location have in exerting influence over Vietnam?
4. Mark on the map the DMZ that was formed under the terms of the 1954 Geneva Convention, when Vietnam was temporarily divided into two parts. What do you notice about its position in Vietnam? Colour-code communist North Vietnam and non-communist pro-US South Vietnam.
5. Mark on the map the capitals of North Vietnam (Hanoi) and South Vietnam (Saigon). What do you notice about their locations? Mark the ancient capital of Hue. What do you notice about its location?
6. Mark the Gulf of Tonkin where the US destroyer *Maddox* was allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese patrol boats (August 1964). Mark the US base at Pleiku in South Vietnam that was attacked by the Viet Cong in February 1965. These events were used by the United States to justify its increased involvement in the war, which led to a systematic bombing campaign of North Vietnam (Operation Rolling Thunder) and the deployment of ground troops to South Vietnam.
7. Mark on the map Da Nang, the site where the first US ground troops landed in March 1965.
8. Mark Nui Dat (military base for the Australian Task Force 1966–72) and Vung Tau (major in-country R&R – rest and recreation – facility for the Australians).

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DEPTH STUDY

Key inquiry question: Why did Australia commit ground troops to a war in Vietnam and later withdraw those troops without achieving its objectives?

Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War (1962–73) was one of the longest military engagements in the nation's history and undoubtedly the most controversial. Paradoxically, most Australians initially approved of the government's commitment to the war. However, as the war continued, this approval diminished and by the early 1970s unprecedented numbers of protesters took to the streets demanding an end to Australia's involvement.

A consistent and repeated criticism, which has dogged Australian military history, is that Australia always fights 'other people's wars'. According to this line of reasoning, Australia's involvement in Vietnam provides another unfortunate example of national policy simply following the bidding of our 'great and powerful friend', the United States. This depth study encourages you to explore that accusation by determining the key factor/s for Australia's entry and exit from the war.

This depth study is explored through six sub-questions that enable you to build towards an answer to the key inquiry question above.

The six sub-questions are:

1. Who were the Australian soldiers that fought in Vietnam?
2. Why did Australia commit troops to Vietnam in 1965?
3. What have historians said about why Australia became involved in the war in Vietnam?
4. Why did Australia withdraw from Vietnam without achieving its objectives?
5. What have historians said about why Australia withdrew from Vietnam without achieving its objectives?
6. How did the Vietnam War end?

SOURCE 14.5 Australian soldiers march through Sydney before leaving for Vietnam, 25 April 1966

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SUB-QUESTION 1: Who were the Australian soldiers that fought in Vietnam?

The photograph in Source 14.5 features Australian soldiers marching through Sydney on Anzac Day 1966, before they leave for Vietnam to relieve the 1st Battalion (1RAR), the first group of infantry soldiers sent to Vietnam. It was almost a year to the day since Prime Minister Menzies' announcement that Australia was committing ground troops to a war in Vietnam.

The soldiers pictured, unlike the soldiers of 1st Battalion, were a mixture of regular soldiers and 'nashos' – national service conscripts, who were enlisted in the army with no choice in the matter. At age 20, these conscripts had been randomly selected by a ballot based on their birth date. Opponents of this ballot called it a 'blood lottery' or 'lottery of death'. Of the approximately 60 000 military personnel to serve in Vietnam, some 15 000 were conscripts. However, from 1966 on, the main combat elements of the Australian Task Force comprised regulars and nashos in roughly 50/50 proportions. By the war's end, nashos comprised 200 of the 521 Australians who had died in Vietnam.

Source **14.5** Australian soldiers march through Sydney, 25 April 1966

Responding to the photograph (see previous page)

1. What important function might this parade fulfil for the soldiers themselves?
2. For whom else would this parade probably be an important, meaningful event, and why?
3. Many of these troops were nashos, conscripted into the army by lottery. As they departed for a war zone, what range of thoughts and feelings might they have had?
4. What would be the challenges in bonding the two types of soldiers shown here – the regular army troops and the conscripts?
5. Why do you think the army insisted that there be no conscript-only companies within the battalion?

The average age of Australian soldiers in Vietnam was 20. Each soldier served a 12-month tour of duty before returning home for a further 12 months of military service. The experiences of many are encapsulated in a song by the Australian folk group Redgum, written by lead singer John Schumann, 'I Was Only 19 (A Walk in the Light Green)'. It is based on the recollections of Vietnam veterans, particularly Schumann's brother-in-law, Mick Storen, and Frank Hunt.

Source **14.6** 'I was only 19' music video

SOURCE 14.6 The official 1983 Redgum music video for 'I Was Only 19' is available on YouTube via the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10539. Watch this or another video version, such as by the hip-hop band The Herd (2005), and read the lyrics online, before answering the following questions.

Responding to the song

1. Is the subject of this song a regular soldier or a conscript? How do you know?
2. Explain how evidence from the song demonstrates that many Australians reacted positively to the soldiers departing for Vietnam.
3. Use evidence from the song to explain two problems that plagued this Vietnam veteran.
4. Analyse evidence in the song to explain the nature of the Vietnam War and the conditions under which Australian soldiers fought.

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5. Analyse evidence from the song to explain the songwriter's perspective on:
   a. war
   b. the Anzac legend
   c. the Australian soldier.

   Explain.
6. How useful and reliable might this song be in assessing the experience of Australian soldiers who served in the Vietnam War? Explain by providing two points for usefulness and two points for reliability. (Note that this song would be classified as a 'message song' – that is, a song that provides social or political commentary.)

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 1

Who were the Australian soldiers that fought in Vietnam?

Research to deepen your knowledge and understanding

Birthday lottery

Find out more about the birthday lottery and how it functioned. You might watch the ABC news explanation from 1965. It is available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10540.

Soldiers' experiences

Seek out oral history accounts from Vietnam veterans to obtain insights into their experiences of the war in Vietnam.

Useful internet sites:

- *Anzac Portal* at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10541
- *State Library of Queensland* at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10542
- *Behind the Wire* at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10802.

SUB-QUESTION 2: Why did Australia commit troops to Vietnam in 1965?

Determining the cause of an event, such as the decision by the Menzies government to send Australian military troops to Vietnam, is the most complex and problematic aspect of history. Even when historians agree on the facts of history, they frequently disagree over causes. The problem is perplexing because many different factors can cause something to happen. What is probably most difficult for historians is identifying the motives of people whose actions are crucial.

In 1944, the British historian C.V. Wedgwood wrote, 'history is lived forwards but is written in retrospect. We know the end before we consider the beginning and we can never wholly recapture what it was to know the beginning only'. In looking back at Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War, we cannot exclude the knowledge that it ended in a disastrous commitment and, as a result, all developments tend to be seen in that light. It is therefore important to examine the evidence, thinking about the context and challenges of the time.

Historians continue to argue about the reasons behind Menzies' decision to commit troops to Vietnam in 1965. Here's your chance to join the debate.

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Perceived communist threats

The first piece of evidence comes from R.G. Casey, the Minister for External Affairs (1951–60). This speech was made in 1954, the same year that the French were defeated by the Viet Minh in Dien Bien Phu.

Source **14.7** Casey identifies a serious threat to Australia in 1954

SOURCE 14.7 Minister for External Affairs R.G. Casey speaks to parliament in 1954 about a threat to Australia

It might be asked why Australia need concern itself with what happens in South-East Asia. Apart from the interest that the whole free world has in checking the growth of Communist tyranny wherever it may seek to make itself felt, the answer to this question can easily be seen from a study of the map. If the whole of Indochina fell to the Communists, Thailand would be gravely exposed. If Thailand were to fall, the road would be open to Malaya and Singapore. From the Malay Peninsula the Communists could dominate the northern approaches to Australia, and even cut our life-lines with Europe ...

It is because of the Government's awareness of the reality of this danger that it took the historic step in August last when the Prime Minister announced that the Government was prepared to undertake, in peacetime, commitments extending beyond Australia's own borders. It is for this reason also that the Australian Government encouraged the idea that a system of collective defence should be established in South-East Asia, and has taken an energetic part in drawing up the Treaty which we are now considering and which it is hoped will bring such a system into being.

Hon. R.G. Casey, Minister for External Affairs, *Second Reading Speech on the Bill to Ratify the South-East Asia Collective Defence*, 27 October 1954

Responding to Casey

1. Using evidence from the source, explain why Casey considers South-East Asia an area of interest and concern for Australia.
2. Quote lines from Casey's speech that allude to the domino theory (see the explanation of this theory on p. 816).
3. What steps was the Australian Government prepared to take (or had already taken) to protect Australia's security?

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By studying the map of our region in Source 14.8, you will be able to see why Australian politicians have taken such a keen interest in wars involving countries to our north.

Source **14.8** Australia and the region

SOURCE 14.8 Map showing Australia's position in relation to South-East Asia. Note that this map shows the countries and political boundaries as they are today.

Responding to the map

1. Judging by the map, why does Australia need to concern itself with what happens in South-East Asia?
2. What is this map suggesting by the lines with distances on them?
3. Calculate the approximate distance between Australia and Vietnam.

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National security and treaty obligations

The distances shown on the map suggest that Australia's concerns were increasingly being shaped by geography more than history. This situation compelled the Australian Government to seek national security by uniting with other friendly countries in two defence pacts: ANZUS (1951) and SEATO (1954). These treaties, part of a series that the United States formed in the 1949–55 era as part of the collective response to the threat of communism during the Cold War, provide some insight into why Australia became involved in Vietnam.

The first and more enduring treaty, signed on 1 September 1951, involved Australia, New Zealand and the United States. It was Australia's first treaty with a major foreign country and the first explicit commitment to Australian defence by the US Government. It sought to protect the security of the Pacific against Cold War threats, such as the rise of communist China, as well as to appease Australia after the United States signed a peace treaty with wartime enemy Japan in the same year. Under the terms of ANZUS, if one of the three signatories was attacked by a foreign power, the others 'would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes' (Article IV of the ANZUS treaty; Department of External Affairs, 1952).

The second treaty, SEATO, was signed by Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States on 8 September 1954, four months after the French defeat in Indochina. Its purpose was to present a defensive front to communist governments in Asia by creating an organisation that would watch over the interests not only of the signatories (those who signed it), but also of any other designated countries threatened by communist aggression. South Vietnam was one of these designated countries. The Australian Government was particularly pleased because the treaty committed the US Government to the security of Australia's neighbours against communist aggression, and enabled Australia to adopt a policy of forward defence.

The policy of forward defence took the view that Australia was largely indefensible, due to its long coasts and low population density. Therefore, forward defence meant the deployment of forces across the approaches to Australia, in order to prevent an enemy ever reaching Australia. In 1955, Prime Minister Menzies declared that Australia should be defended 'as far from our own shores as possible'.

The main provision of the SEATO alliance was as follows.

Source **14.9** South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, 1954

SOURCE 14.9 Article IV of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, 1954

Each Party recognises that aggression by means of armed attack in the Treaty Area[1] against any of the Parties or against any State or Territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate,[2] would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

Article IV of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, 8 September 1954

[1] The Treaty Area was the general area of South-East Asia, including the territories of the Asian Parties (i.e. Philippines and Thailand), and the general area of the South-West Pacific.

[2] South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos were designated states under the treaty.

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Responding to the SEATO provision

1. What form did the 'aggression' have to take before the parties involved could act?
2. Under what circumstances did the armed aggression have to occur before the parties involved could act?
3. Is the name 'Southeast Asia Treaty Organization' an appropriate name for the group of nations that belong to it? Why or why not?
4. Based on the evidence above, explain how SEATO obligations might have been responsible for Australia's entry into the Vietnam War.

SEATO and ANZUS provided Australia with collective security at a time when developments in South-East Asia were seen as a threat to its national interests, including communist insurgents in Malaya, a growing communist presence in Indonesia and communist expansion in Vietnam. For the members of SEATO, it was the events in Vietnam in the early 1960s that were of greatest concern.

On 20 January 1964, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of North Vietnam adopted a secret resolution declaring all-out war on South Vietnam. It hoped to defeat the South Vietnamese Army (SVA), also known as the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), before the United States could send large troop numbers into the conflict. This was the most important Communist Party decision since it agreed in 1954 to the temporary division of Vietnam. Southern-based Viet Cong guerrillas, supported by the North Vietnamese Army (NVA), also known as the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN), intensified their operations. By March 1964, US Defense Secretary Robert McNamara estimated that up to 40% of South Vietnam was controlled by the Viet Cong.

Pressure from the United States

At a SEATO council meeting in Manila in April 1964, members released a communiqué stating that, if necessary, they would be prepared to take action to support South Vietnam. Here is how New Zealand cartoonist Gordon Minhinnick saw the outcome of this meeting.

Source **14.10** New Zealand perspective on the outcome of 1964 SEATO meeting

SOURCE 14.10 'The strong stand' by cartoonist Gordon Minhinnick, *New Zealand Herald*, April 1964. Historical figures (L to R): Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies; New Zealand Prime Minister Keith Holyoake; Uncle Sam in military uniform (a personification of the United States).

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Responding to the cartoon

Conduct a three-part analysis of the cartoon.

1. **Content:** What do you see? Note foreground, background, figures, action and embedded text.
2. **Context:** What historical event prompted this cartoon?
3. **Comment:**
   - **a.** The text in the top left-hand corner of the cartoon is a quote from New Zealand Prime Minister Holyoake responding to the SEATO communiqué. What is the 'strong stand' that Holyoake is referring to? Why might he be pleased about this strong stand?
   - **b.** How has Gordon Minhinnick interpreted this 'strong stand'? Note that Prime Ministers Menzies and Holyoake are both depicted as 'showing the flag'. This expression means to stand up for or defend someone or something.

Historian and political analyst Dennis L. Cuddy drew the following conclusions about the US role in Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War.

Source **14.11** A historian's perspective on American influence

SOURCE 14.11 Historian and political analyst Dennis L. Cuddy writes about the American influence

> [Australian involvement in the Vietnam War was not based on] an independent desire on the part of Australia to assist in the defence of Vietnam against Chinese or North Vietnamese aggression. Rather the commitment had been made because the United States, for reasons of its own national interests, applied critical pressure upon Australia for such armed contingents ...
>
> Under the ANZUS treaty, signed 1 September 1951, the two nations agreed to support each other in defending their respective lands. For an extremely vulnerable nation such as Australia ... the treaty represented security. With that security, though, came the ... realization that American support in some possible future conflict directly affecting Australia might be relied upon only if [Australia] supported the United States in defending its interests in the Pacific area.
>
> Thus in the 1960s, when the United States applied pressure upon Australia for combat forces, it felt compelled to contribute them in most instances ... Australia realized that, if it did expect to receive American support should some future difficulty arise, it would have to align itself with American views regarding the justifications for involvement [in the Vietnam War] ('halt the spread of Asian communism', 'an obligation under SEATO').

Dennis L. Cuddy, 'The American Role in Australian Involvement in the Vietnam War', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 28(3), 1982, p. 340

Responding to Dennis Cuddy

1. Summarise Cuddy's key argument/s for Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War.
2. Identify points that corroborate the 1964 cartoon by Gordon Minhinnick (Source 14.10).
3. If you were corroborating Sources 14.10 and 14.11 in an essay, the most effective way to do so would be to begin with the political cartoon and then the historian's assessment. Why might this be the case?

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Australian initiatives: looking for a way in

In May 1964, a month after the SEATO meeting, US President Johnson asked Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom to 'show their flags' in South Vietnam by providing a wide range of non-combat assistance. This included personnel, such as military advisers and pilots, and equipment, such as reconnaissance aircraft, to assist South Vietnam in its fight against the Viet Cong.

Here's how Alan Renouf, the **chargé d'affaires** in the Australian Embassy in Washington, DC, advised the Australian Government to respond to Johnson's request.

chargé d'affaires a subordinate diplomat who substitutes for an absent ambassador

Source **14.12** Alan Renouf gives advice

SOURCE 14.12 Alan Renouf, from the Washington Embassy, provides advice, 1 May 1964

Although it is appreciated there are physical limitations upon what the Commonwealth can do to meet the request made by the United States it is recommended that we make a response which is both as positive and as prompt as possible ...

Our objective should be, it is suggested, to achieve such an habitual closeness of relations with the United States and sense of mutual alliance that in our time of need, after we have shown all reasonable restraint and good sense, the United States would have little option but to respond as we would want.

The problem of Vietnam is one, it seems, where we could without a disproportionate expenditure pick up a lot of credit with the United States for the problem is one to which the United States is deeply committed and in which it genuinely feels it is carrying too much of the load, not so much the physical load which the United States is prepared to bear, as the moral load.

So that the above can be properly assessed, you need to know that in this embassy's opinion United States' policy towards Indonesia/Malaysia[1] remains by no means as clear-cut and as firm as would be desirable for Australia's standpoint.

Cablegram from Alan Renouf to Canberra, 1 May 1964

Responding to Alan Renouf

1. Is there any evidence in this source to suggest the United States put pressure on Australia to increase its involvement in Vietnam?
2. Is there any evidence that Australia is taking the initiative? Explain with reference to the source. Is one perspective more evident than the other? Explain.
3. What policy advice does Renouf provide in terms of Australia's relations with the United States and what is his reason for pursuing such a policy?
4. The policy recommended by Renouf has been called the 'insurance policy' approach to the US alliance. Quote evidence where this is suggested. (Note: People take out an insurance policy for protection against potential adverse events in the future.)
5. Which nations stood to benefit by the policy that Renouf recommended? How were they to benefit?
6. What do you think Renouf hoped would be the effect of this policy on the United States' attitudes to Indonesia/Malaysia?

[1] Between 1963 and 1966 Australia was involved in the Indonesian Confrontation. The conflict centred on whether the former British colonies of Sabah and Sarawak, which bordered Indonesia's province of Borneo, would become part of Indonesia or of a recently federated Malaysia, which Indonesia opposed.

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In his response, Alan Renouf made the link between Indonesia's confrontation towards Malaysia (where Indonesia opposed the formation of the Malaysian nation) and the war in Vietnam. He argued that the question of whether the United States would come to the aid of Australian forces defending Malaysia depended not so much on the terms of the ANZUS treaty as on the 'general state of relations between ourselves and the United States at the time'. He suggested that Australia should try to achieve such a close relationship with the United States that it would respond to an Australian call for assistance at a time and in a manner best suited to Australian interests.

By late 1964, the NVA had moved into South Vietnam and had begun joint military operations with the Viet Cong. While Australia continued to be predominantly concerned about the security implications arising from the Indonesian Confrontation, it was moving towards a further commitment of military forces to Vietnam beyond military advisers.

On 10 November 1964, the Australian Government introduced conscription for military service. Announcing the introduction of this scheme on the floor of parliament, Prime Minister Menzies cited a defence emergency. Here is part of what he said:

Source **14.13** Menzies on compulsory military service

SOURCE 14.13 Prime Minister Menzies on compulsory military service, 10 November 1964

The range of likely military situations we must be prepared to face has increased as a result of recent Indonesian policies and actions and the growth of Communist influence and armed activity in Laos and South Vietnam.

Prime Minister Robert Menzies, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives*, *Vol. 44*, 10 November 1964, p. 2715

Responding to Menzies' statement

1. What military threats faced Australia in 1964 according to Menzies?
2. How might the introduction of compulsory conscription for 20-year-olds for a period of two years help to address these military threats?

While Australia was preparing for direct military involvement in South Vietnam, the United States had other plans.

Sources 14.14–14.16 feature correspondence between Washington and Canberra from mid-December 1964 to mid-January 1965. The correspondence reveals the US position on Vietnam and Australia's response to this position. The first correspondence is from US President Johnson to Australian Prime Minister Menzies on 14 December 1964. The next two pieces of correspondence are between Australia's Ambassador to Washington, Keith Waller, and the Foreign Minister, Paul Hasluck.

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Sources **14.14–14.16** Correspondence between Washington and Canberra from mid-December 1964 to mid-January 1965

SOURCE 14.14 President Lyndon B. Johnson, letter to Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies, 14 December 1964

> Down the road in the future, if the situation in Saigon should require and justify it, there may be a need for combat units, but that is not the immediate problem. What is needed now is additional support from our friends in the present campaign against the Communist … [Following was a list of urgent requirements including 200 combat advisers, mine sweepers, landing ships for tanks, hospital ships and a lengthy list of non-military equipment.]

President Lyndon B. Johnson, letter to Prime Minister Robert Menzies, 14 December 1964

Menzies replied to this request from Johnson four days later on 18 December, saying that Australia was unable to supply any significant number of military advisers or the other items requested. However, he said that Australia was prepared to take part in military staff talks to discuss the possible positioning of allied troops in the northern area of South Vietnam.

SOURCE 14.15 Keith Waller, Australian Ambassador to Washington, cablegram to Australian Foreign Minister Paul Hasluck, 22 December 1964

> As seen from here [Washington, DC], it is unfortunate that current American strategy in South Vietnam was not decided on immediately after the President's election [in November 1964].
>
> The present low-key activity, the way in which every move seems closely tied to the political situation in Saigon[1] and the somewhat irresolute American attitude gives cause for increasing uneasiness.

Australian Ambassador Keith Waller to Australian Foreign Minister Paul Hasluck, December 1964

SOURCE 14.16 Australian Foreign Minister Paul Hasluck, correspondence to Keith Waller, Australian Ambassador to Washington, 19 January 1965

> Cabinet is gravely concerned about the outlook. At the earliest opportunity you should try to see Rusk [American Secretary of State – equivalent to foreign minister] with a view both to obtaining as much further information as you can about American thinking and taking advantage of whatever opportunity may arise of helping to bring certainty to American policy and planning.

Australian Foreign Minister Paul Hasluck to Australian Ambassador Keith Waller, January 1965

Responding to the correspondence

1. Quote lines from the correspondence that indicate that Australian officials were concerned by what they saw as US indecision in their policy in Vietnam.
2. Quote, and explain, lines that imply that the Americans were not being tough enough in Vietnam.
3. Quote lines that suggest Australia sought to influence US decision-making.
4. Quote lines that demonstrate that the US Government was not, at this point, considering direct military engagement in Vietnam.

[1] The US Government stated that until the South Vietnamese Government in Saigon was stabilised, no further military commitment would be forthcoming. After the assassination of the South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem in late 1963, the South Vietnamese Government was ruled by a military junta from November 1963 to September 1967. During this time, there were around six changes of government, with various military commanders vying for power.

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5. Note Menzies reply to Johnson's request (Source 14.14 and text following) regarding Menzies' preparedness to discuss the possibility of positioning Allied troops in South Vietnam. Might this response be seen as evidence that Australia wanted to widen or escalate the war in Vietnam? Explain.
6. How useful and reliable might Sources 14.15 and 14.16 be in shedding light on the real intentions and opinions of Australian policy-makers? (Consider the type of source, author, purpose, context and content.) Provide two judgements for usefulness and two judgements for reliability.

Throughout early 1965, Australian ministers and diplomatic representatives in Washington continued to pressure the US Government to pursue more vigorous measures in Vietnam. While it is unlikely that the United States' decision to commit combat troops to South Vietnam in March 1965 was influenced by Australia's lobbying, it does illustrate, according to Michael Sexton, author of *War for the Asking*, 'Australia did all it could to have the war widened and was quite prepared to contribute to this result' (2002:116).

On 8 March 1965, 3500 US marines came ashore at Da Nang as the first wave of US combat troops into South Vietnam. They added to the 25 000 US military advisers already in place. Australia extended its full public and diplomatic support to the US decision.

Menzies' reasons for troop commitment to Vietnam

Seven-and-a-half weeks later, on 29 April 1965, Prime Minister Menzies announced in federal parliament that Australia too was committing ground troops to the war in Vietnam. His announcement was made late in the evening to a half-empty House of Representatives. Neither the Oppostion Leader, Arthur Calwell, nor the Deputy Opposition leader, Gough Whitlam, were present. Here is part of his speech.

Source **14.17** Menzies' justification for committing troops

SOURCE 14.17 Prime Minister Menzies' justification for committing troops to Vietnam

In the first half of 1962 the Government decided, following upon a request from the Government of South Vietnam, that Australia should contribute militarily to the defence of South Vietnam. We sent at that time a group of some 30 military instructors to provide military training assistance ...

The Australian Government is now in receipt of a request from the Government of South Vietnam for further military assistance. We have decided – and this has been after close consultation with the Government of the United States – to provide an infantry battalion for service in South Vietnam. In case there is any misunderstanding, I think I should say that we decided in principle some time ago ... that we would be willing to do this if we received the necessary request from the Government of South Vietnam and the necessary collaboration with the United States ...

We have not of course come to this decision without the closest attention to the question of defence priorities. We do not and must not overlook the point that our alliances, as well as providing guarantees and assurances for our security, make demands upon us ...

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Assessing all this, it is our judgement that the decision to commit a battalion in South Vietnam represents the most useful additional contribution which we can make to the defence of the region at this time. The takeover of South Vietnam would be a direct military threat to Australia and to all the countries of South and South East Asia. It must be seen as part of a thrust by Communist China between the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Prime Minister Robert Menzies, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, Vol. 45*, 29 April 1965

Responding to Menzies' announcement

1. How did Menzies justify the decision to commit troops to Vietnam? Identify and categorise.
2. Why might it be important for the Australian Government to emphasise that it had received a request for assistance from South Vietnam?
3. Is there any hint that the commitment was Australia's idea in the first place?
4. According to Menzies, which nation was behind the communist expansion in Vietnam?

After Menzies' speech, a letter from President Johnson was read to parliament.

Source **14.18** Letter from President Johnson

SOURCE 14.18 Letter from US President Lyndon B. Johnson, 29 April 1965

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

I am delighted at the decision of your Government to provide an infantry battalion for service in South Vietnam.

This action simply underscores the full co-operation and understanding that has existed between our two Governments ... in assisting South Vietnam to maintain its independence ...

More broadly, this action proves again the deep ties between our two countries in the cause of world peace and security. As you know, my personal experiences in association with Australians during World War II have made this a particularly deep and abiding feeling for me. I am confident that our two nations, working together, can continue to make great contributions to checking the spread of aggression and to bringing about the peace that South Vietnam and South-East Asia deserve.

Sincerely yours,

Lyndon B. Johnson

US President Lyndon B. Johnson, letter to Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies, 29 April 1965

Responding to Johnson's letter

1. What reasons are suggested in Johnson's letter for Australia's involvement in Vietnam?
2. What is the effect of the repetition of 'our two' in such phrases as 'our two Governments', 'our two countries' and 'our two nations'?
3. Why might Johnson have welcomed the announcement of Australia's infantry battalion in Vietnam?
4. Why might Menzies have been keen to receive and to publicise this letter?
5. Might Johnson have sought Australian Government advice on what to write in his letter? Does the letter suggest this?

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Activity **14.4**

Compare perspectives

Analyse evidence from Source 14.17 (Prime Minister Menzies) and 14.18 (President Johnson) to compare perspectives on Australia's reasons for committing ground troops to a war in Vietnam.

Responses to the commitment of troops

News media

The decision of the Menzies government to commit ground troops to the war in Vietnam was the leading news item of the day. Sources 14.19–21 are the responses of three major daily newspapers from the time (*Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Age* and *The Australian*) to Menzies' announcement.

Sources **14.19–21** Newspapers editorialise about Australia's Vietnam commitment, 1965

SOURCE 14.19 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 April 1965

Australian Help to South Vietnam

The war against aggression in Vietnam is in a very real and direct sense Australia's war. For what is being defended there is not just one small country's right to decide its own destinies freed from armed aggression, it is, as Sir Robert Menzies pointed out, the security of all South-East Asia. It cannot be too often or too strongly emphasised that if South Vietnam is allowed to fall to Communism, then the extension of Communist influence down through the Malay Peninsula to the shores of Australia is inevitable.

From Australia's point of view, the definitive battle against Chinese Communist expansionism is being fought in Vietnam, and it is a battle in which national honour and national interest dictate that Australia should play a positive part.

Sydney Morning Herald, 30 April 1965

SOURCE 14.20 *The Age*, 30 April 1965

New Tasks in Vietnam

The decision by the Australian Government to send a battalion to South Vietnam is a grave one and commits Australia to a more direct role in this cockpit of war where the conflict of power between Communist China and the West in South-East Asia has been joined. It also extends our military commitments on more fronts in South-East Asia than any other Commonwealth country ...

These are inescapable obligations which fall on us because of our geographic position, our treaty commitments, and our friendships. They cannot be sidestepped if we are to give any meaning to our place in ANZUS, SEATO and the Commonwealth of Nations ... There is clearly a United States call to share, even in a small way, more of the burdens ... There was no alternative but to respond as we have.

The Age, 30 April 1965

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SOURCE 14.21 *The Australian*, 30 April 1965

The War That Can't Be Won

The Menzies Government has made a reckless decision on Vietnam which this nation may live to regret. It has decided to send Australian soldiers into a savage, revolutionary war in which the Americans are grievously involved ...

Their decision is wrong, at this time, whichever way we look at it. It is wrong because Australia's ... [troops] can have only insignificant military value, because ... [they] will be purely a political pawn in a situation for which Australia has no responsibility whatsoever ... It is wrong because it deliberately and coldly runs counter to the mounting wave of international anxiety about the shape of the Vietnam war and the justification and perils of America's military escalation ...

Neither of the Pacific defence treaties to which Australia subscribes can honestly be invoked to justify the Menzies Government's decision. ANZUS cannot apply because the United States is not under attack. SEATO, more worthless than ever, certainly doesn't apply ...

But Australia has lined up her generations against the hatred and contempt of resurgent Asian peoples – without adding one iota of confidence or strength to the tragically embroiled American nation. It could be that our historians will recall this day with tears.

The Australian, 30 April 1965

Comparing the newspapers

1. List the points made by Menzies that are echoed in either the *Sydney Morning Herald* or *The Age*.
2. List the points made by Menzies that are contradicted by *The Australian*.
3. *The Australian* uses the expressions 'revolutionary war' and 'hatred and contempt of resurgent Asian peoples'. How does this suggest that *The Australian* sees the Vietnam War as part of a major historical change in the post-1945 world? By contrast, what term might the two other papers use to describe the war?

Activity **14.5**

Watch a TV news report

Watch the *ABC News* report, available at the link https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10803, from April 1965 to determine how those Australians interviewed responded to the government's decision to send troops to Vietnam.

1. Create and complete a 'tally' table like the one below. You may need to pause the video clip after each respondent to record the details.
2. If you wanted to determine whether the news report faithfully represented the Australian public's opinion about sending troops to Vietnam, what other sources of evidence might you seek out?

Position	Tally no.	Who (e.g. age group, gender)	Reason (if applicable)
Support			
Oppose			

This is how political cartoonist Aubrey Collette commented on the circumstances surrounding Australia's involvement in the conflict in Vietnam.

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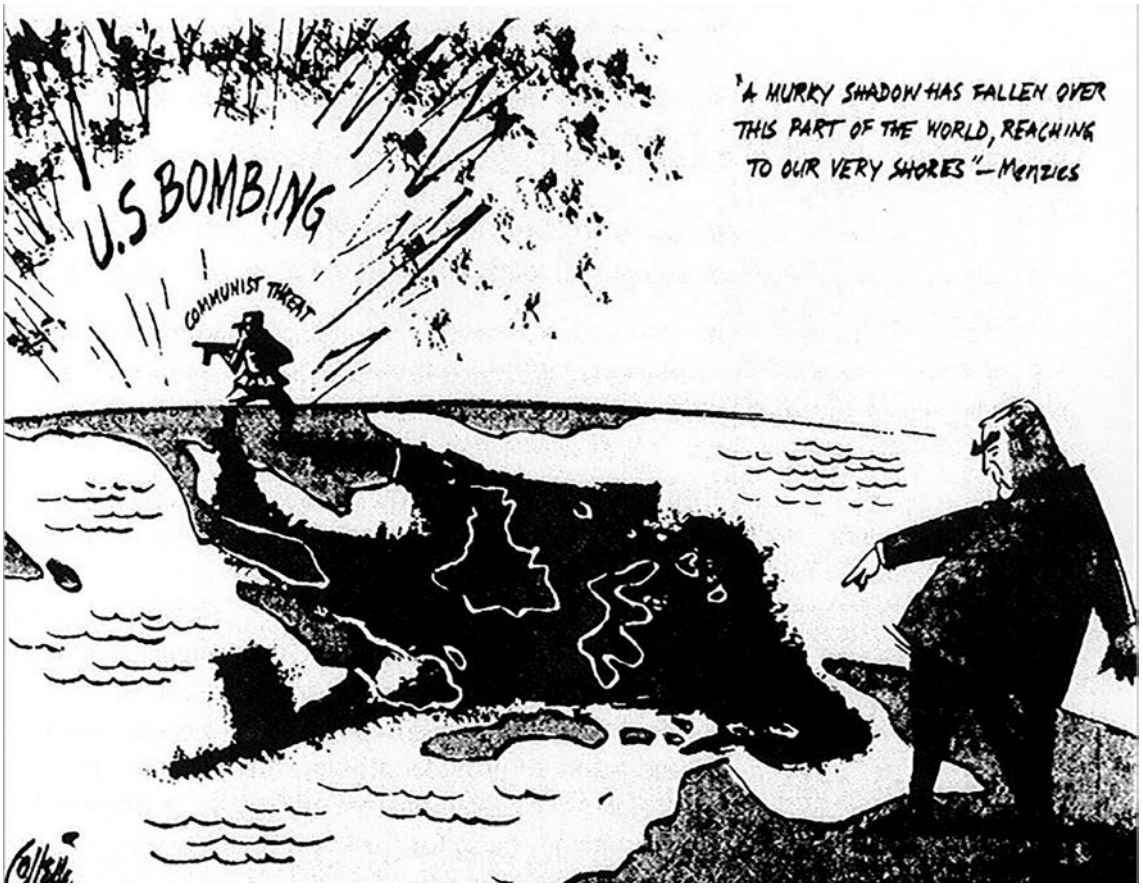
Source **14.22** Collette's perspective on Australia's involvement in Vietnam, 14 June 1965



SOURCE 14.22 Cartoon by Aubrey Collette, *The Australian*, 14 June 1965

Embedded text: 'A murky shadow has fallen over this part of the world, reaching to our very shores' – Menzies (this refers to a quote from Menzies); US bombing; communist threat.

Responding to the cartoon

1. Identify each figure in the cartoon.
2. What geographical region of the world is shown in this cartoon?
3. Prime Minister Menzies is quoted as saying: 'A murky shadow has fallen over this part of the world'. What is he referring to and why would he use such words to describe 'the threat'?
4. In what direction is the threat facing? What might this be suggesting?
5. Is Collette critical or supportive of Menzies' decision to commit troops to Vietnam? Use words and images from the cartoon to support your answer.
6. What reasons do you think Collette gives for Australia's involvement in Vietnam?

Activity **14.6**

Synthesise evidence from sources

Synthesise evidence from Sources 14.19–14.21 (newspaper reports) and Source 14.22 (political cartoon) to answer the following question:

To what extent was Prime Minister Robert Menzies' decision to commit Australian troops to assist South Vietnam supported by the newspapers?

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In 1965, and continuing until 1968, the media (newspapers, radio and television) almost all supported the government and its policy on Vietnam. The only newspaper to oppose the government was *The Australian*.

The Leader of the Opposition replies to Menzies

On 4 May, the Leader of the Opposition, Arthur Calwell, replied to Menzies' speech on the floor of parliament. He began: 'I propose to show that the Government's decision rests on three false assumptions: An erroneous view of the nature of the war in Vietnam; a failure to understand the nature of the Communist challenge; and a false notion as to the interests of America and her allies'.

Activity **14.7**

Respond to the Opposition's reply to Menzies

Calwell went on to make a series of claims about the war. Create and complete a table like the one below, which lists a selection of these claims. Next to each, insert two responses:

1. How do you think Menzies would respond to the claim?
2. What do you think of the claim, given what you have learned so far?

When you have finished, compare your 'assessment' answers with those of classmates.

Discuss the possible consequences of Australia going into a war that was opposed by the major opposition party.

Calwell's claim	1. Menzies' likely response	2. My assessment of the claim
'The Government takes the grotesquely over-simplified position that this is a straightforward case of aggression from North Vietnam against an independent South Vietnam.'		
'The war in South Vietnam is a civil war, aided and abetted by the North Vietnamese Government, but neither created nor principally maintained by it.'		
'Our men … will be fighting at the request of, and in support, and presumably, under the direction of an unstable, inefficient, partially corrupt military regime which lacks even the semblance of being, or becoming, democratically based.'		
'To call [the war] simply "foreign aggression" as the Prime Minister does … is to misrepresent the facts.'		

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Australia's ongoing support of the United States and the Vietnam War

As the war progressed, the Australian Government continued to restate and remind both the Australian public and the international community of its reasons for involvement in Vietnam.

In 1966, the US Government escalated its involvement in Vietnam from 23 000 troops to 184 000. In June 1966, Prime Minister Harold Holt visited the United States and promised President Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) complete Australian support for the US escalation of the war. On the lawns of the White House, amid increasing international criticism of the United States for its involvement in Vietnam, Holt reassured the president that Australia was an 'admiring friend, a staunch friend that will be all the way with LBJ'.

Source 14.23 depicts how Australian cartoonist Aubrey Collette commented on the Holt government's Vietnam policy.

Source **14.23** Collette comments on the Holt government's Vietnam policy, 1966

SOURCE 14.23 'Gosh, Lyndon, you make me feel so much at home'. Cartoon by Aubrey Collette in *The Australian*, 4 July 1966.

Embedded text: I love a sunburnt country, a land of sweeping plains ...; All the way with LBJ; Vietnam Leap; Half the way with LBJ.

Historical figures: US President Lyndon Baines Johnson (1963–69), Australian Prime Minister Harold Holt (1966–67) and British Prime Minister Harold Wilson (1964–70).

Historical note: Wilson, under increasing pressure from a faction within his party, attacked the United States' bombing campaign while trying to give some general support to the United States.

Responding to Collette's cartoon

Conduct a three-part analysis of the cartoon.

1. **Content:** Examine all aspects of the cartoon – figures, text, action, setting and caption. What do you see?
2. **Context:** What is the historical event that this cartoon is responding to?
3. **Comment:**
   - **a.** What might be the intended 'messages' in the depiction of i) LBJ as a kangaroo reciting a famous Australian poem; ii) Holt in LBJ's 'pouch'; iii) the 'Vietnam leap'; iv) Holt's 'Gosh, Lyndon' statement?
   - **b.** How useful and reliable is the Collette cartoon in depicting the relationship between the United States and Australia in 1966? Provide two points for usefulness and two points for reliability.

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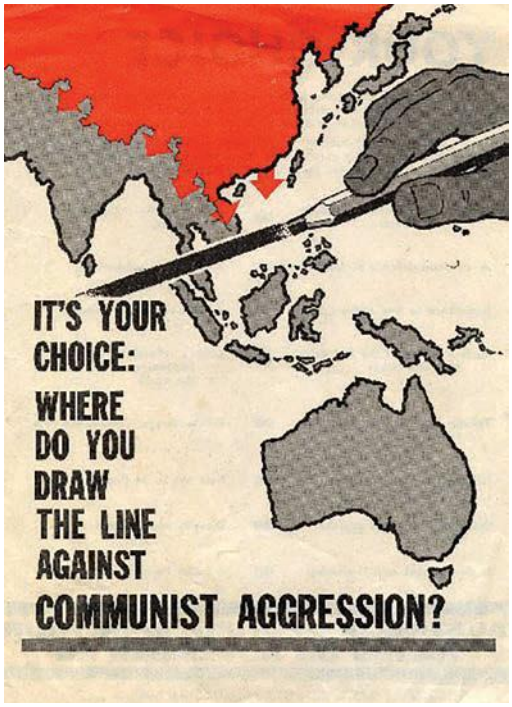
The catchphrase 'all the way with LBJ' was not a creation of Holt's but, rather, was Johnson's 1964 presidential campaign slogan. While Holt was happy to identify himself unreservedly with US policy in Vietnam, Australia's support for its allies was always stronger in public rhetoric and diplomatic encouragement than in military commitment. At its height in May 1969, the Australian Army's strength in Vietnam was 6917. By comparison, the US military forces in Vietnam had peaked at 536 100 the year earlier.

From 1965 to 1968, the Vietnam War was widely supported by the general Australian public. This was evident in the 1966 federal election. The election campaign very much centred on Vietnam. Here is a sample of the electoral material used by the Liberal Party during that campaign.

Source **14.24** Liberal Party electoral campaign material, 1966



SOURCE 14.24 Electoral campaign poster for the Liberal Party in the 1966 election

Responding to the campaign poster

1. How does the author of the electoral poster want voters to answer the question posed?
2. What emotions does the poster appeal to? How does it do this?
3. What is this election poster encouraging Australians to believe is the reason for Australia's continued presence in Vietnam?
4. How useful and reliable might this poster be in determining the communist threat to Australia in 1966? Provide two points for usefulness and two points for reliability.

The Coalition won the election, recording the largest majority since Federation: 82 seats to Labor's 41. The ALP, under the leadership of Calwell, had been very critical of both Menzies' decision to commit forces to Vietnam and Holt's decision to increase forces. This anti-Vietnam War attitude probably caused the ALP's electoral defeat in 1966.

Questioning Australia's reasoning for its entry into Vietnam

In his parliamentary speech in April 1965, Menzies had claimed that one of the main reasons Australia became involved in the conflict in Vietnam was because it had received an official request from the South Vietnamese Government. While some questions were raised about this request at the time, doubts about its authenticity once again came to the fore after the leaking of the Pentagon Papers in June 1971. The Pentagon Papers were a classified study of the Vietnam War carried out by the US Department of Defense and were leaked by one of the officials working on the project, Daniel Ellsberg. The papers revealed that the government had been lying about the progress of the war. One of the documents discovered was pertinent to Australia. This document implied that the Americans had generated the request from the South Vietnamese Government for an Australian battalion.

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To disarm vocal critics and clarify the situation, on 19 August 1971 the Australian Government tabled in federal parliament two secret letters between the Prime Minister of South Vietnam, Dr Phan Huy Quat, and the Australian Ambassador to Saigon, H.D. Anderson.

Sources **14.25** and **14.26** Correspondence between Prime Minister of South Vietnam and Australian Ambassador to Saigon

SOURCE 14.25 Letter from Australian Ambassador to Prime Minister of South Vietnam, 29 April 1965

Your Excellency,

I have the honour, with reference to our conversation yesterday, to confirm the Australian Government's offer to send to Viet Nam an Infantry battalion of 800 men, with some 100 personnel in logistic support, to serve with United States forces in assisting in the defence of the Republic of Viet Nam.

I have informed the Australian Government, following our conversation that Your Excellency has accepted this offer and has requested the despatch of this force to Viet Nam on the basis which we discussed.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

H.D. Anderson

Ambassador

Australian Ambassador to Saigon, H.D. Anderson, letter to Prime Minister of South Vietnam, Dr Phan Huy Quat, 29 April 1965

SOURCE 14.26 Letter from Prime Minister of South Vietnam to Australian Ambassador

Dear Mr Ambassador,

I have the honor to refer to your letter of today's date confirming the Australian Government's offer to send to Viet Nam an infantry battalion of 800 men, with some 100 personnel in logistic support to serve with United States forces in assisting in the defence of the Republic of Vietnam.

I wish to confirm my government's acceptance of this offer and to request the dispatch of this force to Viet Nam on the basis which we discussed.

Sincerely

Phan-Huay-Quat

29 April 1965

Prime Minister of South Vietnam, Dr Phan Huy Quat, letter to Australian Ambassador to Saigon, H.D. Anderson, 29 April 1965

Responding to the letters

1. According to these sources, who initiated Australia's commitment to the Vietnam conflict?
2. How does this version of events compare with Menzies' version of events? (See Source 14.17.)
3. Why might Menzies have used the South Vietnamese request as a reason to deploy Australian troops in Vietnam?
4. Do these two letters make you reassess the reasons Australia committed itself to Vietnam? Explain your response.

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According to Paul Ham, author of *Vietnam: The Australian War* (2007), the story surrounding the South Vietnamese request is not so simple. He explains in Source 14.27.

Source **14.27** Menzies's explanation for troop commitment

SOURCE 14.27 Paul Ham on Menzies' explanation for troop commitment

The events leading to the troop decision provoked claims that Menzies had deceived Parliament. Saigon had neither invited nor requested Australian ground troops – ran the charge – yet Menzies presented his decision as though he were answering a desperate plea for help. Menzies 'requested the request' ... Yet the story is not so simple; the truth, as always, was elusive, subtle, and as many layered as an onion. True, the Saigon Government of Prime Minister Phan Huy Quat in 1965 was reluctant to request Australian military help, with good reason. Quat was a member of the Dai Viet (the Vietnamese Nationalist Party), and had deep misgivings about using foreign soldiers; their presence handed the communist forces a propaganda dream: '[The South Vietnamese] were highly sensitive to VC propaganda ... portraying them as under US domination,' said one assessment. Nor did Quat have much faith in foreign troops' ability to 'winkle out terrorists among the 14 million people in South Viet-Nam' ... In short, Quat had to be coerced into accepting an Australian battalion. Yet Quat was merely one of a succession of leaders of the Republic of Vietnam, all of whom Canberra had dealt with. Tran Van Huong, Prime Minister from November 1964 to January 1965, *had* requested Australian ground troops; President Nguyen Khanh wrote to thirty-four countries on 25 July 1964 pleading for military help; and earlier [1961–62] President Ngo Dinh Diem had appealed to ninety-three non-communist countries, including Australia, for urgent military intervention.

Paul Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War*, 2007, p. 121

Responding to Ham's explanation

Explain why the story of the request is 'not so simple' and is as 'many layered as an onion'. In your response, you need to explain 1) the position of South Vietnamese Prime Minister Phan Huy Quat in 1965 to a request for foreign military help and why he took this position, and 2) the position of former South Vietnamese leaders in seeking foreign military assistance.

Activity **14.8**

Take a position in a four-corner debate on Menzies' parliamentary speech

Label each corner of your classroom with one of the following positions: 'Agree', 'Strongly agree', 'Disagree' and 'Strongly disagree'. Then take a position on the following statement in a class debate. The debate begins with you moving to the part of the room that best reflects your position. If you are unsure, remain in the middle. As the debate proceeds, you can move positions in keeping with how your views are being shaped by the debate.

Statement: *Prime Minister Robert Menzies misled parliament by claiming that the South Vietnamese Government requested military assistance.*

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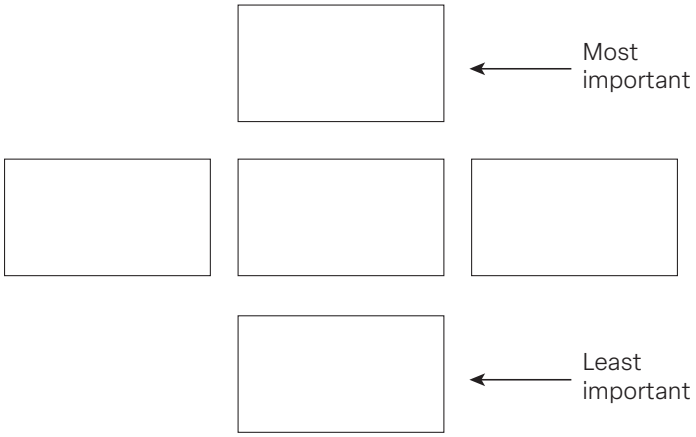
REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 2

Why did Australia commit troops to Vietnam in 1965?

1. Ranking reasons

Working in pairs, diamond rank the reasons for Australia's commitment of troops to the war in Vietnam, from the most significant to the least significant. The reasons that feature in this section are listed below. Be prepared to justify your decisions.

- Perceived fear of communism
- National security and treaty obligations
- Pressure from the United States
- Australian initiatives – seeking a way in
- Request from South Vietnam



2. Delving deeper into an issue – conscription

a. According to Professor Peter Edwards (2014), who was appointed the official historian for the *Official History of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts, 1948–75*, the Menzies government was 'determined to introduce and to maintain conscription, including a commitment for overseas service, for its own sake'. 'For its own sake' means that something is done for the value of the experience itself, rather than for any advantage it will bring. What intrinsic value might be derived from two years of compulsory military service for 20-year-old men?

b. Are you surprised by the fact that most of the Australian public, press and politicians favoured this system throughout the duration of the Vietnam War? (See Source 14.38.) Explain your response. Does Edwards' conclusion help to explain this phenomenon?

c. Today, most Australians do not support the idea of compulsory military training and conscription for overseas service. Why might this be the case?

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SUB-QUESTION 3: What have historians said about why Australia became involved in the war in Vietnam?

According to US-born Israeli historian Michael Oren, 'great wars in history eventually become great wars about history' (2007). After the war is over, historians continue to rake over the evidence, testing accepted truths about the nature of the military conflict and the motivations for it.

Sources 14.28–14.30 are three historical interpretations explaining why Australia became involved in the Vietnam War.

SOURCE 14.28 Military historians Jeffrey Grey and Jeff Doyle, 1992

> The idea that Australia became involved in Vietnam solely because of its relationship with the United States ought to be scotched. Just as the Australian experience in Vietnam was not identical to the American experience, so too the two nations' paths were also different. The American route to Vietnam lay through Europe and Northeast Asia, owing much to the perceived need to see both France and Japan*... established as economically strong and politically stable partners. For obvious reasons, Australia was much less concerned about France or even Japan than it was about Malaya, Indonesia, and the other countries of Southeast Asia. Australia's concern about the developments in the region were separate from, if often parallel to, those of the United States. Even if the United States had not existed, the Australian Government would have been deeply concerned over the perceived threat from communism in Southeast Asia. But equally it must be said that the Australian-American relationship was vitally important in shaping Australia's reactions to this perceived threat.

Jeffrey Grey and Jeff Doyle, *Vietnam: War, Myth and Memory*, 1992, pp. 4–5

SOURCE 14.29 Historians David Lee and Moreen Dee, 2001

> From the early 1960s the Australian government encouraged US military intervention in Indochina. It supported US intervention firstly because it considered the projection of US power into the region would enhance Australia's security against Asian communism backed by China, and secondly in order to solidify Australian–US relations. The former consideration reflected the government's interpretation of the struggle in Vietnam, and the role of communism in that struggle, essentially as a manifestation of the global Cold War, rather than as a conflict having deep roots in Vietnam's own history; it reflected too the government's assessment of the possible consequences of a North Vietnamese victory ...
>
> The Australian government understood the US strategic vision and broadly shared it. Thus South Vietnam came for both US and Australian policy-makers to be the point on which the West must make a stand. Australia's own intervention in Vietnam was primarily a product of these Cold War concerns. There can be no doubting the genuineness of these concerns in the minds of the political leaders of the time. But in retrospect it is clear enough that Australian policy reflected a greater emphasis on the threat posed by a supposedly monolithic communism than on the particular social and political history of Indochina.

David Lee and Moreen Dee, 'Southeast Asian Conflict' in D. Goldsworthy (ed.), *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Volume 1 1901 to the 1970s*, 2001, pp. 282, 285

* Japan, a former enemy during World War II, became a major Western ally in the emerging Cold War in Asia, and a major base for US troops in Asia. The United States, during its postwar occupation of Japan (1945–52), helped to build strong democratic institutions and a stable economy in the hope that the growing communist presence in Asia would not spread to this island nation.

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SOURCE 14.30 Military historian Peter Edwards

> Many assumed that Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War had been at the instigation of, and under pressure from, the United States. The idea that Australia had been pressing to become involved, that it had been 'looking for a way in and not a way out' as Menzies put it in April 1965, took some time to be recognised ... With the benefit of half a century's hindsight, some of the old arguments take on different nuances. Vietnam was not an example of fighting 'other people's wars'; in the minds of Menzies and his principal advisers, it was a matter of getting the United States to fight a war for Australia's security. Paying a premium for Australia's strategic insurance with the United States was not of itself wrong, but should have been handled with a great deal more care.

Peter Edwards, *Australia and the Vietnam War*, 2014, pp. 264, 287

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 3

What have historians said about why Australia became involved in the war in Vietnam?

1. Outline the reasons advanced by each source for Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. You might organise your notes by creating a table like the one below.

Source	Reasons provided for Australia's involvement in Vietnam
Military historians Jeffrey Grey and Jeff Doyle (1992)	
Historians David Lee and Moreen Dee (2001)	
Military historian Peter Edwards (2014)	

2. Which of these reasons are agreed upon by the authors?
3. As classified documents are progressively released by the national archives, historians continually revisit and rewrite prevailing interpretations of history. Why might this be the case, and how might this apply to your study of Australia and the Vietnam War?

SUB-QUESTION 4: Why did Australia withdraw from Vietnam without achieving its objectives?

Six years after Menzies committed troops to Vietnam, Prime Minister John Gorton announced that the battalion due to be relieved in November 1970 would not be replaced. This decision jeopardised three important foreign policy objectives: win the war; secure Australia against communist aggression (preventing the domino effect); and secure a guarantee of continuing US protection of Australia and its presence in the Asian region.

The war becomes unwinnable

It's likely that the war became unwinnable in the popular consciousness before it became unwinnable on the ground. The following military actions make up some of the most controversial actions committed by troops in the Vietnam War.

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Tet Offensive

In late January 1968, during the lunar new year (or Tet) holiday, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched concentrated attacks against every major city and regional centre in South Vietnam. Americans and Australians alike were stunned to see, live on television, running gun battles in the grounds of the US Embassy in Saigon, and images of wounded marines fighting to recapture Hue, the ancient capital of Vietnam, which had been overrun by Viet Cong. While the Tet Offensive was ultimately a tactical defeat for the communist forces, with up to 50 000 dead, it is widely seen as the turning point of the war, even though the war dragged on for years after.

Source 14.31 is the most well-known photograph from the Tet Offensive. It shows the South Vietnamese Major General Nguyễn Ngọc Loan, Director General of National Police, summarily executing a Viet Cong prisoner on the streets of Saigon. Captured on film, the execution prompted questions about the morality of the Saigon regime.

Source **14.31** The execution of a Viet Cong prisoner during the Tet Offensive, February 1968

SOURCE 14.31 'Saigon Execution', photograph by Edward T. Adams, 1 February 1968

Responding to the photograph

1. How might photographs such as this turn the public against the war in Vietnam?
2. The Viet Cong captive admitted killing a South Vietnamese colonel and his family. Research the story of this event, the impact of the photo and the later life of the chief of police. Why is the story so morally and legally debatable?

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My Lai massacre

While the killing of the Viet Cong prisoner was one of countless atrocities committed by both sides in the war, the most notorious act of barbarity was the My Lai massacre. This massacre, carried out by US soldiers on 16 March 1968, was not revealed to the public until November 1969. Paul Ham (2007) maintains that the revelation of the My Lai massacre had a greater influence than any other event on the Australian protest movement of the early 1970s and Australian attitudes to the war. Here is a description of what happened and a photograph of massacred Vietnamese women and children.

Sources **14.32** and **14.33** The My Lai massacre, 16 March 1968

SOURCE 14.32 A historian's account of the My Lai massacre

On the morning of 16 March 1968 C Company, 1st Battalion, 11th Brigade, 23rd Infantry Division of the US Army entered the hamlet of My Lai, part of the village of Song My, in Quang Ngai province. Acting on the orders, the men said, of Lieutenant William Calley Jnr, they rounded up the villagers and shot or grenaded them: 347 unarmed people died, according to the criminal investigation; another ninety died in a neighbouring hamlet at the hands of a separate US company. The Vietnamese monument at Song My lists 504 civilians dead. Most were old men, women, boys, girls, and babies: 182 women (of whom seventeen were pregnant); 173 children (of whom fifty-six were younger than five months old), and sixty men older than 60. One GI aimed his pistol three times at a baby and succeeded in shooting it on the third attempt, to the laughter of his fellow troops. They 'beat women with rifle butts and raped some and sodomized others before shooting them'. They broke for lunch, then resumed the massacre. Any survivors were picked off: a little boy wearing only a T-shirt ran over to clutch the hand of one of the dead. A US soldier, said a witness, 'dropped into a kneeling position 30 metres from this kid and killed him with a single shot'. The water buffaloes, pigs and chickens were shot and hurled into the wells, and all the families' homes burned. Calley dumped his victims in an irrigation ditch.

Paul Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War*, 2007, pp. 518–19

SOURCE 14.33 Photograph of massacred women and children, 16 March 1968

···>

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Responding to the account and photograph of the My Lai massacre

1. What information in Ham's description suggests that a large number of US soldiers participated in the actions at My Lai? Is there evidence that any soldiers refused to participate?
2. What actions described by Ham do you think can be labelled 'atrocities'? Do you think that those actions would be considered war crimes?
3. Quote two specific details that could only have been known initially by someone who was present during the action.
4. Note the terms 'the men said', 'according to the criminal investigation', 'The Vietnamese monument at Song My' and 'said a witness'. What do these indicate about:
   a. how details of the actions became known in the aftermath
   b. the reliability of this source as evidence of the events at My Lai?
5. What details in the photograph corroborate the description in Ham's account? Does the photograph intensify your own intellectual and/or emotional response to the massacre?
6. Based on questions 1–5, how useful and reliable do you think Paul Ham's account and Ron Haeberle's photograph are as evidence of what happened at My Lai on 16 March 1968? What further investigations would you want to carry out to answer that question with greater confidence?

Moratorium campaign

In 1970 and 1971, the anti-war movement reached its zenith in Australia in the Vietnam Moratorium campaign. The term moratorium – used a year earlier in the United States – signalled a refusal to accept 'business as usual'. This campaign remains the largest and most sustained public protest movement in Australian history. It mobilised a coalition of forces and interests that included the left wing of the ALP, established peace and anti-conscription groups, some church groups, some radical unions, the Save Our Sons movement, the Communist Party of Australia and a broad middle-class constituency principally motivated by opposition to conscription. According to historians David Lee and Moreen Dee, 'the Vietnam moratorium campaign was a manifestation of the deepening division in Australian society caused by Australia's participation in the Vietnam War' (2001:301).

The Australian Moratorium organisers extensively used photographs from the My Lai massacre in their publicity materials. Source 14.34 shows one of those publications.

In 2014, Margaret Frazer – a participant in the Moratorium demonstrations and long-term peace activist – reflected on the Moratorium, saying that it 'was like all our Christmases had come on one day. The peace movement had been around since the 1930s, and had failed to stop any war. But with Vietnam, we won' (quoted in Jolliffe, 2014).

What types of evidence would you need to gather to support or refute the assertion that the Moratorium demonstrations stopped the Vietnam War?

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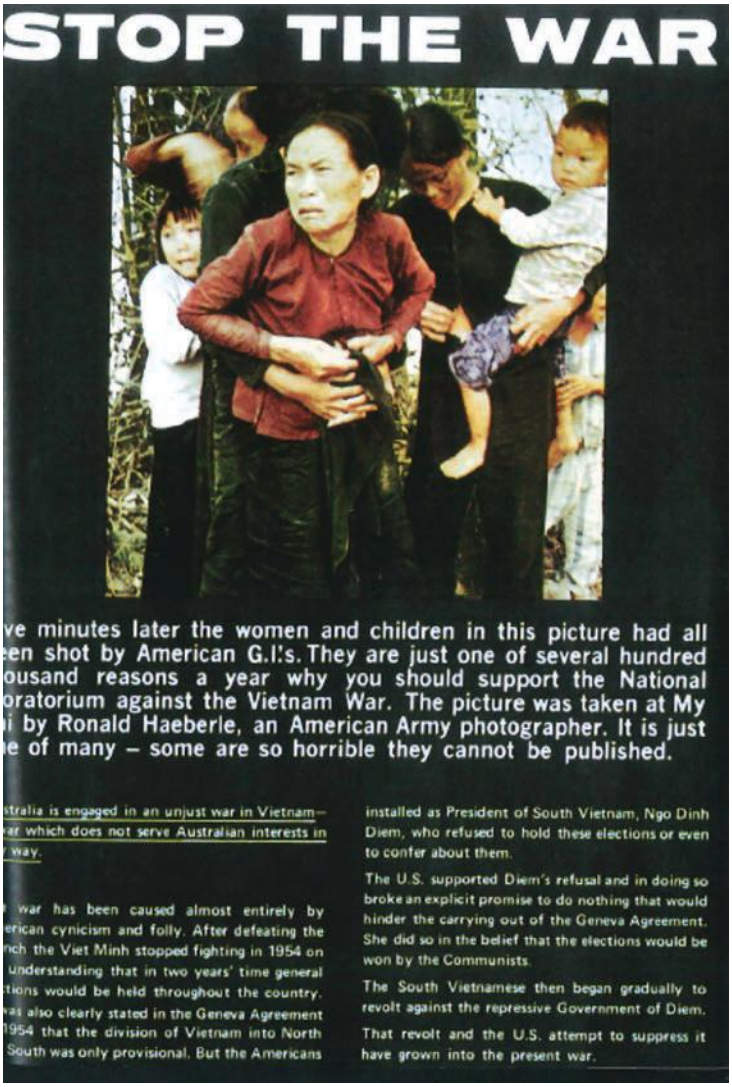
Source **14.34** Moratorium poster featuring the My Lai massacre



SOURCE 14.34 Moratorium poster. A larger version of this poster can be viewed in the Interactive Textbook.

Responding to the Moratorium poster

Go to the Interactive Textbook to read the text on a full version of the poster, then answer the questions below.

In the first column of text on the poster, it is claimed that 'Australia is engaged in an unjust war in Vietnam'.

1. What arguments are advanced to support this assertion?
2. Based on your knowledge, how valid are these arguments? Explain your response.
3. In 1970, how might various people within Australian society have reacted to this poster? How might family or friends of the people shown react to this photo being used for this purpose?
4. Given that Australian soldiers were not involved in the My Lai massacre and had not committed any verifiable war crimes in Vietnam, is it fair to use this incident in anti-Vietnam War materials in Australia? How might this event affect the way the Australian public perceived the conduct of its soldiers in Vietnam? Explain your response.

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The largest Moratorium demonstration, numbering at least 70 000 and perhaps as many as 100 000 people, was held in Melbourne on 8 May 1970. To get a sense of the magnitude of this protest, consider Sources 14.35 and 14.36.

Sources **14.35** and **14.36** Melbourne Moratorium protest, 8 May 1970

SOURCE 14.35 Report in *The Age*, 9 May 1970

> … the great mass coming from Spring Street … rivets everybody's attention. Banners and placards high, moving like some great outback river in flood down the grey deserted watercourse of Bourke Street. As they get to the intersection … and meet their fellows coming from the opposite direction, there is this great roaring chant that echoes off the canyons of the city: Stop the War! Stop the War! Stop the War! … All the way up to Spring Street is this vast crowd and like a slow ripple they all begin to sit down in the street. It is impossible for those at the back to see those in the front.

The Age, 9 May 1970

SOURCE 14.36 Photograph of the protest, 8 May 1970

Responding to the sources on the Melbourne Moratorium protest

1. How do these sources reflect what you learned earlier about the growing unpopularity of the war?
2. Are these sources alone proof that the war was largely unpopular?
3. Would you expect the Australian Government to be influenced by the size of this demonstration? Explain your answer.
4. To get a sense of what attending a Moratorium protest march was like, watch the following video clip from *This Day Tonight* (ABC), which reports on the demonstration held in Melbourne on 8 May 1970: https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10804. As you watch the video clip, make notes on what you observe about the protest in terms of a) the mood, b) the composition of the protesters, c) the actions of the protesters, and d) responses of the onlookers.

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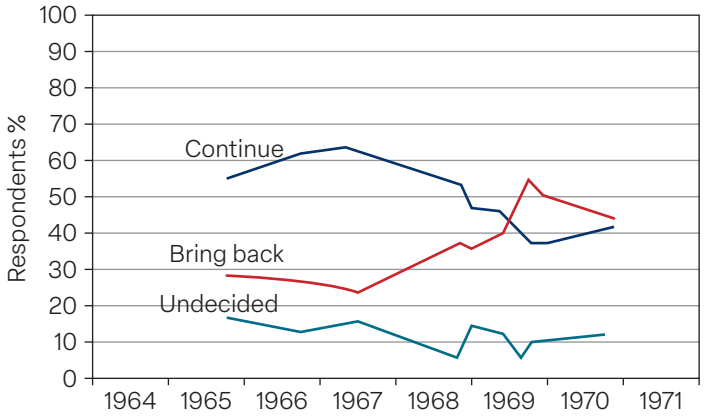
Public opinion polls

Opinion polls taken during the course of the Vietnam War provide a snapshot of public attitudes to the war.

Source **14.37** Opinion polls on the war



SOURCE 14.37 Graph showing opinion poll responses to the question: 'Do you think we should continue to fight in Vietnam or bring our forces back to Australia?'

Responding to the graph

1. What is particularly significant about the data for mid-1967?
2. From that point, what was the trajectory of the three measures until the end of 1968?
3. At what point did:
   a. the 'continue' responses drop below 50%
   b. the 'bring back' responses equal the 'continue' responses
   c. the 'bring back' responses move above 50%?
4. Does the graph suggest that public opinion was affected by the Tet Offensive of January 1968; the media revelations of the My Lai massacre in November 1969; Australia's first Moratorium demonstration in May 1970; and/or the second Moratorium demonstration in September 1970? Explain your responses.

SOURCE 14.38 Protesters in Melbourne against National Service call-up, 11 March 1965.

What do you notice about the date of this protest against conscription and its relationship to the date that Prime Minister Menzies committed Australian combat troops to the war in Vietnam? (see Source 14.17). Does this surprise you? Explain. What do you notice about those participating in the protest? (Note age group and gender.) Explain what might motivate these particular types of people to protest against conscription. Note the message on each protest poster: 'No call-up"; 'Conscription is immoral'; 'We oppose the call-up' (obscured); 'Don't ballot our live/s' (obscured). Of these messages, which do you think has the most important and/or effective message? Explain. Note the woman with the pram. Do you think that she might be part of the protest and if so, what might be in the pram and what point might she be making?

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Conscription was a major rallying point of the anti-war movement. The tabulated Gallup Polls in Source 14.39 show changing public attitudes to conscription from late 1964, at the time of the introduction of the National Service Scheme, to late 1971, a month before the withdrawal of the last battalion from Vietnam.

Source **14.39** Gallup Polls on conscription, 1964–1971

SOURCE 14.39 Table of Gallup Polls on conscription, November 1964 to September 1971

Poll date	Favour/For/ Continue conscription (%)	Oppose/Against/ End conscription (%)	Undecided (%)
November 1964	71	25	4
September 1965	69	23	8
April 1966	63	31	6
July 1966	68	26	6
November 1966	63	33	4
November 1967	70	25	5
December 1968	65	29	6
August 1969	63	32	5
October 1969	58	32	10
April 1970	55	39	6
October 1970	58	34	8
September 1971	68	24.5	7.5

Responding to the Gallup Polls on conscription

Which of the following assertions do the poll results support?

a. From 1964 to 1971, Gallup Polls consistently showed that the majority of those surveyed were in support of conscription.
b. The percentage of those polled who supported conscription in 1964 was double that of those supporting conscription in 1971.
c. From 1964 to 1971, Gallup Polls consistently showed that no more than a third of Australians were against conscription.
d. From 1964 to 1971, Gallup Polls consistently showed that those who were undecided about the issue of conscription never rose above 10%.
e. There were more undecided about the conscription issue in 1971 than there were in 1964.
f. The percentage of those opposing conscription in 1964 was similar to those opposing conscription in 1971.

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Living in twenty-first-century Australia, we tend to assume that the National Service Scheme was broadly unpopular, but this was clearly not the case given the evidence. Mark Dapin, author of *The Nashos' War* (2014), offers an explanation for this phenomenon: 'it was the actions of the national servicemen, in accepting discipline and following orders, which most closely reflected the values of the society that had produced them. Most of Australia was conservative, patriotic, and law-abiding throughout the Vietnam period. Anti-war protesters, even at the peak of their numbers, were often thought of as deviants, ratbags, idiots and traitors.'

To what extent do you think Dapin's description of Australian values and attitudes still holds true today?

While the figures show that Australians were not opposed to conscription itself, another story emerges when the issue of sending conscripts to fight overseas is raised.

Source **14.40** Gallup Polls on sending conscripts to Vietnam, 1965–1967

SOURCE 14.40 Table of Gallup Polls on sending conscripts to Vietnam, December 1965 to August 1967

Poll date	Send to Vietnam (%)	Keep in Australia (%)	Undecided (%)
December 1965	37	52	11
February 1966	32	57	11
April 1966	38	49	13
July 1966	38	52	11
December 1966	37	52	11
August 1967	42	49	9

Responding to the Gallup Polls on sending conscripts to Vietnam

1. What is the overall trend in the polls from December 1965 to August 1967 for those in favour of sending conscripts to Vietnam, those in favour of keeping conscripts in Australia and those who were undecided?
2. What might explain these trends?
3. Do you think these trends might have continued after 1967? Explain why/why not.

US and Australian policy revision

From the evidence provided so far, it is clear that the anti-Vietnam War movement, and particularly the Moratorium demonstrations, were not instrumental in changing people's opinion against the war, as the greatest drop in support for the war occurred prior to the mass rallies in 1969. What other factors, then, might have caused the drop in public support for the war at this time? Gregory Pemberton offers an explanation.

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Source **14.41** Gregory Pemberton's explanation for Australia's withdrawal

SOURCE 14.41 Gregory Pemberton explains Australia's decision to withdraw from Vietnam

When President Nixon came to office in early 1969 he began to develop with his key adviser Henry Kissinger, a new set of policies in the US ... One strand of the policies involved phased withdrawals of US forces, the first of which were announced in June 1969 ... The USA sought simultaneously to bolster the position of the RVN [South Vietnam republic] ... by expanding the RVN's forces and giving them more resources and increased combat responsibilities; the catch phrase was 'Vietnamisation' ... Senior Australian officers in Vietnam were sceptical about the prospects for Vietnamisation from the start. The Australian Commander in 1969, General Hay ... 'thought they were being over optimistic about the ability of the Vietnamese Army to survive if the allied forces were withdrawn. This view was shared by his deputy Colonel Alan Stretton, who wrote later that 'everybody realised the futility of the whole war' and that Vietnamisation was a 'face saving device' ... The Australian forces, however, which had been committed to Vietnam as a contribution to the Australian government's pursuit of security thought the US alliance, were clearly going to follow along with American withdrawal programs.

Gregory Pemberton (ed.), *Vietnam Remembered*, 1990, p. 103

Responding to Pemberton's explanation for Australia's withdrawal

1. What reason does Pemberton suggest for the withdrawal?
2. Vietnamisation was the policy of the Nixon administration in the final stages of the war. It sought to expand, equip and train South Vietnamese forces and assign to them an ever-increasing combat role, while at the same time steadily reducing the number of US combat troops. How might this be seen as a face-saving device? Were the criticisms by Australian commanders valid? Explain your response.

Historians David Lee and Moreen Dee provide further details about Australia following the lead of the United States.

Source **14.42** Australia's phased withdrawal

SOURCE 14.42 Australia follows the United States in its phased withdrawal

Nixon's announcement of the phased withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam [in June 1969] forced the Gorton government to follow suit. In April and May 1969 the Gorton government had announced that the Australian contingent would remain in South Vietnam until it was withdrawn *in toto* ... By the end of the year Gorton's government was persuaded to announce that, like US forces, Australian forces would be withdrawn by degrees. Following Nixon's [20 April 1970] announcement that 150 000 US troops would be withdrawn over the following twelve months, Gorton announced on 22 April 1970 the withdrawal of the first Australian battalion. The Australian government had little alternative but to follow the United States in withdrawing its forces piecemeal and hoping that Vietnamisation would build up the indigenous forces capable of resisting the enemy. In March and April 1971 Gorton's successor as

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Prime Minister, William McMahon, announced the withdrawal of a further 2000 personnel from South Vietnam. In August he declared that 'the circumstances are such that further effect can be given to our withdrawal policy' and that most combat forces 'will be home ... by Christmas 1971'.

David Lee and Moreen Dee, 'Southeast Asian Conflict', in D. Goldsworthy (ed.), *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Vol. 1 1901 to the 1970s*, 2001, pp. 301–2

Responding to Lee and Dee's account

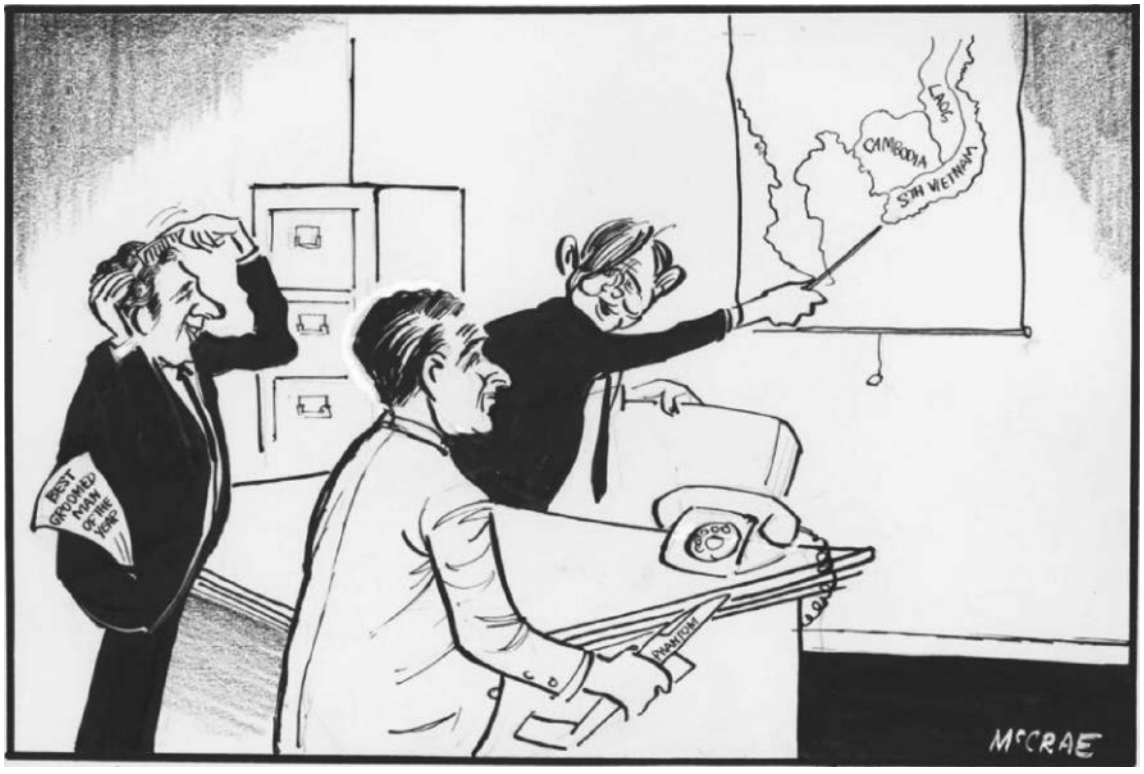
1. Why might the Gorton government have initially held the position that it would be best to withdraw Australian troops in total rather than in stages? Consider military as well as domestic arguments.
2. Why did the Australian Government have 'little alternative but to follow the United States in withdrawing its forces piecemeal'?

Response of the cartoonists

The political cartoons by Australian cartoonist Stewart McCrae shown in Sources 14.43 and 14.44 comment on the motivations of the Gorton government for withdrawing troops from Vietnam.

DOC

Sources **14.43** and **14.44** Cartoonist Stewart McCrae comments on the government's motivation for withdrawing from Vietnam



SOURCE 14.43 Stewart McCrae, 1970. The caption reads 'Apart from Nixon's announcement, we have our own strategic reasons for an early troop withdrawal – the Senate elections!'

Historical figures (L to R): Andrew Peacock (Minister of the Army and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister 1969–71, known as a smart dresser); Senator Tom Drake-Brockman (Minister for the Air 1969–71); and Prime Minister John Gorton with pointer (1968–71).

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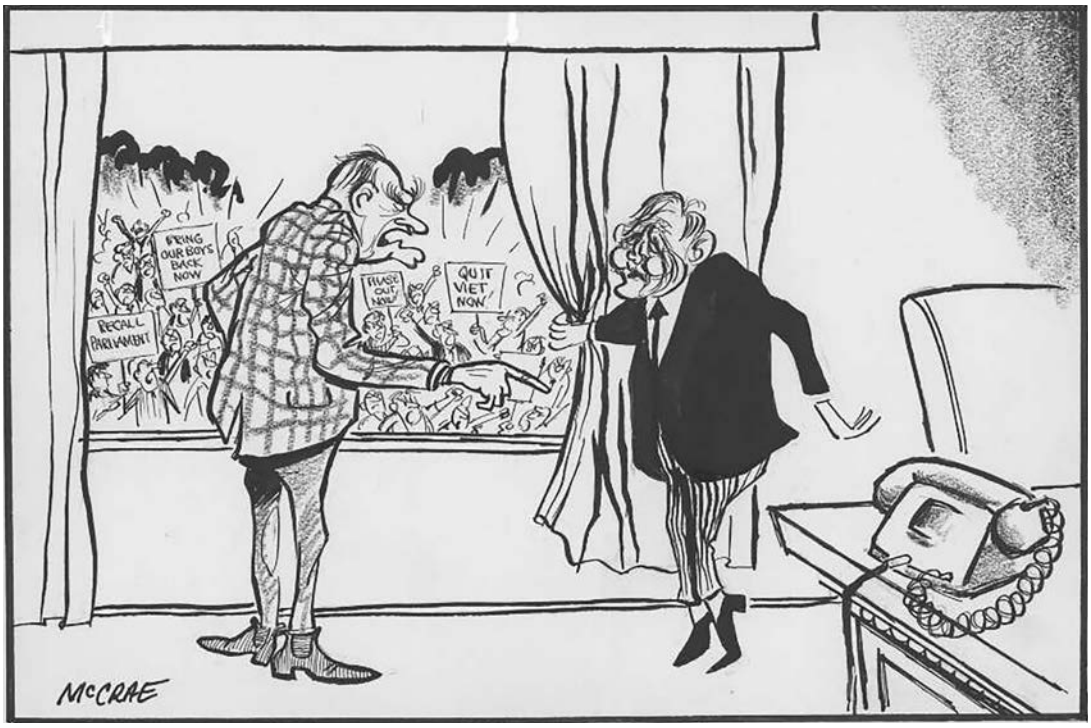

SOURCE 14.44 Stewart McCrae, 1970. The caption reads: 'Let's take a risk for peace! Ring the President for a definite date for our withdrawal!'

Historical figures (L to R): Deputy-Prime Minister John McEwen and Prime Minister John Gorton (both 1968–71).

Responding to the cartoons

1. What does the cartoonist suggest are the reasons being considered for Australia's withdrawal from Vietnam?
2. How do these reasons compare with the historical evidence provided so far?
3. How are the cartoons a critical comment on Australian foreign policy and Australian politics?

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 4

Why did Australia withdraw from Vietnam without achieving its objectives?

1. Ranking reasons

Working in pairs, rank the reasons for why Australia withdrew from the Vietnam War before meeting its objectives, from the most significant to the least significant. The reasons are listed below. Be prepared to justify your decisions.

- Moratorium campaign
- Shift in popular attitudes to the war
- US policy revision

2. Conducting research

Conduct research into opposition to the war by consulting the Australian Living Peace Museum website (available at https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10543). Learn about the three phases of opposition to the war and the achievements of the anti-war movement.

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3. Taking a position in a four-corner debate on the Moratorium demonstrations

Take a position ('Agree', 'Strongly agree', 'Disagree' or 'Strongly disagree') on the following statement in a class debate. The debate begins with you moving to the part of the room that best reflects your position. If you are unsure, remain in the middle. As the debate proceeds, you can move positions in keeping with how your views are being shaped by the debate.

Statement: *The Moratorium demonstrations played a limited role in the Australian Government's decision to withdraw troops from Vietnam.*

4. Delving deeper – My Lai massacre

Locate detailed online accounts of the massacre, its wider context, the eventual prosecution of a perpetrator, Lt William Calley, and the debates within US society about what he and his men did. Also find out about the photographer Ron Haeberle and the complicated story of how his photos were eventually published.

SUB-QUESTION 5: What have historians said about why Australia withdrew from Vietnam without achieving its objectives?

SOURCE 14.45 History writer Scott Brodie, 1987

The strength and determination of the moratorium demonstrations frightened a government already in disarray from internal factional-fighting and in an advanced state of decay. Pressure from the moratorium movement combined with the American policy of phased withdrawal, led to the Gorton government's announcement of a reduction in troop numbers serving with the Task Force in Vietnam.

Scott Brodie, *Tilting at Dominoes: Australia and the Vietnam War*, 1987, p. 150

SOURCE 14.46 Department of Veterans' Affairs, undated

But public opinion and public protest played a relatively small role in policy decisions about Vietnam. Australia's withdrawal from the war was already underway in the early 1970s when widespread protests, known as moratorium marches, took place in the country's major cities. All through the war Australia followed America's lead (often with regional concerns at the forefront of government thinking) and once the United States decided to leave Vietnam, Australia was left with no choice but to follow suit.

'Australia and the Vietnam War – Public opinion', Department of Veterans' Affairs website

SOURCE 14.47 Historian Dr John Murphy, 1993

Before the Moratorium, the government had decided on a gradual and reluctant withdrawal, though not a result of 'the power of the streets' – the peace movement was still in a trough and the debate had stilled [in 1969]. The shift in public opinion may have been one consideration, but principally the conservatives were responding to pressure not from the streets but from the Americans, who were plainly – and unilaterally – changing the basis of foreign policy. The ... statement, on 22 April 1970, that a battalion would be withdrawn in November, gave substance to Gorton's earlier ambiguities. It, too, predated the Moratorium, though the timing – some two weeks before the first march – may have been a pre-emptive response to it. The conservatives had begun their retreat in the face of the inevitable just as the Moratorium mobilisation began.

Dr John Murphy, *Harvest of Fear: A History of Australia's Vietnam War*, 1993, pp. 243–4

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SOURCE 14.48 Military history academic Mark Dapin, 2014

As to the moratoriums, their effect on public opinion seems to have been misunderstood. They called for the end of the war and the return of the troops, and the war subsequently ended and the troops came home – but there was not necessarily a causal connection. There is no evidence the government altered the timing of Australian troop withdrawals in response to the protesters, rather than the actions of the US, nor that the protests won over public opinion, rather than reflecting changed sentiment. The first Australian moratorium had been followed by a second large national mobilisation in September [1970]. In the wake of both demonstrations, and almost a year of revelations about the US massacre in My Lai, the Australian population had become more stridently pro-war. By October 1970, 42 per cent of people agreed Australian troops should stay in Vietnam (the highest since August 1969) while only 50 per cent wanted them home (down 5 per cent since August 1969). If the moratoriums and the massacre had any effect on people's thinking, it was to turn the uncommitted against the anti-war movement.

Mark Dapin, *The Nashos' War: Australian National Servicemen and Vietnam*, 2014, pp. 351–2

REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 5

What have historians said about why Australia withdrew from Vietnam without achieving its objectives?

1. Outline what each source says about the role of the Moratorium protests and the role of the United States in the Australian Government's decision to withdraw troops from the Vietnam War. You might organise your notes by creating and completing a table like the one below.

Source	Role of the Moratorium protests	Role of the United States
History writer Scott Brodie (1987)		
Department of Veterans' Affairs (not dated)		
Historian Dr John Murphy (1993)		
Military history academic Mark Dapin (2014)		

2. Based on the evidence provided, which argument(s) do you support? Explain your choice.

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SUB-QUESTION 6: How did the Vietnam War end?

The last Australian battalion to leave Vietnam, the 4RAR, departed in November 1971. However, it was not until 11 January 1973 that the Governor-General issued a proclamation formally declaring the war to be at an end. The only combat troops remaining in Vietnam were a platoon guarding the Australian Embassy in Saigon, which was withdrawn in June 1973.

From the time of the arrival of the first Australian military advisers in 1962, over 60 000 Australians, including ground troops and air force and navy personnel, served in Vietnam. Of these troops, 523 were killed and almost 2400 were wounded (Australian War Memorial, n.d.). By comparison, more than 2.5 million Americans served in Vietnam; 58 220 were killed and approximately 300 000 wounded (Defense Casualty Analysis System, n.d.).

While the last US troops left Saigon in January 1973, the political provisions of the Paris Agreement (1973), which sought to resolve the Vietnam War, were never implemented and fighting between communists and anti-communists continued. The early months of 1975 saw large-scale communist advances in the South. On 21 April 1975, the president of South Vietnam resigned. North and South Vietnam were formally joined under communist rule on 2 July 1976.

The US military withdrawal from Vietnam in 1973 was the culmination of a major shift in foreign policy that had been flagged in the Nixon Doctrine in July 1969. This doctrine proclaimed that although the United States would honour its treaty commitments and provide military and economic assistance, it expected its allies to provide their own defence. This was widely interpreted to mean that the United States would not again be drawn into a land war in South-East Asia. US bases in Thailand were closed and in 1977 SEATO was allowed to lapse. According to Karl Jackson from Johns Hopkins University (2004:20), US policy in South-East Asia was characterised by 'benign neglect and missed opportunities'.

Despite this, a striking fact about the outcome of the Vietnam War was that no dominoes fell outside of Indochina. In many ways, anti-communist and neutralist forces were strengthened in the rest of South-East Asia during the decade 1965 to 1975. In these years, the Malaysian Federation was consolidated; Thailand was secured; the Communist PKI Party was eliminated in Indonesia; and a new regional organisation, ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), committed to neutralism and non-interventionist principles, emerged.

Reflecting on these outcomes after 1975, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser (1975–83) claimed that 'the cause was right', but that the strategy and tactics went 'hopelessly wrong'. In contrast, opponents of the war, such as former Labor minister Jim Cairns, fundamentally differed from this view by refusing to accept the rightness of the US and Australian intervention. This was largely because these governments interpreted the North Vietnamese cause not simply as communist but as also genuinely nationalist. In this vein, one US critic, Frances FitzGerald, argued that the West's war in Vietnam was always unwinnable since the triumph of the revolution was assured by the forces of Vietnamese history (FitzGerald, 1972). Renowned critic of US foreign policy, Noam Chomsky, took that analysis further, locating the Vietnam War in a broader context of post-1945 geopolitics. He stated in 1979 that the 'US war in Indochina began as one of innumerable examples of counterrevolutionary intervention throughout the world. … It was gradually transformed into one of the most destructive and murderous attacks on a civilian population in history'.

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REFLECTING ON SUB-QUESTION 6

How did the Vietnam War end?

1. Does the information in this section suggest that at least one of Australia's objectives in Vietnam was partially met? If so, which one and how? (Key objectives included win the war, eliminate the threat of communism, and secure US protection and its presence in Asia.) What information is provided to suggest that Australia's two other objectives were not achieved?
2. The Vietnam War was the most controversial war that Australia participated in during the twentieth century. Based on the commentary by Fraser, Cairns, FitzGerald and Chomsky, why might this be the case?

SYNTHESISING

In this activity, synthesise what you have learned from the historical sources and the narrative text to answer the key inquiry question: Why did Australia commit ground troops to a war in Vietnam and later withdraw those troops without achieving its objectives?

1. Below is a list of reasons as to why Australia committed ground troops to the conflict in Vietnam. Create and complete a table like the one below, and next to each reason identify the best source(s) and evidence to support this reason.

Reasons why Australia committed troops to Vietnam	Best source(s) and the evidence to support this reason
Perceived fear of communism	
National security and treaty obligations	
Pressure from the United States	
Australian initiatives – seeking a way in	
Request from South Vietnam	

2. Based on what you have learned in this chapter (sub-questions 2 and 3), as well as further research, write an essay of 1500 to 2000 words in response to the following question: *To what extent was Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War (1965–73) based on national self-interest?*
3. Below is a list of reasons as to why Australia withdrew its troops from the war in Vietnam before meeting its objectives. Create and complete a table like the one below, and next to each reason identify the best source(s) and evidence to support this reason.

Reasons why Australia withdrew from Vietnam	Best source(s) and the evidence in this source for this point
Moratorium campaign	
Shift in popular attitudes to the war	
USA policy revision	

4. Based on what you have learned in this chapter (sub-questions 4 and 5), as well as further research, write an essay of 1500 to 2000 words in response to the following question: *To what extent was public opposition to the Vietnam War a significant factor in the Australian Government's decision to withdraw its troops from 1970 to 1972?*

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CONCLUDING STUDY
Significance and legacy

Significance at the time

Long Tan Cross and battle

No other object associated with the Vietnam War has the emotional importance of the Long Tan Cross to Australian veterans. After being erected at the site of Australia's most well-known battle almost 55 years ago, it was returned in secret to Australia in November 2017. Prior to its return, it was one of only two memorials to foreign forces that were officially allowed in Vietnam. (The other is the memorial to French forces at Dien Bien Phu.)

A photograph of the Long Tan Cross dedication in 1969, three years after the actual battle, is pictured in Source 14.49. The original cross can now be found in the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

DOC

Source **14.49** The Long Tan Cross dedication, 1969

AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL EKN/69/0085/VN

SOURCE 14.49 The Long Tan Cross dedication, 1969

Responding to the photograph

1. Why might the Long Tan Cross be so important to Vietnam veterans? What might it symbolise?
2. Discuss the phenomenon of memorials being placed in countries where devastating wars have been fought. Imagine the thoughts and feelings of the local people living near such a memorial, particularly in cases where the adversaries were considered 'invaders'. Imagine why visiting such memorials might be so important for the foreign visitors. Discuss whether this practice could have both positive and negative effects.

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According to then Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, the return of the cross was a 'great act of generosity' by the Vietnamese Government. A condition of this goodwill gesture was that no publicity was to surround the handover of the cross. For decades, the annual commemoration of the 1966 battle by Australians has been a sensitive issue in Vietnam. Accordingly, visitors to the memorial were not allowed to wear uniforms, display medals or play music. In 2016, the Vietnamese Government unexpectedly cancelled the 50th anniversary commemorations at the last minute. The government went further in 2017 when it controversially decided to ban access to the site for Australians wanting to visit for the annual commemorations. The return of the Long Tan cross later that year effectively took away the commemorative site in Vietnam that Australian soldiers visited annually.

Activity **14.9**

Research task

Find out why the Battle of Long Tan is such an important site for Australians and such a sensitive one for the Vietnamese.

Three sources that you might find helpful to give you an understanding of the battle are:

- an article by Ashley Ekins, entitled 'A very close thing indeed', on the Australian War Memorial website, which gives an account of the battle: access it via https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10544.
- a 17-minute animation from the Army Museum of Western Australia, which gives context to the Battle of Long Tan and shows how the battle unfolded: access it via https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10545.
- a *60 Minutes* report (2010) on the Battle of Long Tan, which features veteran soldiers from both the Australian and Vietnamese military on the site of the battlefield and brings the battle to life: access it via https://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/10546.

Legacy – significance for today

Vietnam Veterans

A major legacy of the Vietnam War is the impact on those who served, and by extension their friends and family. Peter Edwards (2014:277) maintains that while this story is a 'complex' one, there are three discernible strands:

1. the reception given to veterans returning from the war
2. the impact of post-traumatic stress on the health of veterans
3. the effect of toxic chemicals and herbicides (primarily Agent Orange).

In addition, 'moral injury' is cited as another ongoing impact of the Vietnam War on many soldiers who served, being linked to their mental pain and alienation. Moral injury is the damage done to an individual's conscience when they perform an act or fail to prevent an act that goes against their personal values or ethical code of conduct.

Activity **14.10**

Research task

Choose one of the impacts listed and conduct research to discover how it affected Australian soldiers who fought in Vietnam.

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Impact of the war on the Vietnamese people

In 1995, the Vietnam Government released its official estimate of the number of people killed during the Vietnam War: as many as two million civilians on each side and some one million North Vietnamese and Viet Cong fighters. The US military has estimated that between 200 000 and 250 000 South Vietnamese soldiers died.

These statistics fail to communicate the unspeakable devastation and trauma that the war brought to the Vietnamese people. However, one image above all, which has become the defining image of the war, did that.

The photo features a naked nine-year-old Phan Thi Kim Phuc, known as 'Napalm Girl', fleeing her village in South Vietnam after a mistaken napalm attack by the South Vietnamese Air Force. (The village of Trang Bang had been captured by the NVA, and the SVA was trying to take it back.)

Source **14.50** 'Napalm Girl', 8 June 1972

SOURCE 14.50 *The Terror of War*, 8 June 1972. Phan Thi Kim Phuc, her brother (front left) and other children flee their burning village, surrounded by soldiers, war correspondents and journalists. Photographer: Nick Ut.

Responding to the photograph

1. Nick Ut, the Vietnamese-American photographer who took this photo, won the prestigious Pulitzer Prize for news photography and the World Press Photo of the Year in 1973 for this photograph. What makes this an award-winning photograph?
2. If a photograph could stop a war, this one would. Do you agree? Explain.

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Australia's first 'boat people'

After the Vietnam War, Vietnamese people who had opposed the communists left the country in a mass exodus between 1975 and 1995. Those who fled by boat or ship came to be known as 'boat people'. The first boat people to arrive on Australian shores in 1976 were five young Vietnamese refugees escaping the aftermath of the war. This was the beginning of a surge in Vietnamese migration to Australia. Prior to 1975, there were about 700 Vietnam-born people in Australia; as at June 2023, the Australian Bureau of Statistics estimated nearly 299 000 people were born in Vietnam. Many of these refugees and immigrants have made major contributions to Australian society.

Activity **14.11**

Research Vietnamese Australians

Seek out the *Wikipedia* page on 'Vietnamese Australians' to discover their history, demographics and outstanding individuals. Scan the list of individuals, divide selected individuals between the class, and research one. Share your findings with the class, noting the scope and diversity of the collective contribution of this group.

Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War represents a complex and ultimately controversial chapter in the nation's history. The legacy of the war is multifaceted, encompassing both the immediate impact on those who served and those who came under attack, as well as the broader societal consequences that have helped shape a multicultural Australia.

SOURCE 14.51 Refugees from South Vietnam, flown to Sydney after arriving by boat on the Western Australian coast, 1977.

Look into the faces of the various individuals in the photo and choose one word or phrase to describe how they might be feeling. Each word/phrase needs to be unique to that person

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