Analysing
Twentieth
Century History

Units 1 & 2

Richard Malone

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Foreword

> *A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots.*
>
> – MARCUS GARVEY

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

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

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

This book explores the most significant events of the twentieth century. Stirring and horrific. Memorable and infamous. Unit 1 focuses on 1918–1939; Part 1 examines ideology and change in Russia, Japan, Germany and Italy, while Part 2 provides close studies of social and cultural changes in Germany and the United States of America. Unit 2 focuses on the competing ideologies of post-World War II capitalism and communism during the Cold War. The years 1945–2000 were also a period of monumental social change. Anti-apartheid in South Africa and civil rights in the United States are explored.

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

Richard Malone

> *May God bless you with discomfort at easy answers, half-truths, superficial relationships, so that you will live deep within your heart.*
>
> *May God bless you with anger at injustice, oppression and exploitation of people, so that you will work for justice, equality and peace.*
>
> *May God bless you with tears to shed for those who suffer from pain, rejection, starvation and war, so that you will reach out your hand to comfort them and change their pain to joy.*
>
> *And may God bless you with the foolishness to think that you can make a difference in the world, so that you will do things which others tell you cannot be done.*
>
> – ANONYMOUS

About the author

Richard Malone is a popular author and presenter in many topics of history. He is currently Head of Middle School at Caulfield Grammar School and was previously the 10–12 Learning Area Leader for Humanities for several years. He is a regular presenter at History conferences and lecture series and has been a VCAA Examiner for Revolutions. Richard has published several secondary textbooks including *Analysing the Russian Revolution*, *Monumental Humanities*, *Analysing Modern History* and *Analysing Twentieth Century History*. Richard has also written for *History 7 for the Australian Curriculum* and *History 10 for the Australian Curriculum*. He attended the 2015 Dawn Service in Gallipoli for the Anzac centenary, which he describes as a life highlight.

Acknowledgements

To my family who enrich life.

Kerryn – I can never truly thank you enough. You not only support my visions and passions but share in pursuit of them. I love having you in my world.

Abbey – you have a maturity of thinking and spark for life that eludes many adults.

Jacob – I celebrate your courageous heart and admire your deep sense of loyalty. Keep loving what you do.

Hudson – your humour and insights make you a contagiously positive influence on everyone.

Image acknowledgements

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How to use this resource

STRUCTURE

This resource covers Units 1 and 2 of the VCAA VCE History: Twentieth Century History study design. Unit 1 covers the period 1918–1939 and Unit 2 covers the period 1945–2000. Each unit is broken into two parts, aligning with the Areas of Study.

Part openers give a broad **overview** of the key concepts and include **timelines** to provide a visual framework and support comprehension and understanding of the events.

Chapter openers include **flow of chapter** mind maps that set out the chapter visually and **key issues** to encourage students to ask questions that shape historical inquiry.

Significant individual boxes tell the stories of key personalities from the twentieth century.

Focus questions include a range of questions for developing key knowledge and skills.

Research questions encourage students to explore different interpretations of the twentieth century.

A matter of fact boxes highlight interesting information to enrich learning.

Analysis activities explore key terminology and primary and secondary historical sources to help develop understanding of the twentieth century as well as essential historical skills.

The story so far chapter summaries provide a review of the main events covered and help prepare students for the **chapter review** activities. **Short-answer**, **analysis** and **extended-response questions** encourage students to recall and synthesise information learned in the chapter, while also building on key knowledge and skills.
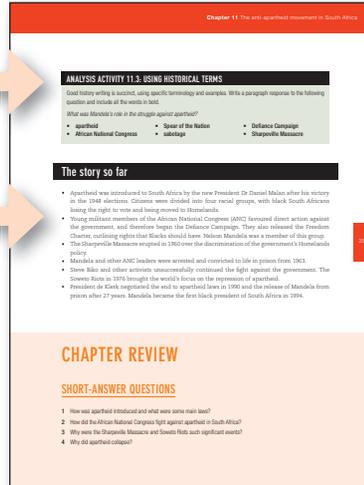
Further digital resources are available in the **Interactive Textbook** and on *Cambridge GO*:

• **PDF Textbook** – downloadable, includes note taking and search functions
• **Downloadable worksheets** – in Word format available for all activities
• **Links to history** – provide weblinks to interesting resources
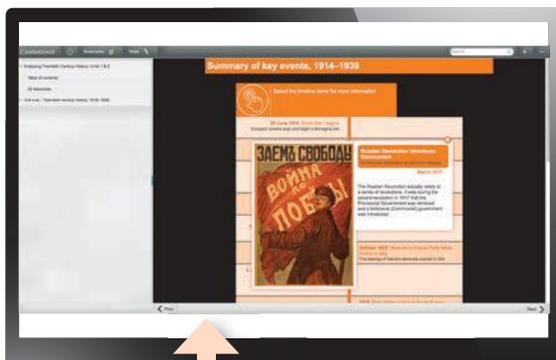
Widgets are interactive tools designed to help enhance your digital learning experience.

Interactive activities (e.g. drag and drop questions) assist recall of facts and understanding of concepts.

unit one

AOS 1

Twentieth century history, 1918–1939
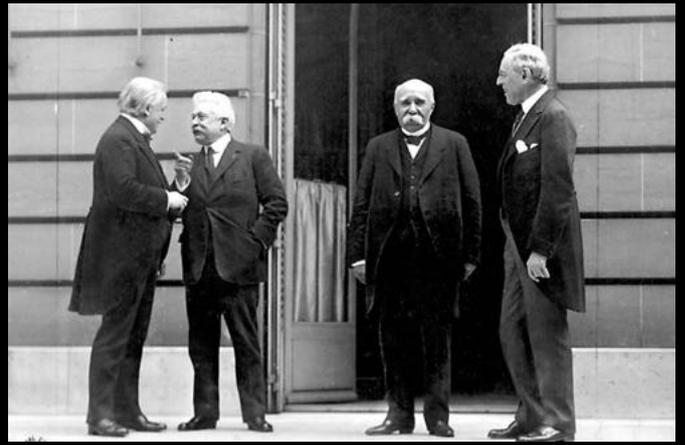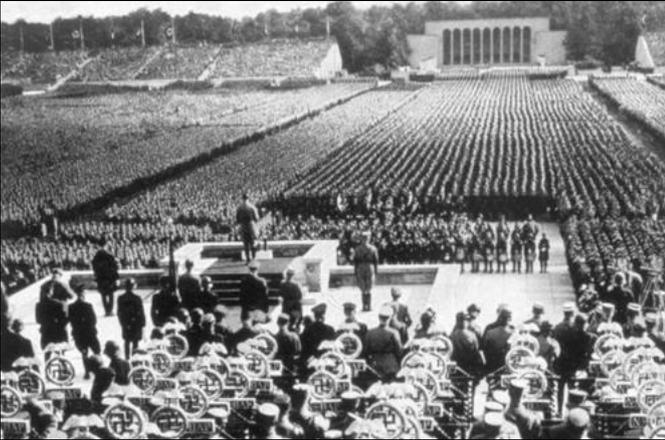
part one

Ideology and conflict

> " *All in all, I would not have missed this century for the world.*
>
> – GORE VIDAL, AMERICAN AUTHOR "

OVERVIEW

The conflict of the Great War (World War I) marked the end of traditional empires and the beginning of a new era. Many historians consider World War I as the real beginning of the twentieth century because it left behind the known peaceful past. Most significantly, the war directly influenced the following decades. The war had challenged old certainties and reshaped the world as it had been known.

Therefore, Part 1 explores the events, ideologies and movements that emerged after World War I and how each of these contributed to the development of World War II. The chapters that follow investigate the Versailles Treaty, which concluded the Great War by enforcing strict conditions on the conquered nations, redrawing the map of Europe and breaking up defeated empires. The League of Nations was also established as an organisation to keep peace and security between nations.

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

- Communism in Russia
- Fascism in Italy
- Nazism in Germany
- Militarism in Japan

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

KEY CONCEPTS

- Fascism
- Ideology
- Imperialism
- Internationalism
- Militarism

- Nationalism
- Nazism
- Racism
- Rearmament

SUMMARY OF KEY EVENTS, 1914–1939

Year	Event	Significance
1914	**28 June:** World War I begins	European powers align and begin a damaging war
1917	**March:** Russian Revolution introduces Communism	Communism becomes a government ideology
1918	**11 November:** World War I ends	Peace is achieved but the course of the twentieth century is permanently changed for Western countries
1919	**28 June:** Versailles Treaty signed	World leaders impose significant restrictions on Germany and other empires are divided
1920	**28 June:** League of Nations formed	Promoted by US president Wilson, a peacekeeping organisation is established
1922	**October:** Mussolini's Fascist Party takes control in Italy	The ideology of fascism becomes popular in Italy
1925	**3 January:** Mussolini declared dictator in Italy	Mussolini becomes the first of a series of powerful dictators who dominate the interwar years
1928	Stalin takes control of Soviet Russia	Stalin's dictatorship lasts for 25 years
1929	**29 October:** Wall Street stock market crash, New York	Worldwide Great Depression begins
1951	**19 September:** Militaristic Japan invades Manchuria	Japan begins its aggressive territorial expansion of the 1930s
1933	**30 January:** Hitler's Nazi Party takes control of Germany	The growing popularity of Hitler forces President Hindenburg to select Hitler as Chancellor
1934	**August:** Hitler declared dictator in Germany	After a mere 18 months, Hitler has used his political position to gain total control over Germany
1935	**October:** Mussolini invades Abyssinia (Ethiopia)	League of Nations fails to stop fascist territorial aggression
1936	**6 November:** Germany, Italy and Japan sign the Anti-Comintern Pact	These countries begin developing a war mindset
1937	**7 July:** Japan declares war on China	Japan's territorial aggression continues with a rapid defeat of China's main cities and ports
1938	**12 March:** Hitler takes over Austria and Czechoslovakia	Hitler continues to break the conditions of the Versailles Treaty and militarily expand Germany's territory
1939	**September:** World War II begins as Germany invades Poland	World War II begins
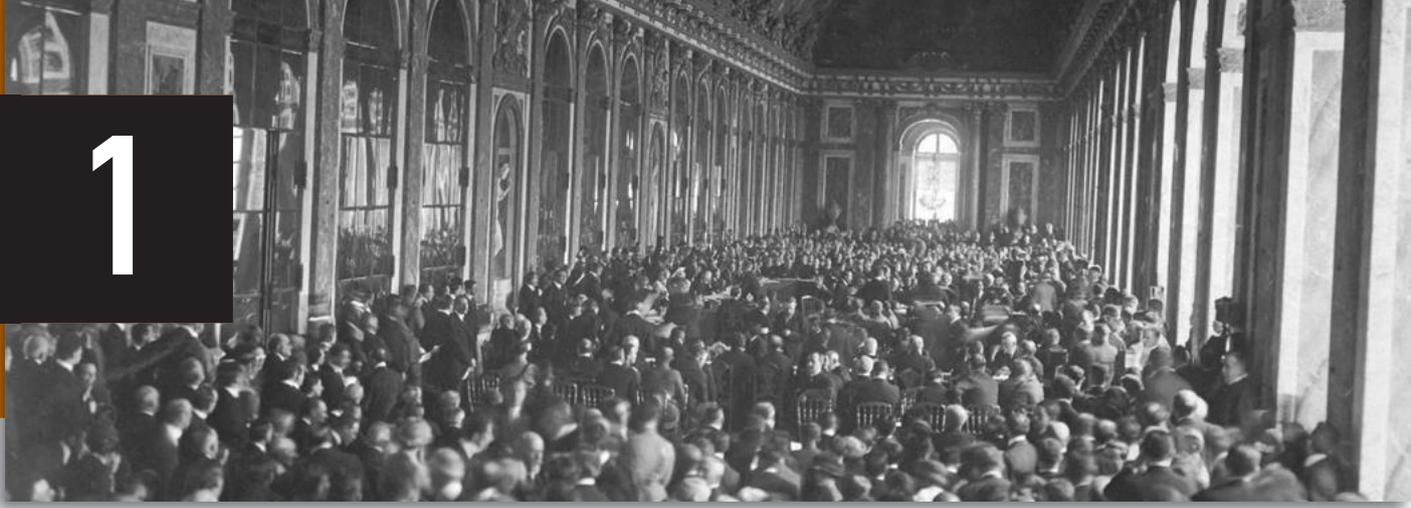
Post World War I

> " *At eleven o'clock this morning came to an end the cruellest and most terrible war that has ever scourged mankind. I hope we may say that thus, this fateful morning, came to an end all wars.*
>
> – DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, 11 MARCH 1918 "

OVERVIEW

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

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

KEY ISSUES

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

FLOW OF CHAPTER

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Economic and political
sanctions                                    Redrawing borders

                    END OF WORLD WAR I        Reparations

United States – Wilson's
14 Points                                    Loss of territory


                    VERSAILLES CONFERENCE
                    AND TREATY


                    GERMANY'S REACTION TO THE
                    VERSAILLES TREATY


                    FORMATION OF
                    LEAGUE OF NATIONS
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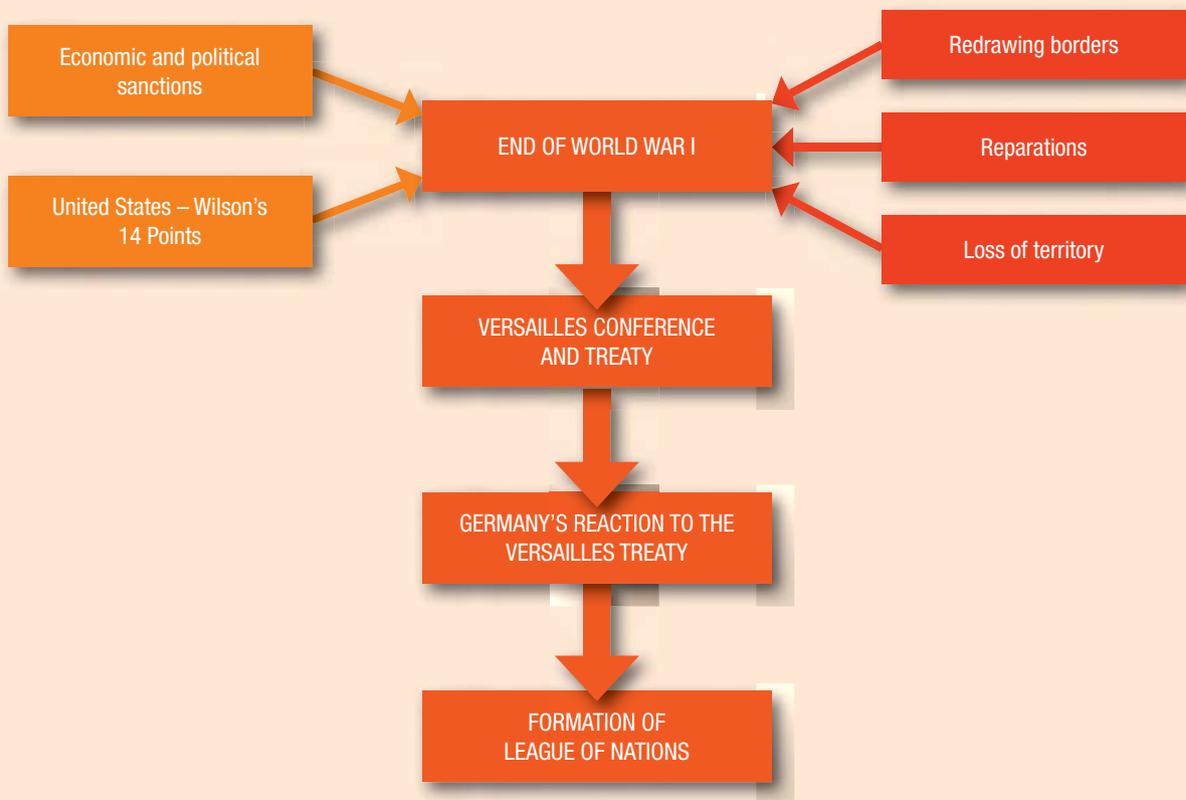
1.1 The end of World War I

War ends

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

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

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

A MATTER OF FACT

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

The cost of war

The Australian War Memorial in Canberra website states that, 'For Australia, as for many nations, the First World War remains the most costly conflict in terms of deaths and casualties. From a population of fewer than five million, 416 809 men enlisted, of whom over 60 000 were killed and 156 000 wounded, gassed, or taken prisoner.' In comparison, Germany lost just over 1.7 million soldiers, four times more dead than Australia even sent to war.

casualty a person killed or wounded in war

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

A MATTER OF FACT

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

Focus question

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

Source 1.1 A destroyed German trench with four dead soldiers, from the Haig official photographs series

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 1.1

Due to the horror and unpredictability of World War I, exact figures of casualties and deaths are difficult to determine. Source 1.2 shows the accepted figures by many historians. Australian figures are included as part of the British Empire but have been added in as a separate listing for interest and comparison.

Source 1.2 Deaths and casualities of World War I

Country	Total mobilised forces	Killed	Wounded	Prisoners and missing	Total casualties	Casualties as % of forces
Allied and associated powers						
British Empire	8 904 467	908 371	2 090 212	191 652	3 190 235	35.8
Australia	416 809	61 516	155 133	4 044	220 693	64.8
Russia	12 000 000	1 700 000	4 950 000	2 500 000	9 150 000	76.3
France	8 410 000	1 357 800	4 266 000	537 000	6 160 800	73.3
Italy	5 615 000	650 000	947 000	600 000	2 197 000	39.1
United States	4 355 000	116 516	204 002	4 500	323 018	7.1

(continued)

Country	Total mobilised forces	Killed	Wounded	Prisoners and missing	Total casualties	Casualties as % of forces
Japan	800 000	300	907	3	1 210	0.2
Romania	750 000	335 706	120 000	80 000	535 706	71.4
Serbia	707 343	45 000	133 148	152 958	331 106	46.8
Belgium	267 000	13 716	44 686	34 659	93 061	34.9
Greece	230 000	5 000	21 000	1 000	27 000	11.7
Portugal	100 000	7 222	13 751	12 318	33 291	33.3
Montenegro	50 000	3 000	10 000	7 000	20 000	40.0
Total	*42 188 810*	*5 142 631*	*12 800 706*	*4 121 090*	*22 062 427*	*52.3*
Central and associated powers						
Germany	11 000 000	1 773 700	4 216 058	1 152 800	7 142 558	64.9
Austria-Hungary	7 800 000	1 200 000	3 620 000	2 200 000	7 020 000	90.0
Turkey	2 850 000	325 000	400 000	250 000	975 000	34.2
Bulgaria	1 200 000	87 500	152 390	27 029	266 919	22.2
Total	*22 850 000*	*3 386 200*	*8 388 448*	*3 629 829*	*15 404 477*	*67.4*
Grand total	**65 038 810**	**8 528 831**	**21 189 154**	**7 750 919**	**37 466 904**	**57.5**

Source: http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/resources/casdeath_pop.html

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

1.2 The Treaty of Versailles, 1919

Focus questions

1 Why did the main leaders have such different attitudes?
2 What were the major outcomes that each leader was promoting?

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

Although 32 countries met at the Versailles Palace, the major decisions were made by the 'Big Three' – France, Great Britain and the United States. All three leaders wanted to stop a war ever happening again, but they did not agree about how to do this. They wanted different things from the peace and, as a result, they did not get on well.

Source 1.3 The three most important men at the Paris Peace Conference at Versailles – 'the Big Three' – were: Woodrow Wilson, the President of America (far right); Georges Clemenceau, the Prime Minister of France (second right); and David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Britain (far left, talking to Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, the Prime Minister of Italy)

French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau

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

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

Georges Clemenceau, debating with Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George

Source 1.4 French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau
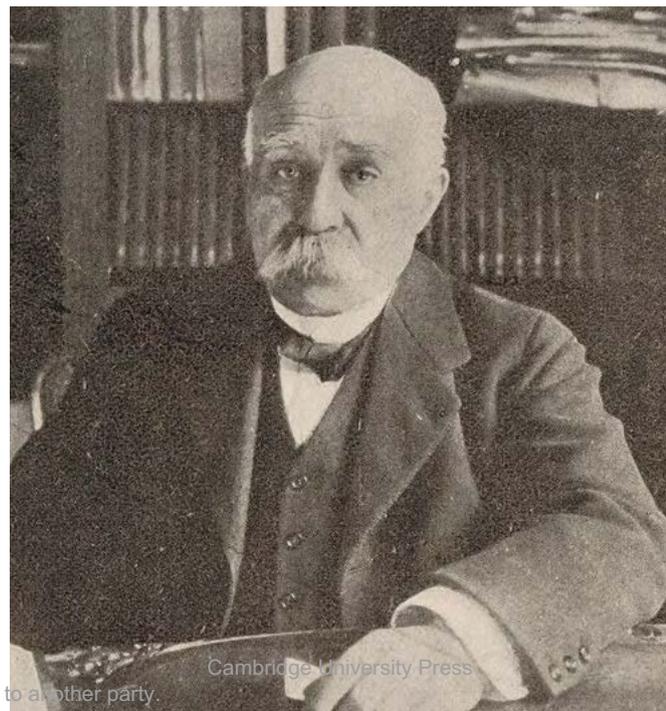
British Prime Minister David Lloyd George

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

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

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

Lloyd George speaking to Parliament (1919)
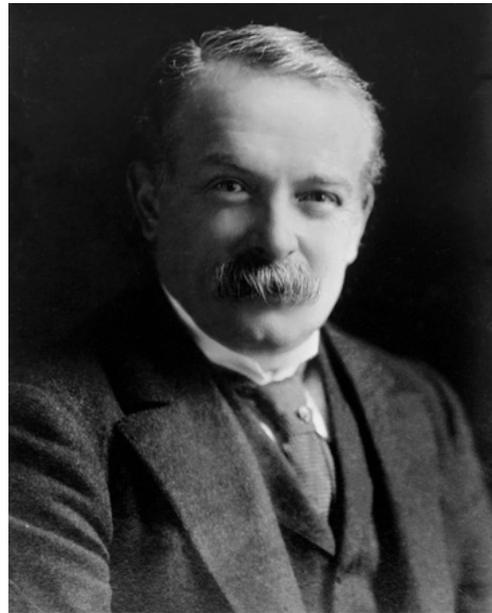
Source 1.5 British Prime Minister Lloyd George

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

David Lloyd George at Versailles

US President Woodrow Wilson

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

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

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

President Wilson's 14 Points

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

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

Source 1.6 US President Woodrow Wilson

8 *France* – Should have Alsace-Lorraine and any lands taken away during the war restored.
9 *Italy* – The Italian border should be readjusted according to nationality.
10 *National Self-determination* – The national groups in Europe should, wherever possible, be given their independence.
11 *Romania, Montenegro and Serbia* – Should be evacuated and Serbia should have an outlet to the sea.
12 *Turkey* – The people of Turkey should have a say in their future.
13 *Poland* – Poland should become an independent state with an outlet to the sea.
14 *League of Nations* – An assembly of all nations should be formed to protect world peace in the future.

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

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1.3 Conditions of the Treaty

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

Redrawing of the borders

Reparations

A fine of £6600 million (over A$15 billion in current conversion rates) was imposed on Germany to pay the Allies' war costs. This was called 'reparations' because the money would literally be used to repair the damage caused by the war. The majority of this money went to France and Belgium, given the

Source 1.8 Territory lost by Germany after the Treaty of Versailles

massive destruction in those countries. The demand was that this money should be paid each year for the next 70 years, until completely paid in 1988.

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

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

Loss of territory and population

Land

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

Colonies

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

Economic and political sanctions

Military

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

Industry

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

Alliances

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

Forced acceptance of guilt

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

Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles read that

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

1.4 German responses to the Treaty

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

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

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

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

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

A MATTER OF FACT

After signing the Treaty of Versailles, the German delegates broke the pen in protest.
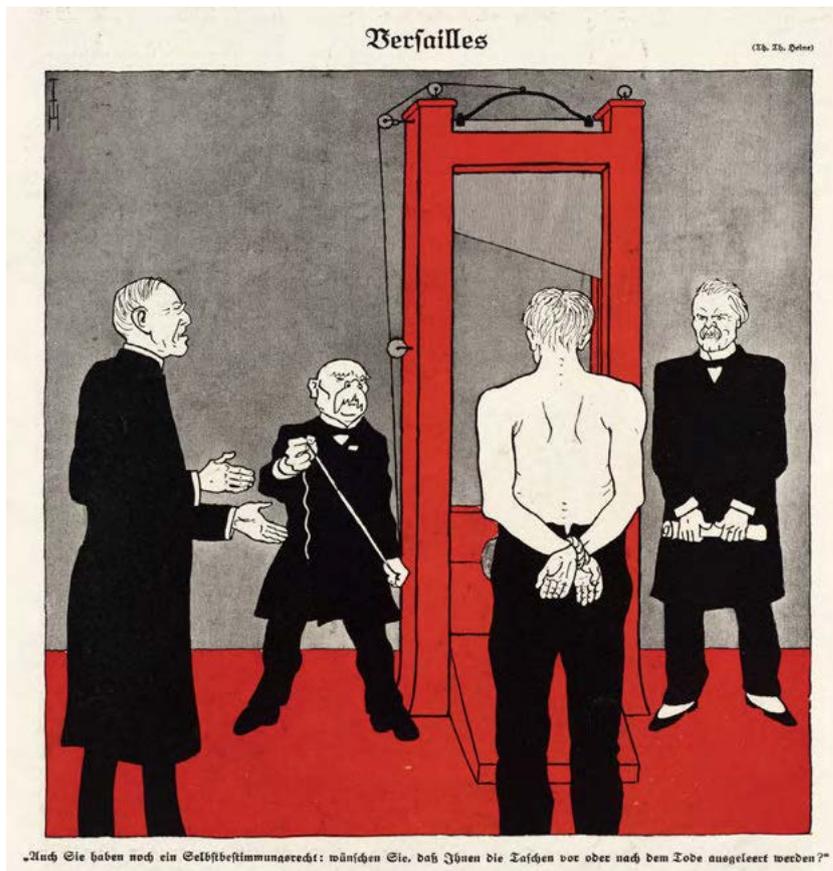
Source 1.9 A German cartoonist's version of the Treaty of Versailles, with Clemenceau ready to guillotine a man who represents Germany while Wilson (left) and Lloyd George (right) look on

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Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys

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

The other defeated nations

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

Austria – Treaty of St Germain, 10 September 1919

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

Hungary – Treaty of Trianon, 4 June 1920

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

Bulgaria – Treaty of Neuilly, 27 November 1919

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

Turkey – Treaty of Sevres, 20 August 1920

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

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1.5 **The League of Nations**

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

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

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

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

Source 1.10 Palais des Nations (Palace of Nations) in Geneva, Switzerland. This building was the headquarters of the League of Nations from 1936 until its dissolution in 1946.

The story so far

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

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1   What were the different attitudes of world leaders in creating peace?
2   What were the specific conditions of the Treaty of Versailles?
3   What was Germany's response to the Treaty of Versailles?

ANALYSE THE HISTORIAN'S VIEWS

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

Mentally, Germany was not prepared in 1919, to accept defeat. In 1914, the Germans entered the war with quite unreal assumptions about its origins, about its nature and about its objectives. They had developed a huge assembly of claims which, in fact, would have meant that Europe could be dominated by German hegemony totally, and were mentally not willing to forfeit this all in 1918–1919.

All of a sudden, we are confronted with what the bulk of the Germans considered an entirely unjust treaty. So resistance against this Treaty was enormous.

Source 1.11 Historian Wolfgang Mommsen

The Treaty of Versailles created a political climate in Germany in which the right put all the blame on everything that went sour, onto the Treaty and the lost war. And that created this climate in which many people then began to think one had to fight the war once again.

Basically, I think one can say the Treaty was harsh, but understandable.

1 According to Wolfgang Mommsen, what were Germany's aims at the start of the war?
2 List two strong words that Mommsen uses to describe the German attitude to the Treaty.
3 What was the political climate created in Germany by the Treaty?

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

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

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

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

2

Ideologies of the interwar period

> *It is wrong to have an ideal view of the world. That's where the mischief starts. That's where everything starts unravelling.*
>
> – V. S. NAIPAUL, TRINIDADIAN AUTHOR

OVERVIEW

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

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

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

KEY ISSUES

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

FLOW OF CHAPTER

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                    OLD IDEOLOGY:
                    IMPERIALISM
                         │
                         ▼
                  NEW IDEOLOGIES:
              THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM
          ┌──────────────┼──────────────┐
          ▼              ▼              ▼
  Communism and      Fascism         Nazism
    socialism
          │              │              │
          ▼              ▼              ▼
  Adopted by:      Adopted by:     Adopted by:
  Vladimir Lenin   Benito          Adolf Hitler
                   Mussolini
          │              │              │
          ▼              ▼              ▼
  Rise of          Rise of National  Rise of Nazi
  Bolshevik Party  Fascist Party     Party (NSDAP)
                   (PNF)
          │              │              │
          ▼              ▼              ▼
  Implemented in:  Implemented in:  Implemented in:
  RUSSIA 1917      ITALY 1922       GERMANY 1933
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22
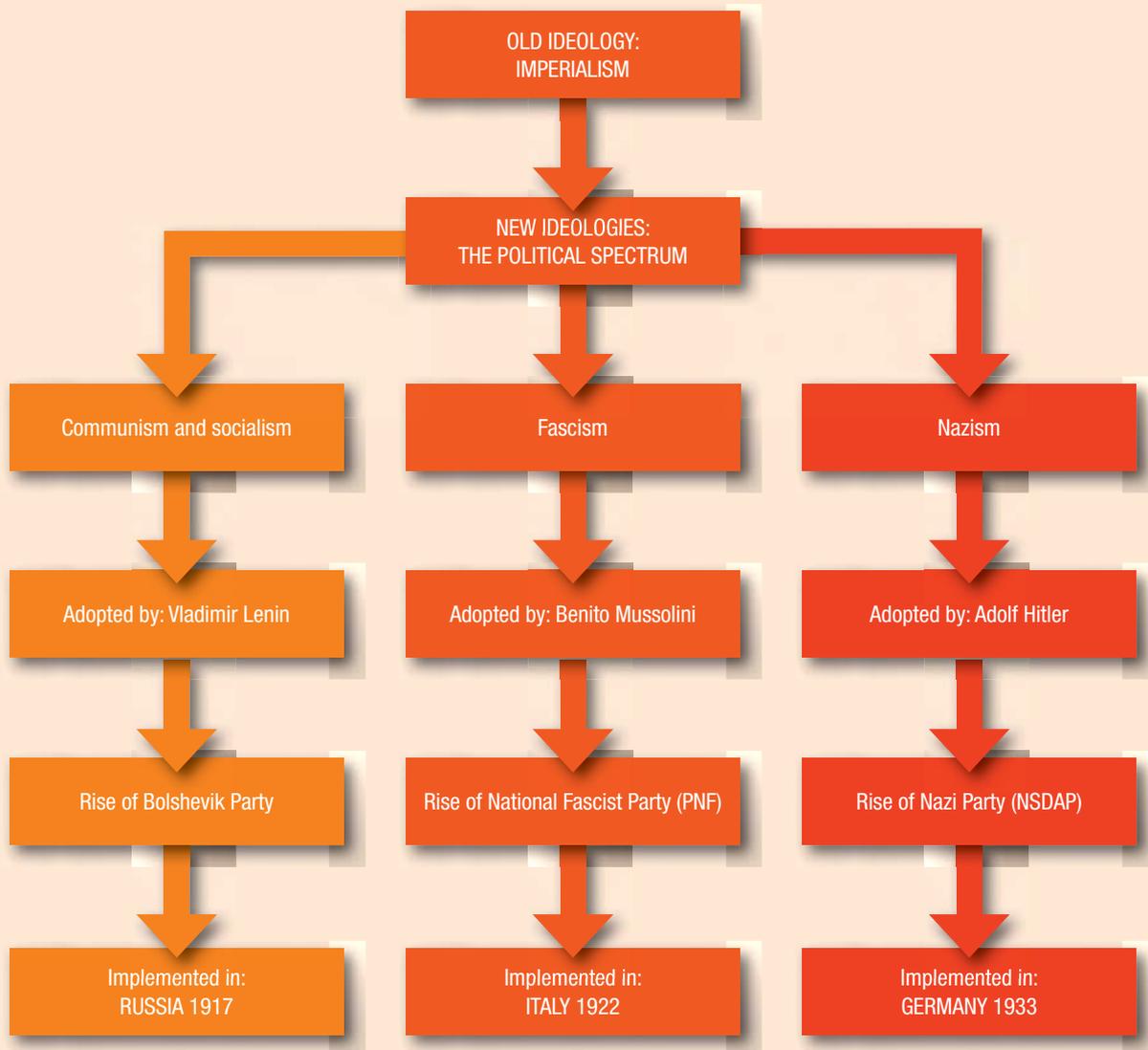
2.1 **Political ideologies**

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

Political spectrum

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

A MATTER OF FACT

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

The political spectrum divides political ideologies into three broad categories:

Right

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

Left

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

Centre

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

Stalin's Russia   1930s Japan   Mussolini's Italy   Hitler's Germany

| **Far left**
Radical | **Left of centre**
Liberal | **Centre**
Moderate | **Right of centre**
Conservative | **Far right**
Reactionary |
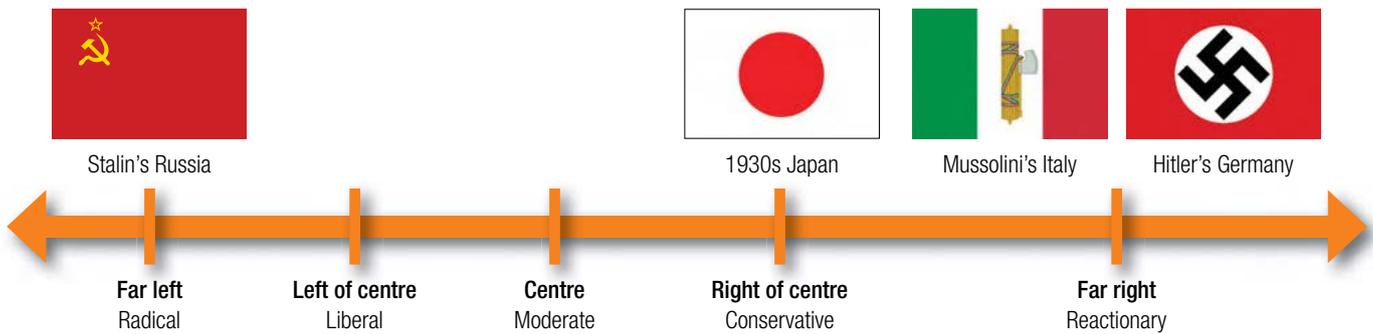
Source 2.1 An example of a traditional linear political spectrum illustrating the locations of the three political ideologies profiled in this chapter. Note that there are many other graphical representations that perhaps better represent the complexity of categorising these historical regimes.

2.2 Socialism and communism

Defining communism

In 1848, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote a world-changing pamphlet called *The Communist Manifesto*, outlining the problem of unfair work roles between the rich and poor classes. In the system of capitalism everything was owned and controlled by individuals, who could make a personal profit while their employees worked long hours in poor conditions. Marx and Engels' solution was a new system called communism, in which everything was owned and controlled by the community as a whole. Communism proclaimed that private enterprise and big business exploited the common worker, and therefore should be eliminated and replaced with government control.
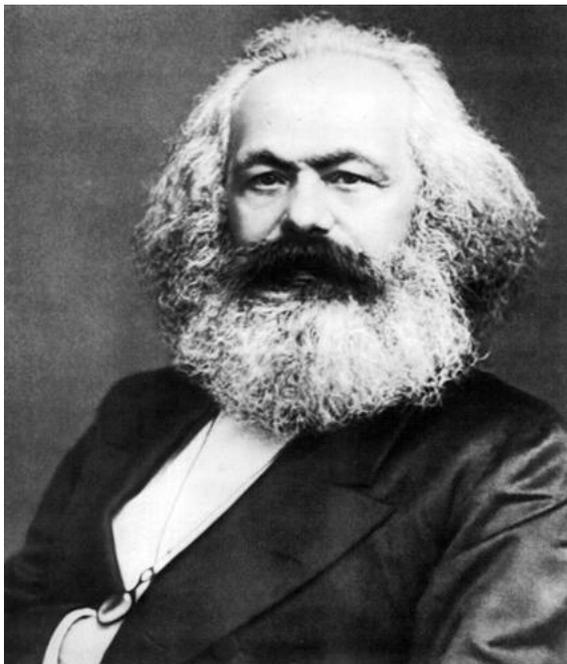
Source 2.2 Karl Marx

A MATTER OF FACT

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

Source 2.3 The symbol of communism, a hammer (worker) and sickle (peasant)

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Lenin's communist ideology in Russia

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

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

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

While Lenin introduced communism, it was Stalin who exploited it. Joseph Stalin gained total control of Russia after Lenin's death through his position as General Secretary of the Communist Party from 1922. Stalin's 26-year rule of the Soviet Union (1928–53) made economic advances and industrialised Russia, but at high social costs, including the removal of civil rights. Stalin eliminated all political and personal opposition through execution, deportation and exile to concentration camps,

Source 2.4 Vladimir Lenin

Source 2.5 Joseph Stalin

revolution an uprising that overthrows the political authority of the day

Romanov family dynasty that ruled Russia from 1613 to 1917

Tsar Russian name for King. The Tsar was the ruler of Russia.

called Gulags. In World War II, Stalin initially aligned with Nazi Germany, but switched and joined the Allied nations after Hitler invaded Russia, breaking the pact of non-aggression between Russia and Germany. Estimates are that 62 million Russians were killed under communist rule between 1917 and 1987. It is crucial to understand the beginnings of communism as by the end of World War II it had become one of the two most dominant world ideologies, and therefore receives considerable focus in Unit 2 of this book when the Cold War is analysed.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.1

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

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

2.3 Fascism

Defining fascism

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

In a fascist government system, total power is given to a dictator. Individual rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of the press are denied. The nation and its power are what counts, not the independence of the individual.

fasces image of power and unity from ancient Rome used as the fascist symbol
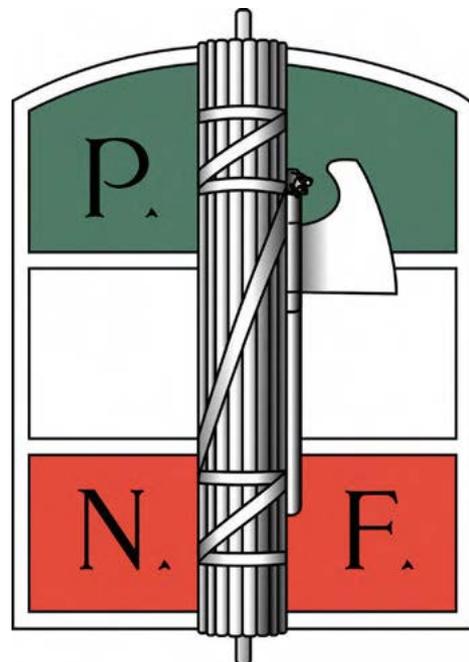
Source 2.6 The symbol of fascism, a Roman **fasces** on the Italian flag. Imagery of the ancient Roman fasces was used to suggest that fascism was as powerful as Rome had been. The image was of a bundle of sticks tied together, suggesting strength through unity. In ancient Rome, the fasces was a symbol of power and authority.

Fascism includes the following characteristics:

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

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL
Benito Mussolini's story (1883–1945)

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

His childhood

Benito Mussolini was born on 29 July 1883 in northern central Italy as the eldest of three siblings. His father was a blacksmith and active in political affairs but was described as having an 'unloving' relationship with young Benito. Employment prospects were so poor that Benito moved to Switzerland in 1902 where he became avidly involved in socialist politics as a 19 year old. Two years later he returned to Italy

Source 2.7 Mussolini greeting soldiers

and began working as a journalist for a socialist newspaper, *Avanti*, meaning 'Forward', and had become the editor by 1910. But his support for Italy's entry into World War I led to him being expelled from the Socialist Party as he had adopted an aggressive belief in territorial expansion to its 'natural frontiers'. He was drafted into the Italian army in September 1915, served on the front lines and was promoted to the rank of corporal, but was injured by a grenade explosion later that same year and discharged from service.

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

His family

Like his father, Benito was reported to have been a terrible family man and father. He had a secret family which was hidden by the Fascist Party after he became a prominent leader. He apparently put his first partner, Ida Dalser, into a lunatic asylum, calling her 'dangerous, unbalanced, and criminal' and an 'enemy alien'. He married Donna Rachele in

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1915 and they had four children; one daughter Edda (1910) was apparently his favourite and looked very much like her father, but she did not reciprocate his affection. She once remarked, 'There are only two solutions that will rehabilitate him in my eyes, to run away or to kill himself'. Benito also had three sons, Vittorio (1916) who was an enthusiastic fascist but helped negotiate the Italian surrender with the Allies in September 1943, Bruno (1918) who became an air-force pilot in the war but died testing a new bomber, and Romano (1927) who became a jazz pianist. Benito was also known to have many mistresses, the most famous being Clara Petacci.

His death

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

Focus question

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

A MATTER OF FACT

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

Mussolini's fascist ideology in Italy

Reaction to the Treaty of Versailles

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

Formation of Fascist Party and the Black Shirts

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

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

A MATTER OF FACT

Mussolini's preferred nickname was 'Iron Perfect'.

March on Rome

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

Elections: Use of fear and force

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

A MATTER OF FACT

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

Il Duce – 'the leader'

Between 1922 and 1925, Mussolini gradually removed all democratic policies and practices and declared himself a dictator, Il Duce, in 1925. He set about attempting to re-establish Italy as a

29

great European power. The regime was held together by strong state control and Mussolini's cult of personality. Mussolini's reign as dictator of Italy from 1925 is analysed in the next chapter.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.2: FISH BONE!

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

RISE OF FASCISM IN ITALY

1921 Formation of Fascist Party

1921 Formation of Black Shirts

1922 March on Rome

1924 Elections

1925 Il Duce

Mussolini's dictatorship

2.4 Nazism

Defining Nazism

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

Nazism includes the following characteristics:

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

Source 2.8 The symbol of Nazism, the swastika. The symbol is originally a sacred symbol of Hinduism and Buddhism; however, the Nazis adopted it in 1920 to display the 'struggle for victory'.

Source 2.9 *Svastika* on an ancient Roman mosaic

A MATTER OF FACT

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

The swastika is a 3000-year-old religious symbol predating ancient Egypt. Images of swastikas have been found on artefacts from Troy, such as pottery and coins, indicating use of the symbol dates back to at least 1000 BCE. The word 'swastika' itself comes from the Sanskrit *svastika*, with 'sv' meaning 'good', 'asti' meaning 'to be' and 'ka' as a suffix. Therefore, the word has the positive connotation 'to be good' and has been used by different cultures to represent life, power, strength, sun and good luck. It was used in the 1800s on postcards, buildings, coins and cigarette cases. Hitler's Nazi Party changed it slightly and made it an official symbol, thereby giving the symbol a negative connotation. In his autobiography, called *Mein Kampf* (1925), Hitler described the reasons why the Nazis created their new flag in 1920: 'In *red* we see the social idea of the movement, in *white* the nationalistic idea, in the *swastika* the mission of the struggle for the victory of the **Aryan** man' (pp. 496–97).

Aryan in Nazi ideology a Causasian not of Jewish descent

A MATTER OF FACT

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

Source 2.10 Mussolini and Hitler in Germany in 1940

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL
Adolf Hitler's story (1889–1945)

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

The parents

Adolf was not German. He was born on 20 April 1889 in Braunau, Austria, and had a younger sister named Paula. While the young Adolf was close to his mother, Klara, he had quite a different relationship

Source 2.11 Adolf Hitler

with his father, Alois Hitler. Alois was a strong and unforgiving man who was 51 (23 years older than Klara), when Adolf was born. His previous two wives and first three babies had all died of poor health, so he was particularly determined to make Adolf strong and resilient, but he did this through strict discipline and beatings.

Source 2.12 Klara (left) and Alois (right) Hitler. Klara Hitler was always kind and gentle with her son. Hitler was so distraught when she died of cancer when he was 18 that he carried a photo of her wherever he went. It is also claimed that he was clutching this same photo of her in his hand when he died in 1945.

The teenager

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

Hitler's 1906 Report Card

Subject	Grade	Subject	Grade
Art	*Excellent*	Gymnastics	*Excellent*
Chemistry	*Adequate*	History	*Satisfactory*
French	*Unsatisfactory*	Mathematics	*Unsatisfactory*
Geography	*Satisfactory*	Physics	*Adequate*
German	*Adequate*		

Source 2.13 Hitler's school results from 1905 when he was 16

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

The artist

From childhood, Adolf had wanted to be an artist. From the age of 20, he moved out of home and lived in youth hostels in Vienna, earning a low wage painting pictures for postcards while trying to be accepted into the Academy of Fine Arts. It is estimated that he produced around 3000 drawings, watercolours and oil paintings during these years. Interestingly,

Adolf was mainly interested in architecture, rarely drawing people. When he later set out to reshape Germany, he thought of himself as an artist creating his greatest masterpiece.

Source 2.14 Adolf's watercolour of Munich in 1914

The soldier

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

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

His relationships

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

Source 2.15 Eva Braun and Adolf Hitler, pictured with Hitler's German Shepherd, Blondi.

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

His suicide

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

Focus question

Talk the thought – human graphs

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

Research question

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

Hitler's Nazi ideology in Germany

Reaction to the Treaty of Versailles

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

Rather than blame Germany's defeat on external factors such as poor military strategy, Hitler adopted the newly emerging theory of *Dolchstoßlegende*. This literally meant the 'Dagger stab legend' or the 'Stab-in-the-back myth'. The basis of this perspective was that Germany's defeat could be attributed to internal enemies – namely the Jews and those under their influence. Hitler's **propaganda** and **persecution** of all enemies during his dictatorship was born from this ideology. This section outlines how Adolf Hitler went from lying in a hospital bed in 1918 to becoming the Chancellor of Germany by 1933.

patriotism deep love of one's country

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

persecution any form of undeserved punishment

Nazi Party policies

Given the background of the losses in World War I, the weaknesses of the Weimar Constitution and the severe economic problems brought about by the Treaty of Versailles and the subsequent Dawes Plan to claim reparations, Hitler's Nazi Party offered hope. His policies appealed to a broad base of Germans because he offered solutions.

Of course, I was ripe for this experience. I was a man of 32, weary with disgust and disillusionment, a wanderer seeking a cause, a patriot seeking an outlet for his patriotism.

Karl Ludecke, an early follower of Hitler, 1924

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1925

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

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.3: NAZI PARTY POLICIES

Hitler held loosely to formal political policies, believing that programs were vain, and things happened not through planning but because of courage and human will. Despite this, the Nazis produced a 25-point program in 1920. Shown here is a selection of those points. Read them and then answer the questions that follow.

- *We demand the union of all Germans … in a Greater Germany.*
- *We demand equality of the German People with all other nations, and abolition of the Peace Treaty of Versailles.*
- *None but members of the nation may be citizens of the State. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation.*
- *Anyone who is not a citizen of the State may live in Germany only as a guest and must be regarded as being subject to the Alien laws.*
- *The right of voting on the leadership and legislation is to be enjoyed by the citizens of the State alone.*
- *All non-German immigration must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans … shall be required forthwith to depart from the Reich.*
- *It must be the first duty of every citizen to perform mental and physical work.*
- *We demand a fight against those whose activities harm the common good. Traitors, usurers, profiteers and the like … are to be punished by death.*
- *The State must take charge of a thorough extension of our entire national education system … to make it possible for every able and industrious German to obtain a higher education.*
- *The State must improve public health through protection of mother and child … by imposing a physical fitness program by means of establishing legal obligations in gymnastics and sport.*

<div align="center">Extracts from the NSDAP '25-point program', 1920</div>

1 Summarise what the Nazis believed about immigration.
2 According to this document, what were the responsibilities of German citizens?
3 According to this document, what were the responsibilities of the state?
4 Who were the enemies of the Nazis that they wanted to fight against?

Source 2.16 The Nazis produced a 25-point program

APPARTS model for primary source analysis

This is a helpful model to analyse primary sources. The heading is really suitable, because analysis is pulling apart a document or image, to look at the separate parts of a source, so that we understand it better. Remember the APPARTS model as a way to analyse, or pull apart, a document or image.

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

Source: 'Improving student comprehension: primary sources', *The AP Vertical Teams Guide for Social Studies*. The College Board (2001): 15–17

Focus question

Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model in reference to the Nazis' 25-point program outlined in Analysis activity 2.3.

Political policies
Nazism was against democracy, which was how the Weimar Republic operated. Hitler described this mode of government as cowardly and disgraceful, because there was no one person ultimately responsible or accountable for the decisions that were made. In contrast, Nazism supported totalitarianism because total power would be in the control of one person who ruled on behalf of the national interest.

Social policies
Nazism was based on nationalism and focused on restoring national pride and the idea that the German people were a superior race. Hitler labelled this race Aryan. From this unfounded scientific base, Hitler was able to develop explicitly anti-Jewish policies, including the Nuremberg Laws, around the idea that the Jews were an inferior race polluting and destroying the master Aryan race.

Economic policies
While the Nazis supported socialism, where all classes worked together in the national interest, they were against communism, which Hitler believed could only lead to the destruction of societies throughout the world. He believed that 75 per cent of all communists were Jews.

Use of force
The Nazis willingly used force to promote acceptance of and adherence to their policies. Bullying, threats and violence were all common features of Nazi rallies, speeches and publicity.

Source 2.17 The policies of Nazism

> **Focus question**
>
> **Talk the thought – the four Cs**
> This thinking routine provides a structure for rich discussion about the ideas of the Nazi Party (see Source 2.17). In small groups, each person shares their response to the first 'C': 'Connections'. Then each member shares a 'Challenge', and so on.
>
> - **Connections** – What connections do you draw between the ideas and your own life and/or other learning?
> - **Challenge** – What ideas, perspectives or assumptions do you want to challenge or argue with?
> - **Concepts** – What key concepts do you think are important and worth holding on to from the text?
> - **Changes** – What changes in attitudes, thinking or action are suggested by the text?

Release from prison

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

A MATTER OF FACT

Hitler was very fortunate to have survived the failed putsch in 1923. The Nazi Party member standing next to Hitler was killed in the battle. Hitler dropped to the ground, dislocating his shoulder. Another Nazi saved Hitler's life by throwing himself on top of Hitler and was killed by 11 bullets. Hitler crawled to safety behind the nearest car.

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

A MATTER OF FACT

In prison, Hitler had few restrictions. He had lots of visitors, including his pet Alsatian dog, wore his own clothes and went for walks whenever he wanted. Hitler's chauffeur was even allowed to live with him to write Mein Kampf *as Hitler dictated.*

Hitler's charismatic oratory

Hitler worked tirelessly to promote his ideology, often making up to 10 speeches per day. In the early days, his main audience was the working class and students in beer halls, where it was quite usual

for individuals to stand and have their say. Hitler exploited the potential of the radio as a vehicle for self-promotion. Like many powerful orators, Hitler followed a simple formula: routine, relevance and repetition.

A MATTER OF FACT

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

Routine

Hitler maintained a set routine when he spoke. He would often arrive late. When Hitler finally took the stage, the crowd was silent, fixated on his every word. He would begin to speak quietly and slowly at first, gradually building to a more passionate delivery complete with wild hand gestures. When Hitler finished he left the stage, refusing to be photographed, adding to the sense of mystery that surrounded him.
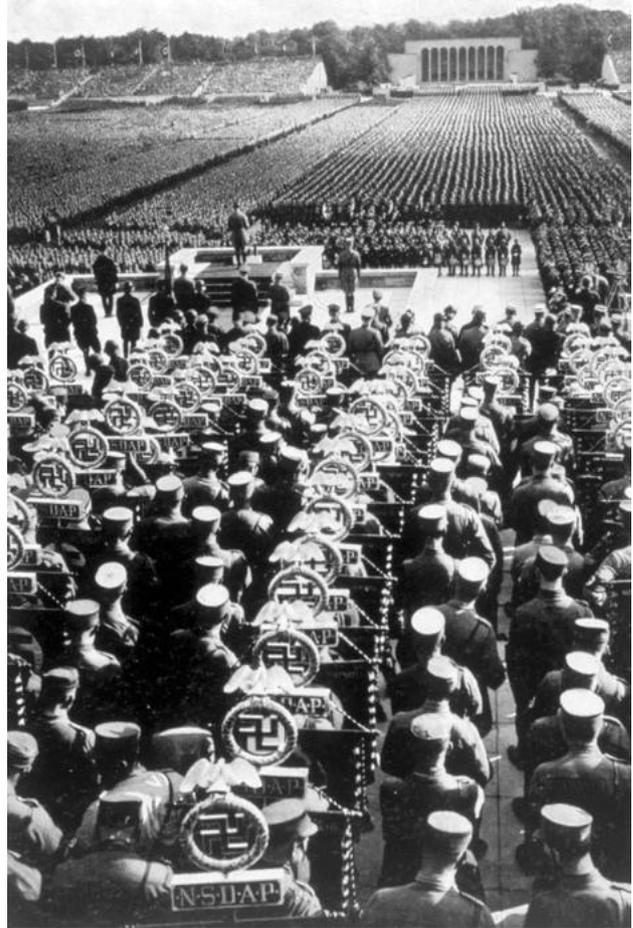
Source 2.18 Hitler speaking at the 1934 Nuremberg Rally

A MATTER OF FACT

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

Relevance

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

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

Karl Ludecke, 1924

Repetition

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

Historians' views

Alan Bullock was a British historian who wrote a biography entitled *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*. This book, published in 1952, was based on the transcripts from the **Nuremberg Trials**. In it, among other observations, Bullock explains the weaknesses and strengths of Hitler's speaking skills.

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

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

Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, 1952

Use of force and fear

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

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

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

SA Oath, 1921
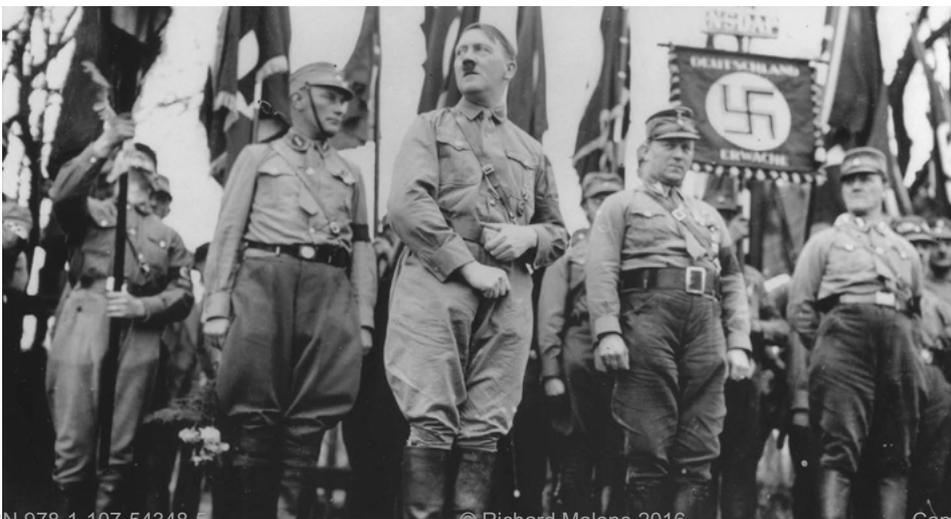
Source 2.19 Hitler with his powerful SA storm troopers

The Great Depression

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

The problem of inflation

Inflation occurs when money loses its value because prices rise dramatically. This occurred at a phenomenal rate in Germany between 1922 and 1923. This hyperinflation occurred for a variety of reasons, including the government printing more and more money to pay striking workers in the French-occupied Ruhr region.

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

Source 2.20 A 100 000 mark bank note

The problem of unemployment

Due to massive panic selling of shares in October 1929, the Wall Street stock market in the United States collapsed. This had disastrous effects throughout the Western world, specifically with regard to unemployment, as any loans to the United States were required to be paid immediately and many companies were closed. High unemployment made many Germans desperate for change by 1933.
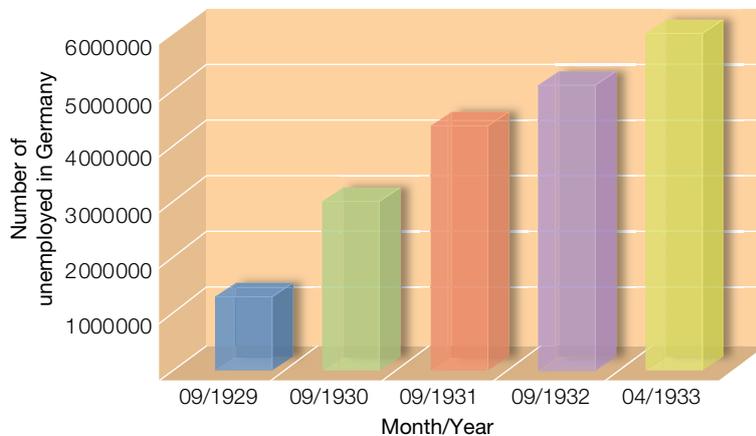
Figures cited in SM Harrison, *World Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, Macmillian, 1987, p.69

Source 2.21 Unemployment in Germany, 1929–33

Election results

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

A MATTER OF FACT

Hitler allegedly received political donations from some of Germany's most powerful business leaders, including Hjalmar Schacht, the Head of the Reichsbank.

Source 2.22 Political standing of the Nazi Party in official elections

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

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.4: HISTORIAN ANALYSIS

Why did the Nazi Party win seats in elections?

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

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

1 List the two things that the author believes the Nazis would destroy.
2 List the two reasons the author uses to explain why the Nazis were not stopped.

Hitler is appointed Chancellor

The President was the most powerful man in Weimar Germany. As Head of State, he was elected for a term of seven years and had the power to select a Chancellor, as long as this person had majority support within the Reichstag (Parliament). Paul von Hindenburg, the Supreme Commander of the

entire German army in World War I, had been President since 1925 despite being over 80 years old. A complicated series of political manoeuvres and elections in 1932 created significant instability. Although he had once promised never to appoint Hitler as Chancellor, von Hindenburg came to believe that he could control him better if he was in office. Hindenburg succumbed to pressure from senior politicians and Hitler was appointed Chancellor on 30 January 1933.

Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys

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

Source 2.23 President von Hindenburg

2.5 Understanding how leaders rose to power

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

P Politics

R Revolutions

O Oratory

E Economy

W Workers

Source 2.24 Use the acrostic POWER to help you remember how each leader came to power

Acronym	Meaning	Summary
P	Politics	Each leader rose to power against a backdrop of a weak and unstable political situation: • Russia – failing government under Tsar Nicholas II • Italy – five governments from 1919–22 • Germany – weak Weimar Republic after World War I.
O	Oratory	Each leader was an incredibly charismatic and gifted speaker who could inspire, or manipulate, the hearts and minds of his listeners. Each used the successful formula of routine, relevance and repetition.
W	Workers	Each leader focused his political attention on the working classes and promised them better conditions. Each promised to restore the nation's pride.
E	Economy	Each leader promised to address and fix the major economic problems, such as unemployment, caused by a combination of World War I and the Great Depression.
R	Revolution	Each leader coordinated a revolution where his beliefs and political party became the dominant ideology: • Lenin seized power in October 1917. • Mussolini was granted permission to form a government in 1922. • President Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor in 1933.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 2.5

Write a paragraph summarising the rise of Mussolini to power. You must include the words listed below in bold in your paragraph so that your writing is specific. You must also include at least three dates of your choice.

- **National Fascist Party**
- **Black Shirts**
- **March on Rome**

- **King Victor Emmanuel**
- **Giacomo Matteotti**
- **Il Duce**

The story so far

- *Communist ideology in Lenin's Russia:* The ideology of communism was consolidated through Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' publication of *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848. It gained many radical followers, including Vladimir Lenin. The February Revolution of 1917 witnessed the forced abdication of Tsar Nicholas II. His replacement, the Provisional Government, was then overthrown by Lenin in October 1917 who subsequently introduced communism as Russia's official ideology.
- *Fascist ideology in Mussolini's Italy:* Mussolini capitalised on the political instability of five failed governments in three years, being granted the opportunity by the Italian King to form a government in 1922. Mussolini's National Fascist Party changed political laws to minimise parliamentary influence and, combined with tactics of force and intimidation, this resulted in him declaring himself Il Duce, or the totalitarian leader, by 1925. The symbol of fascism, the Roman fasces, was proven true: strength through unity and violence.

- *Nazi ideology in Hitler's Germany:* The Treaty of Versailles aroused significant resentment in the German people, made worse by the resulting economic hardships. Against this backdrop of instability, Adolf Hitler's newly founded Nazi Party gained popularity, speaking passionately about the problems Germany faced and offering the promise of a glorious future for the nation. Hitler coupled his leadership appeal with strategies of violence and intimidation of opposition parties and leaders, using the Nazi Party's personal police force, the SA. In January 1933, Hitler gained official political power when he was selected by President Hindenburg to be the new Chancellor of Germany.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1   Explain each of the ideologies on the political spectrum – communism, fascism and Nazism.
2   What were the ideologies of socialism and communism and how were they adopted by Vladimir Lenin in Russia?
3   What was the ideology of fascism and how was it adopted by Benito Mussolini in Italy?
4   What was the ideology of Nazism and how was it adopted by Adolf Hitler in Germany?

ANALYSE THE HISTORIAN'S VIEWS

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

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

Behind that virtuosity lay years of experience as an agitator and mob orator. Hitler came to know Germany and the German people at first hand as few of Germany's other leaders ever had. By the time he came to power in 1933 there were few towns of any size in the Reich where he had not spoken. Here was one great advantage Hitler had over nearly all the politicians with whom he had to deal, his immense practical experience of politics, not in the

Chancellery or the Reichstag but in the street, the level at which elections are won, the level at which any politician must be effective if he is to carry a mass vote with him.

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

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

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

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

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

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

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

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

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

Source 2.25 Hitler positioned himself as the answer to Germany's problems and gained a wealth of support and popularity.

Leading the world into World War II

> ❝
> *In starting and waging a war it is not right that matters, but victory.*
>
> – ADOLF HITLER ❞

OVERVIEW

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

Hitler's and Mussolini's political fortunes were similar. Once they had gained a foothold on leadership – Mussolini from 1922 and Hitler from 1933 – they not only cemented their power but rapidly expanded it. Their decisions were characterised by ruthless ambition and supported through their willingness to create a climate of fear. This chapter explains how Mussolini and Hitler were able to gain total control of their countries, which then enacted the steps that led to another world war. Japan also played a key role in establishing a dominant military that made aggressive moves in its region, resulting in an alliance with Italy and Germany by 1936. In particular, Hitler's political and territorial aggression and breaking of the conditions of the Versailles Treaty were unable to be stopped by Britain and France.

KEY ISSUES

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

FLOW OF CHAPTER

Political instability due to Treaty of Versailles and economic
instability due to impact of war and Great Depression

↓

Failure of League of Nations to
disarm national aggression

FASCIST ITALY Ideology: Fascism	NAZI GERMANY Ideology: Nazism	MILITARISTIC JAPAN Ideology: militarism
Led by: Benito Mussolini dictator from 1925	Led by: Adolf Hitler dictator from 1934	Led by: Tanaka Giichi from 1927 to 1929 and military leaders in 1930s

Britain and France's failed policy of appeasement

Territorial aggression in Ethiopia (Abyssinia)	Territorial aggression in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland	Territorial aggression in China

New ideologies led to World War II in Europe and the Pacific (1939–45)

3.1 Failure of the League of Nations

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

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

Focus question

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

50

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

It is a major school of thought that gave birth to the philosophy of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, an idealistic view of a future that involves the nations of the world working together rather than being at perpetual war with one another. In the context of the peace settlement of the First World War, it is perfectly understandable that commentators would be swept up in the utopian visions espoused by the elite statesmen of the day. It was no doubt seen as a duty, an investment, to promote these ideals, as the horrors of another great war were too gruesome to be repeated. Of course, this is a noble outlook, but the dose of reality that E.H. Carr dealt to the idealists was significant and timely. It was blatantly obvious to Carr, and to the historians looking back on the events, predominantly of the 1930s, that the League was failing and the march to a serious conflict was underway. The work of Carr is not as it first appears bitter and negative. Carr wishes himself for a successful League of Peace and a future without war and conflict, but recognises that 'those elegant structures must wait until some progress has been made in digging the foundations'. The League was doomed to fail simply because it was a noble idea that was hatched too soon. There were simply too many major problems and grievances left unresolved. Furthermore, the status quo that the League presided over was seen as greatly

Source 3.1 The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 is recognised as one of the largest failures of the League of Nations and led to Japan's withdrawal from the league.

unfair to many nations, such as Germany and Japan. It is intriguing that this was only seen clearly with the benefit of hindsight (with the exception of Carr). Perhaps the optimism of the League in the interwar years was itself a symptom of the very idealism that Carr bemoaned – an optimism that maintained faith in the League despite its deep flaws and continued inept performance – as the alternative to its failure was too desperate to contemplate.

Source: McGlinchey, S., 'E.H. Carr and the Failure of the League of Nations' (2010)

Focus questions

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

3.2 Mussolini's aggression in Fascist Italy

Establishing dictatorship

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

Opposition parties abolished

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

Parliament replaced

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

Focus question

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

Creation of a strong police force

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

Unity with the Pope and Roman Catholic Church

The Lateran Accords were created in 1929; for the first time in Italian history, these established peace between the government and the papacy in Rome. The Pope was given control over Vatican City and Roman Catholicism was established as the state religion throughout Italy. In return, the Pope gave up control over the former Papal States. Mussolini ultimately used religion as a tool to manipulate public opinion by combining religious symbols and mythology into his fascist policies.
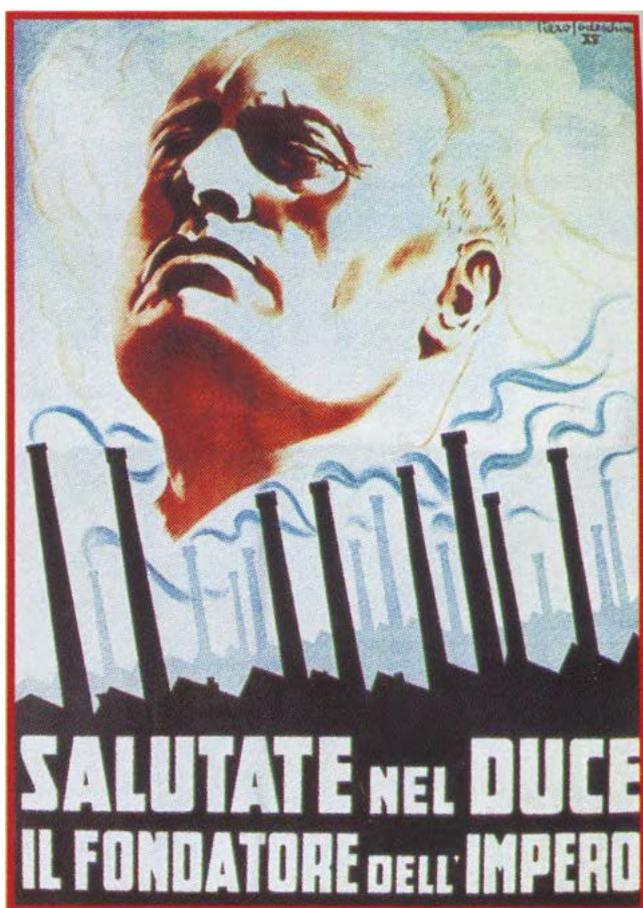
Source 3.2 Fascist propaganda portraying Mussolini as a god-like figure

Use of state propaganda

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

Implementation of anti-Semitism

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

Territorial aggression

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

Source 3.3 Italian troops in Abyssinia (Ethiopia)

Source 3.4 Italy invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935 from both Eritrea and Italian Somaliland

Focus question

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

A MATTER OF FACT

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

Analysing the invasion of Ethiopia

The Second Italo-Ethiopian war (also called the Second Italo-Abyssinian War) showed the futility of the League of Nations as an international justice and peacekeeping body. After Italy's invasion, the League of Nations declared and condemned Italy as the aggressor and began to initiate sanctions. Initially, the League of Nations attempted to stop the flow of all goods to Italy. Critically, the sanctions excluded pig iron, steel and oil, the three chief supply necessities for running a war. The significant

conclusion was that the League of Nations had no weight in the European world and had no ability to discourage the emerging superpowers in Europe from doing as they pleased.

Mussolini's impact on Adolf Hitler

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

Source 3.5 Hitler and Mussolini in Venice, Italy in 1934

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 3.1

Use all the information about Mussolini's Italy above to complete the following crossword puzzle. Download and print the crossword and locate the answers on *Cambridge GO*.

Across

3. The official name of the agreements between Mussolini and the Pope.
4. The original name of the country that Italy invaded in 1935.
6. The Second Italo-Ethiopian war showed the failure of which organisation?
8. Discrimination against the Jews was called what?
9. Government promotion of itself was called what?
12. The Italian Parliament was replaced by the National Council of _____
14. Mussolini had a significant impact on which other world leader?

Down

1. What was the colour worn to show support for fascism?
2. What was the name given to Mussolini's political party?
5. Mussolini established a strong _____ to keep control over the Italian populace.
7. One of the significant roles from which Jews were excluded in Italian society.
10. Opposition parties and trade unions were all _____.
11. The name of the ideology that Mussolini adopted.
13. Mussolini wanted to return Italy to the glory days of ancient _____.

3.3 Hitler's aggression in Nazi Germany

How did Hitler become dictator of Nazi Germany?

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

Source 3.6 Adolf Hitler

Political laws changed

Reichstag fire, February 1933

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

Reichstag German name for the parliament with democratically elected members

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

Source 3.7 The Reichstag fire

Emergency Decree, 28 February 1933

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

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

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

Enabling Act, March 1933

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

Hindenburg's initial hope of restricting and controlling Hitler was now desperately shattered.

Political parties are made illegal

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

Use of force and fear

Creation of SS and Gestapo

All those who have Germany's interests at heart will and should respect us and those who have guilty consciences toward the Führer or the nation should fear us.

Heinrich Himmler, explaining the role of the SS, 1935

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

SS or *Schutzstaffel*, or security squadron – a feared elite personal guard to Hitler

57

Source 3.8 Hitler's rise to power

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

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

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

It is shocking how day after day naked acts of violence, breaches of the law, barbaric opinions appear quite undisguised as official decree … I can no longer get rid of the feeling of disgust and shame. And no one stirs; everyone trembles, keeps out of sight.

Victor Klemperer, a Jew living in Dresden, 17 March 1933

Gestapo Secret State Police whose main role was to enforce obedience to the government through arrests and imprisonment

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

A MATTER OF FACT

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

58

Creation of Dachau: The first concentration camp

Source 3.9 Dachau concentration camp

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

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

solitary confinement imprisonment without contact with other prisoners

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

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

Hitler's immediate solution was to promote Röhm to a high level within the Nazi government, but this only gave Röhm more influence rather than quelling his ambition. Hitler's next response was swift, decisive and brutal. Röhm did not have many political friends, so Hitler decided to use Himmler and the SS to remove him and his SA from all power.

In June 1934, Hitler flew to Munich and personally arrested Röhm and several other SA leaders. They were put in jail and there was no trial. Hitler ticked names on a list of SA leaders and those leaders were systematically killed in their prison cells that night. Rather than being threatened by his Chancellor's actions, President Hindenburg sent a telegram to Hitler congratulating him on his 'determined action and gallant personal intervention'. According to Hitler, there were 61 deaths, but historians have provided figures of between 500 and 1000 murders. The remaining SA members were integrated into the army. The SA murders also gave Hitler the opportunity to murder political opponents,

Source 3.10 Ernst Röhm

claiming that they were linked with the SA; for example, General von Schleicher and General von Bredow (believed to have witnessed the Reichstag fire), and the pickaxe murder of Gustav Ritter von Kahr (for opposing Hitler's **putsch** in Munich 10 years earlier). It became known as the Night of the Long Knives because of the violence and bloodshed.

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

A MATTER OF FACT

Ernst Röhm was not on Hitler's original death list. When Hitler reluctantly agreed, he ordered that Röhm be given a Browning revolver with which to commit suicide. Röhm refused and was shot.

A MATTER OF FACT

The Night of the Long Knives was also known as 'Operation Hummingbird' and actually went for two nights, not one.

Hitler becomes dictator: The death of Hindenburg

Hitler's biggest political advantage came through good fortune only a few weeks after the Night of the Long Knives when Hindenburg died of natural causes at the age of 87. Hitler had removed all opposition, setting the stage for this decisive manoeuvre – his government passed a new law that

combined the powers of the Chancellor and President into the new position called Reichs Chancellor or Führer, the nation's leader or father figure. Hitler was now a dictator with a government, police force and army that answered only to him.

Analysing why Hitler became dictator

The way in which Hitler gained total power in Germany between 1933 and 1934 demonstrates the following three points:

1   *Hitler was a clever political manipulator* – Hitler worked through legal channels using his passion, oratorical skills and propaganda to gain support as he did during his election campaigns and appointment as Chancellor.
2   *Hitler would not tolerate opposition* – Hitler also employed illegal strategies for consolidating his position. All political opponents were gradually eliminated. The best examples of this were the burning of the Reichstag building and the creation of the Dachau concentration camp.
3   *The end justifies the means* – Hitler backed up his ambition with violence. Being loyal to the Nazi Party did not guarantee protection, as was evident in the Night of the Long Knives and the creation of groups such as the SS and the Gestapo.

Source 3.11 Bronze German badge used in World War II

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 3.2: FISH BONE!

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

RISE OF NAZISM IN GERMANY

January 1933 Hitler becomes Chancellor

February 1933 Reichstag fire

April 1933 Creation of SS, Gestapo and Dachau concentration camp

June 1934 Assassination of SA leadership

August 1934 Hitler becomes dictator

The Third Reich

Breaking the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles

The main Treaty of Versailles conditions and how they were broken by Hitler are shown in Source 3.12. Opposing the harsh conditions imposed by the Treaty enabled Hitler to strengthen Germany's military. This then enabled Germany to invade nearby countries and ultimately be ready to fight a full-scale international war.

Source 3.12 Breaking the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles

Treaty conditions	Hitler's actions
Reparations	Immediately stopped paying reparations in 1933
Army limited to 100 000	In March 1935 announced his intention to create an army with 36 divisions by reintroducing compulsory military training and conscription
Navy restricted to 15 000 men	Built a navy one-third the size of Britain's
No submarines	Built 100 submarines, which meant that Germany's fleet was as large as Britain's
Demilitarised Rhineland	Sent German troops into the Rhineland on the French border, claiming that France was planning to attack Germany
No claims to Austrian land	Declared an *Anschluss*, or 'union' with Austria on 15 March 1938
League of Nations	Germany withdrew from the League

Territorial aggression

Lebensraum German word meaning 'living space'

Anschluss the name given to Germany's overtaking of Austria in 1938

Sudetenland the German-speaking area of Czechoslovakia

Hitler saw the expansion of Germany's national borders as a key part of the process of building a strong new Germany. This policy was known as **Lebensraum**, the German word for 'living space', and was used to justify the need for more land in Eastern Europe for the German people, especially in German-speaking lands such as Austria. This belief was the major motivation for the **Anschluss** with Austria, Germany's occupation of the **Sudetenland** (the German-speaking area of Czechoslovakia) and the 1 September 1939 invasion of Poland that marked the commencement of World War II.

Source 3.13 German troops march into Austria during *Anschluss*

3.4 Rise of militaristic aggression in Japan

Due to a more aggressive foreign policy, Japan emerged as a significant imperial power from the turn of the twentieth century. This was secured with continuous involvement in the Asian continent: victories over China in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894, the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, the defeat of Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, involvement in World War I and Siberian intervention in 1918. The significance of these victories was twofold. First, Japan's enthusiasm for international influence rose. Second, and most importantly, it made it necessary for Japan to emphasise establishing and maintaining a strong military. This ideological focus was called militarism.

A MATTER OF FACT

Liberal thinking Hara Takashi was appointed Prime Minister in 1918 with his rallying cry of 'Militarism is dead'. But three years later, Hara was assassinated and militarism became Japan's key ideology.

The key clash in Japan was between a civilian government versus leaders of the military. The military constantly attempted to overthrow the government, believing that ordinary people were not as capable or suited to controlling Japan. These attempts were never successful due to the long tradition of civilian control within Japan combined with the divisions, called factions, within the Japanese army itself. The powerful feared the powerful.

The 1930s were the most controversial decade in the history of Japan since the 1860s: two prime ministers were assassinated, two other prominent public figures were murdered, and two failed military coups occurred against the government. From a foreign policy perspective, Japan stopped cooperating with the international community to strengthen its own reputation in the West. The most significant action was Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933. The result of Japan's aggressive militarism was an alliance with the European fascist powers Germany and Italy, ultimately leading to World War II in the Pacific region. The Pacific war directly threatened Australia and was fought in the now famous battles of Kokoda, Singapore and Burma.

Territorial aggression

Invasion of Manchuria, 1931

Japan's aggressive attitude towards China escalated under the leadership of Prime Minister Tanaka Giichi from 1927–29. He sent Japanese troops into China three times in an attempt to undermine Chiang Kai-shek's unification campaign. Also, radical Japanese officers assassinated warlord Zhang Zuolin and blew up parts of railway lines, hoping to spark war with China. These actions from members of the Kwantung Army, part of Japan's imperial army, prepared the foundations for a complete Japanese invasion and takeover of Manchuria. Why did Japan want to control Manchuria? First, as an industrial base, second, as an area for Japanese emigration, and third, as a base for potential war with the Soviet Union. Despite this success, there was a failed military coup in Tokyo just one month later. This was called the Imperial Colours Incident.
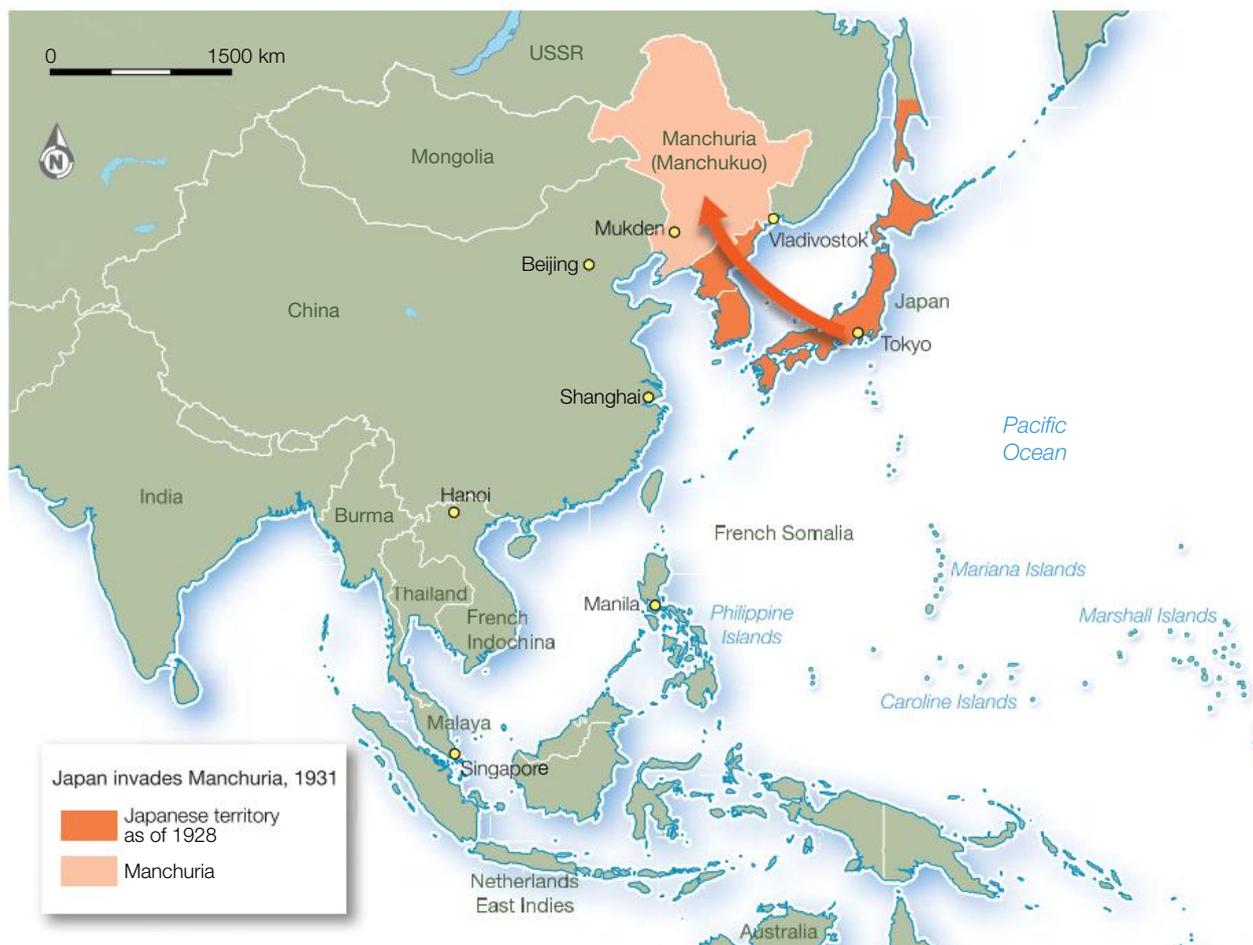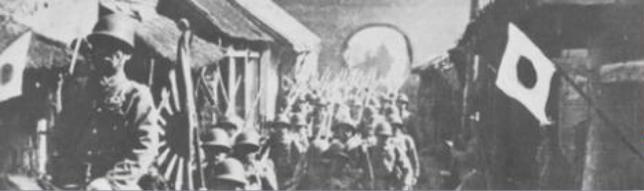
Source 3.14 A map of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria

Attack on Shanghai, 1932

The popular support enjoyed by the Kwantung Army gave it the confidence to act alone without authorisation from the central government. In January 1932, Japanese forces attacked Shanghai in the First Shanghai Incident, fighting for three months before a truce was reached. This incident is a prime example of Japanese militarism – a strong, independent, popular and aggressive army.

February 26th Incident, 1936

Radical discontent among the army's elite young officers dramatically exploded on 26 February 1936 in an attempted coup to overthrow the civilian government. The revolt was defeated and the military leaders responsible were killed after secret trials. Internal violence had peaked. Despite this, the government softened its disconnect with the military and increased money for defence and naval construction, refused to follow disarmament treaties and increased patriotic propaganda. From this event onwards, under Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro, Japan strategically prepared for full-scale war. The National Mobilisation Law gave the government absolute power to use the nation's assets to best suit the nation's needs in war.

Source 3.15 Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro

Source 3.16 Japanese troops mobilised to enforce martial law after 26 February 1936

Japan invades China, 1937

Japan began a full-scale invasion of China in July 1937. Minimal resistance was experienced due to the relentless onslaught of the Japanese Army. As a result, within five months over one million Chinese were under Japanese control. Almost all major cities were captured, most significantly the major port of Shanghai in November 1937 and the capital of Nanking (now called Nanjing) by December 1937. As it is now known, the Rape of Nanking was one of most atrocious individual acts of the century. Japanese soldiers were given open permission to destroy, steal, rape and murder. Over 250 000 Chinese were brutally murdered.

Focus question

Conduct an online search for the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall (see Source 3.17). It's a truly impressive memorial that shares the confronting reality of the experiences of the Chinese victims. Describe the ways the memorial honours those who were killed.

Source 3.17 The Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall is in the south-western corner of Nanjing, close to the site known as the 'pit of ten thousand corpses' where thousands of bodies were buried. Each rock in the memorial represents a life lost during the massacre.

By 1941, there were two million Japanese troops in China, but these were gradually reduced as they were needed to fight against the United States and her allies in the Pacific. Overall, Japan's war in China had cost China four million casualties and over 60 million people were left homeless.

Source 3.18 Japanese soldiers guarding Chinese prisoners taken during the Nanking massacre

Aims for involvement in World War II

Political parties were dissolved in Japan in 1940 to allow for the introduction of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association. One political party was created based on totalitarian values. Japan also signed an alliance with Germany and Italy in 1940, beginning war with Britain and the United States in the Pacific in 1941. Japan's primary aim, under the leadership of Prime Minister Hideki Tojo, was to integrate Asia politically and economically in order to strengthen Asia against Western domination. This plan was called the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Japan would lead this new coalition.

Analysis of Japan's military aggression

The conflict between an independent military and a civilian government was a constant tension in pre-war Japan. Regular coups d'état by the military elite had failed to overthrow the government. Unable to establish a military dictatorship, the army instead forced the government into international conflict through radical activities and attacks.

Source 3.19 Prime Minister Hideki Tojo

Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys

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

3.5 Comparing fascism in Germany, Italy and Japan

Similarities

While it was an accepted term in the 1930s and 1940s, 'Japanese fascism' is a disputed term among historians. Germany and Italy had little direct influence on Japan. However, Japan shared base beliefs with fascist Germany and Italy:

1 **Economic and social situation**
   - Postwar had been a time of economic stagnation.
   - Unemployment rose during the Great Depression of 1929–32.
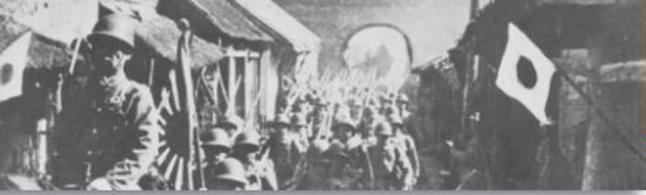
- Peasantry became desperate as agricultural prices dropped sharply.
- Dissatisfaction with government policies in 1920s, but Japan was not on the verge of revolution.
- Industry had far surpassed agriculture in value of output.
- Strikes, riots and influence of labour unions increased.
- Social elite were alarmed by threats from the communist left.
- Discontent of lower middle class and dissatisfaction of the young.
- Growth of new radical political parties, especially among university students.

2 International situation

- All three countries were angered by the Treaty of Versailles.
- Aggressive and ambitious foreign policy.
- Foreign relations deteriorated in all three countries.

3 Ideology

- Strong sense of 'national community'.
- Rejection of internal divisions.
- Sense of racial superiority and therefore separation from other races.
- Anti-communism.
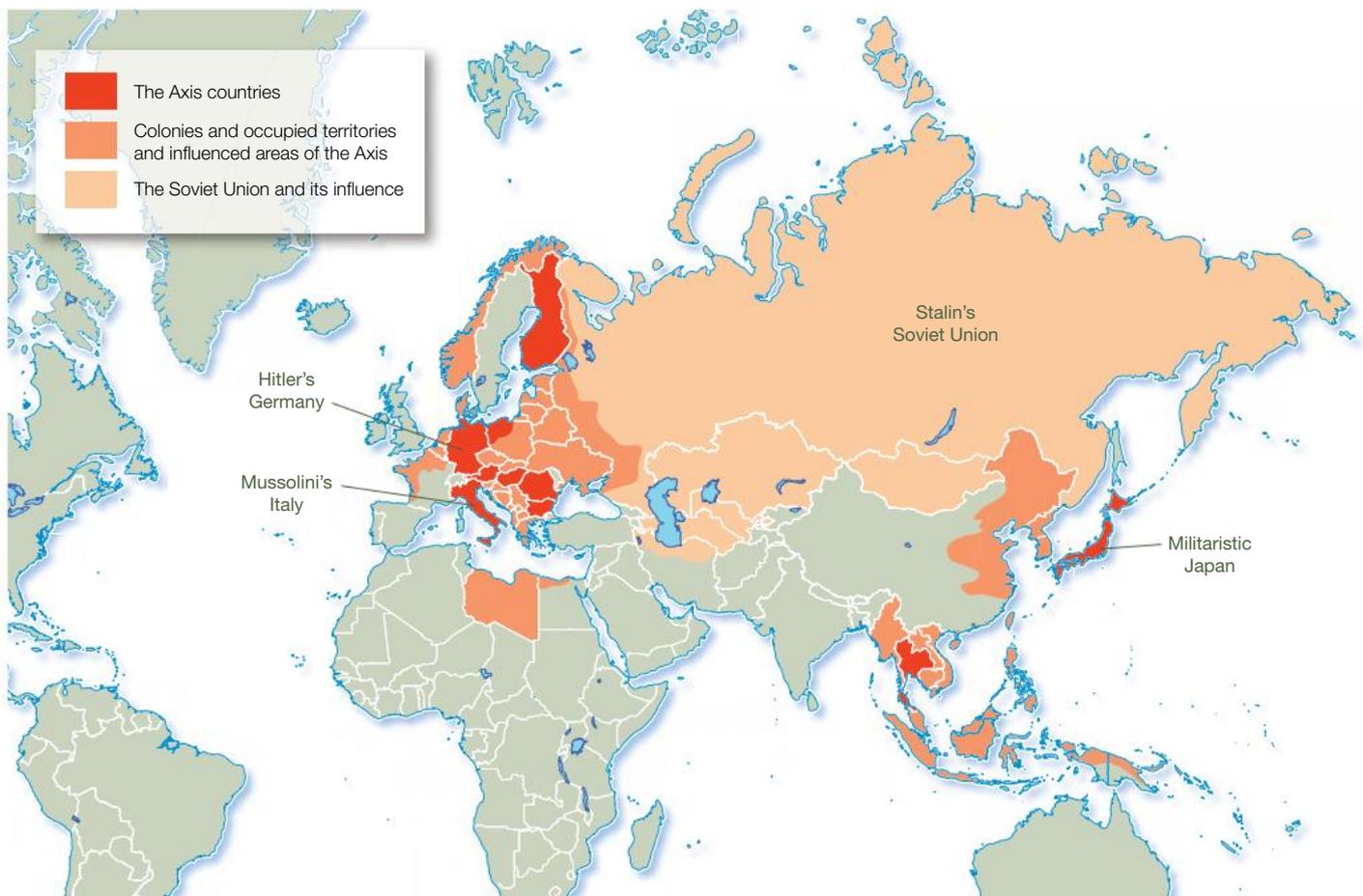
Source 3.20 Land held by the Axis powers in 1942

Differences

The most significant difference was the role of the leader. Germany and Italy favoured charismatic leaders in Hitler and Mussolini whereas Japan retained the traditional role of emperor and civilian government and did not change its political systems or structures. Hence, Japan favoured military strength over a single dominant leader.

3.6 Failure of appeasement

Why didn't Britain and France stop Hitler's Nazi Germany?

We have achieved peace in our time.

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, on his return from meeting with Hitler in 1938

World War II broke out less than a year after Chamberlain spoke these words. Was there anything that the Allied nations could have done to stop Hitler's advance through Europe? Britain and France did not use force to stop Hitler in the 1930s because they had adopted a policy called **appeasement**. With the memory of World War I still vivid, appeasement was employed to avoid another full-scale war by negotiating rather than fighting with Germany.

> **appeasement** the failed policy of negotiation adopted by France and Britain to try to avoid full-scale war

Example of appeasement 1

In 1933, Hitler became the first leader to stop paying reparations to the Allies. France and Great Britain did not react because their political stance was more moderate. The United States was loaning Germany money to pay France and Great Britain under the Dawes Plan of 1924.

Example of appeasement 2

The Munich Pact, which Britain and France signed in 1938, remains a key example of appeasement. With this pact, they allowed Hitler to take control of the Sudetenland, believing this would avert a full-scale war. The Allies underestimated Hitler's appetite for power. Historians have criticised this policy as a weak way of dealing with an aggressive enemy. For the Allies, however, appeasement made sense because:

- Britain had more time to rearm and prepare for war
- the United States had adopted a policy of 'isolationism', refusing to become involved in international problems, and focusing on rebuilding after the Great Depression.

A MATTER OF FACT

Nine months before the outbreak of World War II, a remarkable rescue mission occurred called Kindertransport, German for 'children transport'. Nearly 10 000 children were rescued from Nazi Germany and other threatening European countries and relocated to British foster homes, schools and farms.

Without support from the United States, Britain and France lacked both military power and moral authority. When Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, however, Britain and France were forced to act independently, believing a war would be over swiftly and that Hitler could easily be defeated.

The final British Ambassador in Germany was Sir Neville Henderson, who arrived in Berlin in April 1937. In his memoirs, *Failure of a Mission* (1940), he judged Germany fairly on its merits. He described Hitler like this:

There was no impression of greatness, he was a spellbinder for his own people. His capacity to charm was part of his stock-in-trade. For me, he was a sort of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde – so full of tricks, a skilful mixer of fraud with force … Hitler will prove a fascinating study for future historians with a psychological leaning.

Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Why didn't the world stop Hitler?'** A student gives a short response. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' and the student gives another brief response to explain their ideas further. After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 3.3: VISUAL ANALYSIS OF WAR PROPAGANDA
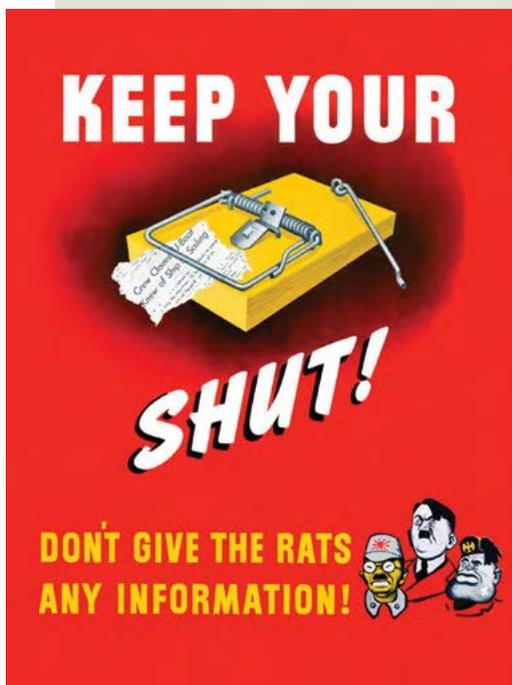
Source 3.21 A digitally restored propaganda poster

Source 3.22 A digitally restored propaganda poster with Mussolini, Tojo and Hitler

Examine Sources 3.21 and 3.22 and answer the following questions.

1   Who may have produced these posters?
2   What is the intended message for the viewer?
3   What is the main fear behind these posters?
4   How effective do you think these posters would have been in conveying their message?

Source 3.23 Timeline of the road to World War II

Date	Mussolini's Fascist Italy	Hitler's Nazi Germany	Militaristic Japan
1929	Great Depression begins		
1930	Britain, United States, Japan, France and Italy sign naval disarmament treaty		
1931			Invasion of Manchuria
1932			Invasion of Shanghai in China
1933	Failure of League of Nations Disarmament Conference		
1933		Hitler is sworn in as Chancellor of Germany	
1934		Hitler becomes dictator of Germany after Hindenburg's death	
1935	Invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia)		
1936	Support the fascist uprising in the Spanish Civil War (1936–39)		February 26th Incident – failed military coup
1936		Reoccupies the Rhineland	
November 1936		Sign the Anti-Comintern Pact to protect themselves against the Communist International (Comintern) in Soviet Russia	
1937	Signs the Anti-Comintern Pact		Invasion of China, called Second Sino-Japanese War, includes destruction of the capital Nanking
1938		March – takes over Austria following the *Anschluss* agreement September – takes over the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia	
March and April 1939	Britain (March) and France (April) promise to protect Poland if it is attacked		
May 1939	Sign the Pact of Friendship and Alliance (named the Pact of Steel by Mussolini) pledging trust and support in war		Japan decides not to sign this pact because it wants the focus changed from Britain and France to Soviet Russia
1939		March – invades the rest of Czechoslovakia August – Germany and Russia sign the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact allowing Hitler to invade Poland without Russian retaliation September – Germany invades Poland	

Date	Mussolini's Fascist Italy	Hitler's Nazi Germany	Militaristic Japan
1940 – outbreak of war	Italy ill-prepared to fight in September 1939. Declares war on Britain and France in June 1940.	Britain and France issue an ultimatum and declare war on Germany. Within hours, Australia pledges its support for Britain. World War II begins in Europe.	Begins fighting against Britain and the United States in 1940.
Role in war	Military weakness results in a series of defeats in North and East Africa and the Balkans. Italy surrenders in 1943.	Germany is influential throughout Europe, including implementing the Jewish Holocaust. Germany surrenders in May 1945 after Hitler's death.	Japan is dominant throughout South-East Asia but this is gradually lost through Allied victories. Japan surrenders in August 1945 after the United States drops atomic bombs on its major cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Focus questions

1 Imagine that you are the leader of Britain, France or the United States. Which of the events outlined in Source 3.23 would have been the most worrying to you? Explain why.
2 Which country was the main aggressor? Explain your answer using the information in the source.
3 Debate this topic in your class: After which event was there a point of no return? When was war inevitable?

Analysing images – CCF model

There are many models and ways to analyse images. The CCF model is one possible process.

Content
Ask yourself questions about the actual things that you see in the image.

• What is the caption of the image?
• When was the image produced?
• Who is/are the key figure or figures in the image?
• What is in the background and what does it symbolise?
• What is in the foreground and what does it symbolise?
• Who or what is NOT in the image?

Context
Ask yourself questions about what was happening around the time of the topic in the image.

• What event or topic is shown in the image?
• Why did this event happen? What caused it?
• What was the significance of this event? What happened after this event?

Function
Ask yourself questions about the purpose, or function, of the image.

• What is the main message of the image?
• Is this image for or against the world leaders shown?

- Which other examples can you think of that would support this message? Which examples would be opposite to this message?

Analysis activity 3.4 shows some powerful political cartoon images by Dr Seuss alerting the United States public to the dangers of the war threat from Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy and Tojo in Japan. You are not expected to have a detailed knowledge of the events of World War II. Instead, you are expected to use the information in this chapter, focusing on the erupting tensions in Europe and Asia. Note that the 'Context' of each of these images is therefore the same.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 3.4: VISUAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL CARTOONS BY DR SEUSS

It is remarkable to consider that the popular children's author Dr Seuss, with his gentle and clever rhymes and illustrations, was also a political cartoonist. But he was! He drew cartoons for an American daily newspaper called *PM* in New York, which was only produced for a short time. Seuss agreed to work as the editorial cartoonist for this tabloid because he believed he had no great causes or interest in social issues until Hitler. He worked at *PM* from early 1941 to January 1943. Seuss was a humanitarian who used his humour to fight powerfully against dictators, racism and the anti-Semitism of World War II. He was the master of the art of gentle persuasion. His cartoons from this short period have been published in a collection called *Dr Seuss Goes to War: the World War II editorial cartoons of Theodor Seuss Geisel* compiled by Richard H. Minear (The New Press, New York, 1999). This activity uses some of Seuss's political cartoons.

1   Use the CCF model to analyse Sources 3.26, 3.27, 3.28 and 3.29.
2   What are the similarities between these images?
3   Which one do you think is most effective?
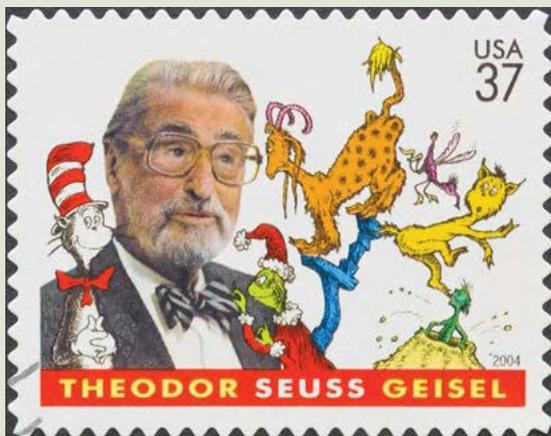
Source 3.24 Dr Seuss with some of his creations
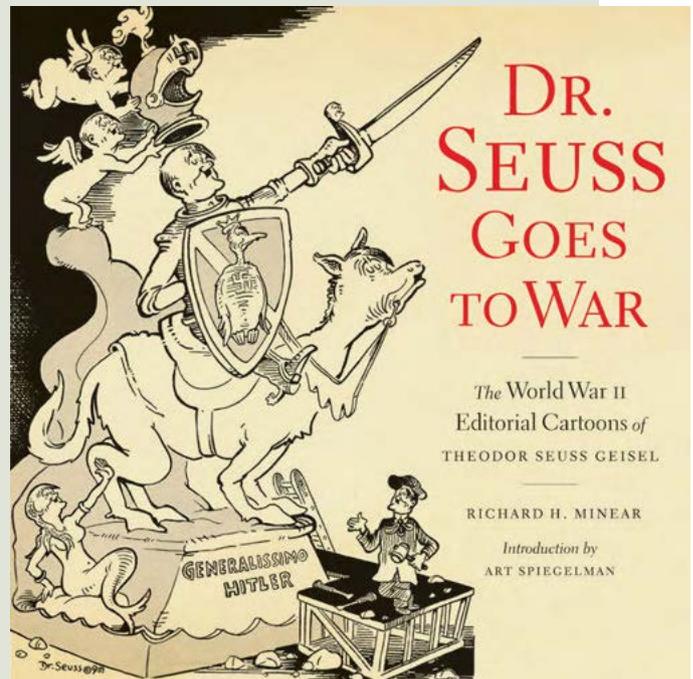
Source 3.25 The cover of *Dr Seuss Goes to War*

(continued)

Source 3.26 Dr Seuss's perspective on the threat of Italy, Germany and Japan to the United States

Source 3.27 Dr Seuss's perspective on the threat of Germany and Japan to the common person

Source 3.28 Dr Seuss's perspective on Hitler's territorial aggression
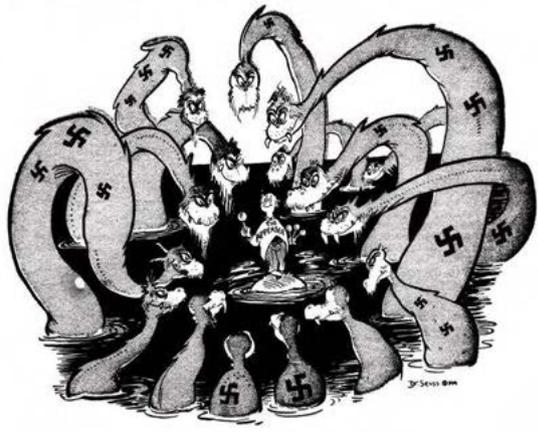
Source 3.29 Dr Seuss's perspective on Britain and France's policy of appeasement

The story so far

- *League of Nations:* The League of Nations had one major aim – to disarm the aggressors from World War I so that another international conflict did not occur. It failed.
- *Italy:* Mussolini created a fascist one-party state where all opposition parties and the parliament were abolished, a strong police force was introduced, a pact of respect was made with the Pope, state propaganda was widespread and anti-Semitism was emphasised. Territorial aggression resulted through the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia).
- *Germany:* Hitler created a Nazi one-party state where all opposition parties and the Reichstag (parliament) were abolished. The Emergency Decree and Enabling Act limited the civil freedoms of all citizens. As a result, German citizens were not allowed to stand in opposition in elections or to oppose any of the policies of the Nazi Party. The powerful SS and newly created Gestapo had unlimited power to arrest and send people to concentration camps, like Dachau, without trial. President Hindenburg's death from natural causes allowed Hitler to create for himself a new role as Führer. Hitler now had unlimited supreme power over the German nation.
- *Japan:* powerful military leaders dominated the civilian government throughout the interwar years, leading to a number of failed military coups d'état. Radical members of the military initiated a range of attacks on China and the city of Shanghai, ultimately drawing Japan into World War II against Britain and the United States in the Pacific.
- *Appeasement:* Germany, Italy and Japan defied the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles to strengthen their military capacity. The failure of the Western policy of appeasement ultimately led to the outbreak of World War II.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1 Why did the League of Nations fail to achieve its aims of peace and disarmament?

2 How did Mussolini influence change in Fascist Italy?

3 How did Hitler influence change in Nazi Germany?

4 How did military leaders influence change in Japan?

5 Why wasn't Hitler's aggression stopped by Britain and France?
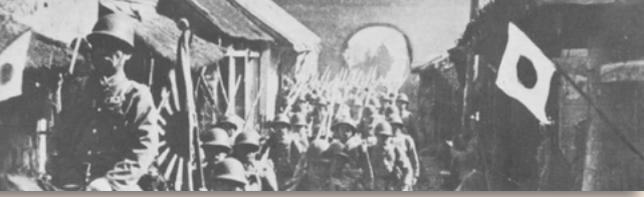
ANALYSE THE HISTORIAN'S VIEWS

William Sheridan Allen was an American author who wrote two books on Nazi Germany. In this extract from his book *The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town*, Allen argues that the genuine force of the Nazis' Gestapo was made worse by the fear within the people themselves.

> *It seems clear that the public in Northeim had a good idea, by mid-summer 1933, that even to express oneself against the new system was to invite persecution. In fact, not only were Northeimers aware of this situation, but by their very awareness they reinforced the actual terror apparatus. Each time someone in Northeim cautioned his neighbour or friend, he was strengthening the general atmosphere of fear … Thus the Gestapo became extraordinarily efficient by reason of rumors and fears … Thus very early in 1933 there was the case of a Dr. Kuno Ruhmann who went to a party and, after one drink too many, sought to entertain people by imitating Hitler's way of speaking. The next morning his hostess reported him to Nazi headquarters. Word of this spread very quickly and soon Northeimers saw that it was better not to go to parties at all.*

1   According to the extract, why did people feel that they must betray their friends?

2   Why did the author use the story of Dr Ruhmann?

3   Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain how Hitler and the Nazi Party used force and fear.

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

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

Write a considered response to this statement about Adolf Hitler: *'Hitler wanted power too much and he didn't care how he achieved it.'*

To what extent do you agree with this statement? Provide detailed evidence to support your answer.

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

• What does 'power' mean? Define it. Explain it.

• What policies and events assisted Hitler to achieve total power in Germany? Explain why these events increased his power by decreasing the power of others.

• Comment on the phrase 'too much'. Can anyone want power too much? Did it cloud Hitler's judgement? Did it make Hitler single-minded or totally focused on his goal at the expense of others? If so, what were some examples? A strong example is murdering his SA leader, Ernst Röhm.

• Do you agree with the phrase 'didn't care how he achieved it'? Do you think that the end (becoming dictator) justified the means (use of force and fear)? Would the end justify the means for you?

• What did Hitler sacrifice in his determination for total power? Lives? Human rights? International reputation and negotiation? Nothing?

Source 3.30 Adolf Hitler at the May Day Celebration, 1938

part two

Social and cultural change

" *A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people.*

— MAHATMA GANDHI "

OVERVIEW

The adoption of strong ideologies also resulted in significant social and cultural change in the contrasting decades of the 1920s and 1930s. The new Nazi government in Germany used the instruments of the state including the military, education and propaganda to impose controls on the way people lived, to exclude particular groups of people such as the Jews and to silence criticism.

In comparison, in the United States, the 1920s witnessed rapid consumerism and material progress that was dramatically stopped by the Great Depression of 1929. In both countries, writers, artists, musicians and filmmakers both promoted and resisted these changes. The changes are explored in detail in two contrasting civilisations: Nazi Germany (Chapter 4) and the United States (Chapter 5).

KEY CONCEPTS

- Anti-Semitism
- Cultural change
- Democracy
- Great Depression
- Nazism
- Propaganda
- Social life

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SUMMARY OF KEY EVENTS

Germany under Nazism 1919–1944

1919	Bauhaus Art School established	Begins an art movement that influenced art and artists well after its closure in 1933
1922	Hitler Youth established	Hitler establishes the Nazi ideology by attracting loyalty through youth programs
1933	**January:** Hitler elected as Chancellor	Hitler's rule dramatically influences the political, economic and social life of Germany and Europe
1933	**1 April:** Boycott of Jewish shops **10 May:** Burning of books Anne Frank's Jewish family escapes Nazi Germany for the Netherlands	Persecution against Germany's Jewish population begins Nazi government censors books, films, art and architecture Resistance to Nazism takes many forms such as migration
1935	**15 September:** Nuremberg Laws discriminate against Jews in Germany	Jews in Germany are legally discriminated against
1936	**August:** Olympic Games in Berlin	The success of these Games highlights the power of the Nazi propaganda machine led by Joseph Goebbels
1938	**9 November–10 November:** *Kristallnacht* attacks against Jews	Government leaders authorise public and violent attacks against Jews
1943	**22 February:** Sophie Scholl from White Rose Resistance executed	Opposition to the Nazi government is not tolerated
1944	**4 August:** Anne Frank and her family are captured	The reach of Germany's ideology spreads throughout European countries and deeply impacts future generations

United States under democracy 1918–1933

Year	Event	Description
1920	**16 January:** Prohibition begins in America	Passing of 18th Amendment allows the government to ban alcohol in a brave social experiment
1921	**21 January:** Charlie Chaplin releases his silent movie *The Kid*	Films are incredibly popular in the 1920s and make actors, actresses and performers household names
1923	**4 November:** President Coolidge elected	Coolidge presides over the economic boom of the 1920s, stating that 'the business of America is business'
1925	**10 April:** F. Scott Fitzgerald publishes his novel, *The Great Gatsby*	Writers like Fitzgerald and Hemingway become iconic American authors
1927	**26 May:** End of manufacture of Model T Fords **6 October:** The first 'talkie', *The Jazz Singer*, premieres	This popular car helps the motor industry to boom Films with spoken dialogue emerge, marking the beginning of the end of the silent movie
1928	**29 July:** Walt Disney's first cartoon success with *Steamboat Willie* starring Mickey Mouse	Disney goes from strength to strength and quickly dominates the animated film industry
1929	**14 February:** St Valentine's Day Massacre **24 October:** Black Thursday **29 October:** The Wall Street Crash occurs, triggering the Great Depression	Prohibition unwillingly escalates organised crime. Al Capone was the leading gangster who initiated this and many other infamous crimes. Over $16 billion was lost on this day and the Roaring Twenties were brought to an end The worldwide Great Depression begins
1932	Impact of Great Depression reaches its peak	Unemployment reduces America to despair
1933	**8 November:** President Roosevelt elected **9 March:** Roosevelt's New Deal begins **5 December:** Prohibition ends	Roosevelt took office in 1933 with the objective of helping the country recover from the Great Depression Prohibition is ended through the passing of the 21st Amendment America's economy is stabilised over the next decade

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4

Germany under Nazism

> *If there had been a strong democratic sentiment in Germany, Hitler would never have come to power. Germans deserved what they got when they went round crying for a hero.*
>
> — A.J.P. TAYLOR, HISTORIAN

OVERVIEW

As Führer, Hitler's goal was to strengthen Germany's position in Europe. After taking power, Hitler attempted to reverse the humiliations suffered as a result of the Treaty of Versailles with a series of 'nation-building' changes through **reforms**. With the aid of a highly functioning propaganda machine, Hitler was able to shift the **psychology** of the nation from depressed to energised, from hopeless to hopeful, from weak to strong. The German people grew to believe that they were working for the greater good of the nation, not for a weekly wage, and that their leisure time was best spent building community spirit. The goal of 'social harmony' informed the Nazis' nationalistic reforms – what was deemed 'best' for the nation came before the needs of any individual.

reforms changes or developments to a previous way of doing things

psychology the mental state or attitude of a person or group

KEY ISSUES

- What was the impact of political change?
- What was the impact of economic change?
- What was the impact of social change?
- How did the Nazis attempt to control cultural expression?
- What were the criticisms and challenges to Nazism?

FLOW OF CHAPTER

Nuremberg rallies	Propaganda	Hitler Youth	Education	Sport

POLITICAL CHANGES

Creating jobs

Role of women		
SOCIAL CHANGES	**PRO-NAZI POLICIES**	**ECONOMIC CHANGES**
Persecution of the Jews		Role of Dr Schacht

Work life

Burning books

	CREATING AND CONTROLLING CULTURAL EXPRESSION	**Bauhaus Movement**
Art		

Edelweiss Pirates and White Rose Movement	**CHALLENGES TO NAZISM**	Migration

4.1 The influence of political change: Establishment of a totalitarian regime

Nuremberg rallies

Hitler generated mass support at his carefully staged annual Nuremberg rallies. He employed his tried and tested tactics to full effect here – using banners, flags, precision, crowds, searchlights pointed up to form columns, salutes and military prowess. These rallies became a visual spectacle of the nationalism sweeping the **Third Reich**.

Third Reich the label given by the Nazis to their government

Source 4.1 A huge crowd of soldiers stand to attention at Nuremberg, Germany, listening to Adolf Hitler during the Nazi Party rally of 1936. The Party held a similar rally here every year between 1933 and 1938.

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Propaganda snapshot: 1936 Berlin Olympic Games

The world witnessed a propaganda machine that was incredibly developed and dominant under the direction of Joseph Goebbels. Goebbels was in charge of cultural institutions, publishing, art, theatre, music, press, radio and all other media. The 1936 Olympic Games, which were held in the German capital of Berlin, presented a legitimate stage from which to proclaim Nazi propaganda to both Germans and the rest of the world. Goebbels worked hard to showcase all the positive aspects of Nazism in the ultimate public spectacle. No expense was spared building a massive new stadium capable of holding 100 000 people, complete with film cameras, electric lighting, photoelectric timing devices and the largest stop-clock ever built.

A MATTER OF FACT

The opening ceremony saw a 304-metre Hindenburg zeppelin airship circling the stadium with a massive Olympics flag. Hitler released 20 000 pigeons and cannons were fired all over Berlin.

Source 4.2 Propaganda Minister Goebbels

The Nazi propaganda machine presented Germany as a tolerant, civilised and efficient nation to visitors flocking to Germany. The following temporary laws were passed as a result:

- The Nuremberg Laws (racial laws against Jews that are covered later in this chapter) were relaxed.
- The SS was ordered to resist public beatings of Jews.
- All anti-Jewish posters and literature were removed.
- Persecution of the church was temporarily suspended.
- Anti-homosexual laws were relaxed.
- Newspapers were forbidden to print anti-Jewish stories or images, but newspaper vending machines were removed just in case.
- Residents of Berlin were not allowed to mention anything anti-Jewish between 30 June and 1 September.
- Oranienburg Concentration Camp in northern Berlin was disguised.

The Games were an incredible ideological success for Hitler. Nazi filmmaker, Leni Riefenstahl, captured the games in her documentary feature *Olympia*. Despite Germany topping the medals tally, the greatest athlete of the Games was Jesse Owens, an African-American runner who won four gold medals and broke 11 world records. Hitler refused to shake his hand or meet him and the German press sidelined his achievements.

The United States considered boycotting the Berlin Olympics because of the Nazis' violent anti-Jewish policies. As a token gesture, Germany included one Jewish athlete in its team, the Aryan-looking fencing champion Helene Mayer who won a silver medal. In a carefully orchestrated act of propaganda, she saluted Hitler from the medals podium and later shook his hand.

Source 4.3 Jesse Owens

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.1: VISUAL ANALYSIS

1   Write down three words to describe your response to this image.
2   What do you think Hitler wanted visitors to believe about Germany?
3   To what degree do you think he was successful in achieving this?

Source 4.4 The 1936 Berlin Olympic Games poster

Hitler Youth

My magnificent youngsters! Are there finer ones in the world? … With them I can make a new world.

Adolf Hitler

I want a cruel unflinching youth … slim and slender, swift as the greyhound, tough as leather and as hard as Krupp steel.

Adolf Hitler

indoctrination the instruction or training of someone to believe and support a particular set of ideas or philosophies, often through highly emotive or persuasive means

National Socialism (Nationalism) and collective responsibility to work together to return the nation to its former glory (socialism)

conformity compliant behaviour, often motivated by fear of rejection or the social consequences that might arise from non-compliance

Developing a strong political culture filtered into every level of Nazi society. Hitler cleverly grew the popularity of his regime through a strategic focus on the young. Although the Hitler Youth was established in 1922, it gained widespread appeal in 1929 when Baldur von Schirach was appointed its head, and Hitler's popularity increased. While German youth relished the freedom from their parents these groups gave them, they encountered controls of a different kind in their exposure to Nazi policy and **indoctrination**. Although German youth were strongly encouraged to join youth groups, it was not compulsory until 1939.

The Hitler Youth had the following as its central goal: 'All German young people will be educated in the Hitler Youth physically, intellectually and morally in the Spirit of **National Socialism** to serve the nation and community.' The focus of the group was on **conformity** and adherence to National Socialist ideals so that boys were prepared to be soldiers and girls to be mothers. The Hitler Youth met twice a week, separated by gender. Regular activities included marching, map reading, weapons training, communal singing, literature reading and lectures about Nazi ideology.

A MATTER OF FACT

An all-female equivalent of the Hitler Youth, called the League of Young Girls, trained girls to be physically active through organised sports and camps. Girls were expected to run 60 metres in 14 seconds, throw a ball 12 metres, complete a two-hour march, swim 10 metres and know how to make a bed.

A MATTER OF FACT

There were even special groups called the Motorised Hitler Youth, Naval Hitler Youth and Flying Hitler Youth, which prepared boys for careers in the army, navy and air force.

Hitler looked over the stand, and I know he looked into my eyes, and he said: 'You my boys are the standard bearers, you will inherit what we have created.' From that moment there was not any doubt I was bound to Adolf Hitler until long after our defeat. Afterwards I told my friends how Hitler had looked into my eyes, but they all said: 'No! It was my eyes he was looking into.'

A Hitler Youth boy at a Hitler Youth Rally

Source 4.5 'We rule body and soul'

Source 4.6 German children participating in Hitler Youth activities

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?
Use the images in Sources 4.5 and 4.6 and the quotes on page 88 and above about youth in Germany. This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What's going on in these images and quotes?'** The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the images.

Sport

The new age of today is at work on a new human type. Men and women are to be healthier, stronger; there is a new feeling of life, a new joy in life.

Adolf Hitler, speaking at the opening of the House of Art (Haus der Kunst) in Munich, 1937

Source 4.7
Hundreds of German girls perform calisthenics at a Hitler Youth rally

Sport for war

Nazism was radically anti-individual and promoted belonging to a team. Sport was a significant feature of life in Nazi Germany for young and old because physical ability was considered to be more important than intellect or moral character. A passion for competition and physical prowess was converted into a passion for war and defending the fatherland. As well as preparing young people for war, Hitler also believed that sport provided a healthy alternative to 'harmful activities such as card playing, drinking alcohol and bad music'. Because of the restrictions placed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, any activity that might be perceived as preparation for war was disguised as a 'sport', such as shooting, sailing, flying gliders, map reading and erecting camouflage.

A MATTER OF FACT

Elite male teenage sportsmen had their own organisation called the Order Castles. Its members were pushed to the limits playing war games with live ammunition. Many of these young men became part of SS death squads on the Eastern Front during the war.

Heavyweight boxing

A 1936 world heavyweight boxing match provides an interesting example of the position of sport in Nazi ideology. The fight was scheduled for 19 June 1936 between German Max Schmeling and rising superstar African-American Joe Louis, who was responsible for the famous line 'He can run, but he can't hide'. But it was a contest of ideologies, not just boxing. Schmeling was promoted as the perfect Aryan specimen. Bets had Louis placed as 10–1 favourite. In front of 45 000 people at Yankee Stadium, Schmeling hammered Louis until the fight was stopped in the twelfth round. For the Nazis, this victory confirmed that Aryan men were superior. There is another side to this story, however. A revenge rematch was scheduled for 22 June 1938, again in America in front of a crowd of 70 000. As soon as the fight began, a pumped Joe Louis threw 40 punches in 2.04 minutes to knock Schmeling out and send him to hospital. Louis became a national hero and Hitler later declared Schmeling a failure. Jews and black people were banned from sports in Germany after 1936.

Source 4.8 American Joe Louis (left) fighting Max Schmeling in 1936

A MATTER OF FACT

School students had to do five sessions of Physical Education per week by 1938 and boxing was compulsory.

4.2 The influence of economic change

History will not judge us according to whether we have removed or imprisoned the largest number of economists, but according to whether we have succeeded in providing work.

Adolf Hitler to Nazi State Governors, 6 July 1933

Many Germans were willing to tolerate Hitler's use of force to gain political domination because he provided two things they had lacked since the war – work and a strong government.

Reducing unemployment

Hitler's primary economic success lay in virtually eliminating unemployment – dropping it from 6 million when he gained power in 1933 (one-third of the working population) to just 2.9 million by 1935. By 1939, unemployment had been wiped out with a mere 301 900 people remaining jobless. Nazi Germany was not only improving the standard of living for its people but was also becoming the envy of the Western world.

Role of Dr Schacht: Autobahns and rearmament

To achieve his goal of reinvigorating the German economy, Hitler appointed Dr Hjalmar Schacht as the Minister of Economics. Schacht laid the foundations for economic improvement by fixing low interest rates to improve investor confidence. He followed that with two ambitious schemes. First, he focused on major public works programs, including the construction of massive motorways, called *autobahns*, still in use today. Their construction created 120 000 jobs while boosting automobile production. Second, he broke the military conditions of the Treaty of Versailles, thus enabling Nazi Germany to begin full-scale weapons manufacturing, building more tanks and submarines, and multiplying the size of the army, air force and navy. By 1936, nearly 20 per cent of the total state finances were allocated to **rearmament**.

rearmament the production of more weapons and military equipment to regain military strength

The worldwide economy was picking up again after the Great Depression, however, so the radical transformation of the German economy was not entirely due to the vision of Hitler or the talent of Schacht.

Source 4.9 Hitler inspects a Volkswagen

Improving work life: 'Strength through Joy'

Germany's 169 trade union groups were abolished and replaced by the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (DAF), or German Work Front, which controlled every aspect of working life, from wages to hours. The DAF's purpose was to impose Nazi economic and social policy to create an ordered and harmonious working community, including a program called 'Strength through Joy'. This program provided workers with entertainment, exercise and cheap holidays. The Nazis minimised workers' discontent by doubling the amount of holiday time that was allowed under the Weimar Republic. In 1938, half of Germany's workers went on Nazi-organised and subsidised holidays which included luxury cruise liners and trips to countries like Italy.

A MATTER OF FACT

The Nazis introduced new public holidays on the following days: 30 January, the day Hitler was appointed Chancellor; 24 February, the day the Nazi Party was founded; and 20 April, Hitler's birthday.

As the economy improved, Germans found the Nazis more appealing. After years of hyperinflation and depression under the Weimar Republic, potential critics held their tongue for fear they would lose their jobs. Bosses made donations to Nazi Party funds for fear of being put out of business; workers tried to live a comfortable life by keeping their heads down and remaining silent. In essence, the Nazi economic success bought people's compliance.

The average worker is primarily interested in work and not in democracy … One must be clear about the fact that in the first instance men are fathers of families and have jobs, and that for them politics takes second place and even then only when they expect to get something out of it.

A socialist activist in 1936

4.3 The influence of social change: The role of gender, race and ethnicity

Under the influence of Nazism, Germany changed significantly during the interwar years. Socially, patterns of daily life changed incredibly because of Hitler's desire to unify and strengthen the nation. Traditional expressions of social norms were challenged and changed.

Changes to the role of women

We want women in whose life and work the characteristically feminine is preserved – women that we can love!

Nazi Deputy Leader Rudolf Hess in a speech after an a cappella choir performance, 1936

Nazis held a conservative view of what constituted proper gender roles. Nazi ideology held that the world was divided into two spheres: the public, political sphere of the male, and the private, domestic sphere of the female. Just as he regarded races as being separate, Hitler also believed that men and women were totally different. He rejected the liberal attitudes of the previous Weimar Republic towards women that had given them the vote and created major educational and work opportunities. In 1934, Joseph Goebbels wrote:

The mission of woman is to be beautiful and to bring children into the world … In exchange, the male takes care of gathering the food, and stands guard and wards off the enemy.

When Hitler came to power in 1933, he further idealised women's role as mother, elevating it to woman as a mother and servant to the nation. In a speech in 1934, he argued:

What the man gives in courage on the battlefield, the woman gives in eternal self-sacrifice, in eternal pain and suffering. Every child that a woman brings into the world is a battle, a battle waged for the existence of her people.

In Nazi Germany, women's role was to increase the birth rate and raise Aryan children devoted to the Führer and fatherland (that is, Germany). This female ideal was called a *Hausfrau*, or housewife. The Nazi slogan for women was 'Children, church and kitchen'. Women were excluded from full membership of the Nazi Party, politics, armed forces and the legal profession so they could focus on their domestic role. Abortion was illegal, birth-control clinics were closed and contraception was removed, with the support of the Catholic Church.

The National Socialist Welfare Organisation was established with 25 000 advice centres throughout Germany to teach females how to be ideal women. It also produced a pamphlet called 'Ten Commandments for the Choice of a Spouse'.

Ten Commandments for the Choice of a Spouse

Remember that you are a German.

If you are genetically healthy you should not remain unmarried.

Keep your body pure.

You should keep your mind and spirit pure.

As a German choose only a spouse of the same or Nordic blood.

In choosing a spouse, ask about his ancestors.

Health is also a precondition for physical beauty.

Marry only for love.

Don't look for a playmate but for a companion for marriage.

You should want to have as many children as possible.

Source 4.10 Women in traditional folk dresses at a Nazi event in 1935

The state also introduced rewards for having lots of children. The much-publicised policies were called *Geburtenschlacht*, which meant the 'Battle for Births'. For example, a generous interest-free Marriage Loan was introduced to encourage young couples to marry so that they could begin producing children. Mothers of six children or more were given the same medals as men in combat because, according to leading Nazi Dr Gerhard Wagner, mothers also risked their lives for Germany and its people. The 'Honour Cross of the German Mother' was awarded on Mother's Day each year of the Nazi regime.

A MATTER OF FACT

Single women and childless couples were taxed more heavily and the money was given to married mothers.

Source 4.11 Honour Cross of the German Mother

In the end, while marriage rates increased, birth rates increased only marginally. Women who had been working under the previous government were removed from paid employment, and the government rethought its ideology, deciding to use women to work in factories and to manufacture tanks, aircraft and bullets. As on many occasions throughout history, economic demands beat ideological beliefs.

The true tragedy of this ideology is reflected in the fate of those women who did not fit the Aryan ideal: Jewish women, Aryan women married to Jews, Roma women (Gypsies) and women with a physical or mental disability. Those women who were considered unfit to have children were compulsorily sterilised, foreign women were turned into slaves or prostitutes, and peasant women were treated simply as breeders. Some women were murdered, deemed 'life unworthy of life'. A concentration camp, Moringen, was established for these women in October 1933. In no way can this brief description convey the pain of the individual story of each of these women.

Changes to education

Today we suffer from over-education. Only knowledge is prized. The know-it-alls are the enemies of action. What is needed is instinct and will.

Adolf Hitler, in a speech in 1923

Universities are normally places where free thinking is encouraged. But anyone who opposed National Socialism at a German university was expelled. In schools, students stood and waited patiently before class began. All classes began when the teacher entered, moved to the front of the room and saluted the class saying 'Heil Hitler', which was repeated by the students. Then they sat down ready to begin the lesson.

The daily timetable for a girls' boarding school in Nazi Germany looked something like that shown in Source 4.12.

	8.00 am	8.50	9.40	10.25	11.00	12.10 pm	1.00–6.00	Evening
Monday	German	Singing, Geography or History	Race Studies and Ideology	Recess – which included sports	Domestic Science or Maths	Health Biology	Sport	Sex Education, Ideology or Domestic Science

Source 4.12 A typical daily school timetable

Focus question

Talk the thought – the four Cs

Use the information about the changing role of women and education. This thinking routine provides a structure for rich discussion. In small groups, each person shares their response to the first 'C': 'Connections'. Then each member shares a 'Challenge', and so on.

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

Changes to the understanding of race and ethnicity

The idea of struggle is as old as life itself … In this struggle the stronger, the more able win, while the less able, the weak lose.

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*

Hitler did not invent anti-Semitism. Racist ideas and attitudes had been growing in popularity in Germany from the late 1800s. Nazi ideology believed in the superiority of the Aryan race. In this equation, therefore, other races must be perceived as inferior. The Jewish race was perceived to be the most inferior, along with other groups that did not fit the ideal: Roma (Gypsies), homosexuals and mentally and physically disabled people. Religious groups, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, were not tolerated and communists were frequently persecuted. As Source 4.13 shows, the Nazis had different methods of persecution for different groups.

Source 4.13 Persecuted groups and modes of persecution

Minorities	Action taken	Numbers
Hereditary illness	Sterilised and later killed	Over 300 000
Mentally disabled children and babies	Euthanasia program begun in 1939	Over 5000 were given a lethal injection or starved to death
Mentally disabled adults	Gassed between 1939 and 1941 before stopped by public opposition	72 000
Roma (Gypsies)	Extermination (not opposed)	25 000 out of original 30 000 in Germany were killed (that is, five out of six)
'Asocials' (homosexuals, alcoholics, homeless, prostitutes, criminals, beggars)	Sent to concentration camps	15 000 homosexuals; 10 000 alcoholics
Jews	Exterminated	Estimated 6 million across Europe; over 90% of Poland's 3.3 million Jews were killed

Boycott of Jewish shops, 1933

Early on, the new Nazi government imposed a boycott on Jewish shops. Signs were placed outside Jewish-owned shops with SA guards warning people not to shop there. The implication was that supporting Jewish businesses was unpatriotic and detrimental to the prosperity of the nation.

Source 4.14 Members of the SA block the entrance of a Jewish shop

4.4 The Nuremberg Laws, 1935

[A] Jewish youth lies in wait for hours on end satanically glaring at and spying on the unconscious girl whom he plans to seduce, adulterating her blood with the ultimate idea of bastardising the white race which they hate and thus lowering its cultural and political level so that the Jew might dominate.

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*

Many anti-Semitic laws were based on the belief that Jews were sexual predators from which German citizens needed protection. Every area of daily life and professional activity in which Jews and Aryans

might have contact was identified and prohibited to stop the risk of German women being sexually abused by Jewish men. For example, Jews were expelled from public swimming pools, Jews could not have German women under 45 as servants and laws forbidding marriage or sexual intercourse between Jews and Germans were introduced. The German population generally accepted these laws.

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?
This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What's going on in this image?'** (Source 4.15). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

Source 4.15 Poster from 1936: 'The Jews have always been race defilers'

At the Nuremberg Rally of 1935, Hitler introduced extreme reforms against German Jews, which became known as the Nuremberg Laws. The official names of these laws were the 'Reich Citizenship Law' and the 'Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour'. These laws removed all citizenship rights, including the right to vote.

4.5 *Kristallnacht*, or the Night of Broken Glass, 1938

The most violent attack on Jews took place over two nights in November 1938, which became known as *Kristallnacht*, or the Night of Broken Glass. The violence started when a young Polish Jew shot a German official in Paris. Hermann Göring declared that anyone who attacked Jews in Germany would go unpunished. Head of the Security Police, Reinhard Heydrich, authorised his police to imprison as many Jewish males as they could, and Nazi leaders encouraged violence on a massive scale. In a 48-hour period, 1000 synagogues were burnt, 7000 Jewish businesses were ransacked, 100 Jews were killed or seriously injured, and later, 30 000 Jews were sent to concentration camps.

A MATTER OF FACT

A witness to Kristallnacht, the US Consul in Leipzig, described synagogues being burnt with incendiary bombs, firemen leaving the synagogues to burn but watering the buildings next door, Jews being spat upon and a boy being hurled from a third-storey window.

Source 4.16
The ruins of Ohel Yaakov synagogue in Munich, set on fire during *Kristallnacht*

Unbelievably, the Nazis fined the Jewish community for the damage caused by *Kristallnacht*. They were forced to pay 1 billion deutschmarks as compensation to non-Jews in addition to fixing the damage to their own property. After *Kristallnacht*, Jews were excluded from schools, parks, restaurants and from owning shops.

4.6 Creating and controlling cultural expression

Influence of the Bauhaus Movement

The Bauhaus School was one of the most influential modernist art schools of the twentieth century. It was established in 1919 in Weimar and, despite being closed in Berlin in 1933, its teachings remained a powerful international influence. It was based on the concept that art had a close relationship with society and technology.

Designing is not a profession but an attitude. Design has many connotations. It is the organization of materials and processes in the most productive way, in a harmonious balance of all elements necessary for a certain function. It is the integration of technological, social, and economical requirements, biological necessities, and the psychological effects of materials, shape, color, volume and space. Thinking in relationships.

László Moholy-Nagy, Hungarian artist, painter and photographer at the Bauhaus School

Focus question

Explain what László Moholy-Nagy might have meant when he said that art is 'thinking in relationships'.

Art

To be German is to be logical and true. It is this spirit which has always lived in our people, which has inspired painters, sculptors, architects, thinkers, poets, and above all our musicians.

Adolf Hitler, speaking at the opening of the House of Art (Haus der Kunst) in Munich, 1937

Given his passion for the arts, Hitler focused heavily on developing the cultural life of the Third Reich. Hitler believed that modern art was made up of 'degenerative' trends such as surrealism, cubism and Dadaism that destroyed the eternal value of beauty and replaced it with ugliness. Hitler encouraged the work of artists in the classical style, such as Arno Breker and Adolf Wissel who produced art that promoted noble ideals similar in outlook to National Socialism.

Source 4.17 Arno Breker's *Die Partei* (The Party), representing the Nazi spirit

Architecture

Architecture in Nazi Germany was an important symbol of the Third Reich. Plans and buildings were a sign of the control, power and rebirth of Germany. Hitler had a keen interest in architecture, particularly the **baroque** and neo-baroque styles of Germany and Vienna, and although architecture in Nazi Germany did not stick to one particular style, buildings were consistently large with exaggerated accents to express the strength of their owners. Architecture was functional, always serving a purpose for the government and promoting ideology, and possessed similar elements to classical Roman and Greek structures.

baroque a style of European architecture, music and art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries characterised by its free style and use of classical sculpture

Source 4.18 The New Reich Chancellery, an example of an archetypical Nazi building. The image on the left shows the enlarged, grand exterior of the Courtyard of Honour. The image on the right shows the baroque influence on the interior of the building.

Music

Much like architecture, music was used to promote the Nazi ideal and as another tool for controlling all aspects of civilian life. Artistic freedom was limited at this time and the policy of *Gleichschaltung* was introduced to ensure the only music heard was 'good German music'. Hitler believed good German music was that composed by Aryans and which fitted Nazi ideals. He had a strong passion for composers such as Beethoven, Wagner and Bruckner. To promote this style of music the *Reichsmusikkammer* was established, where talented, loyal Nazi members were guaranteed a job, and non-Jewish people who had musical genius were also allowed. Any music that did not fit Hitler's beliefs was banned and labelled as 'degenerate'; this included jazz, swing music and any music composed by the Jewish community.

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

Reichsmusikkammer the Reich Music Chamber, an institution created to promote 'good German music' and suppress 'degenerate' music

Propaganda in schools

Schools were used as places of learning about racial purity and the superiority of Germanity. Hence, the Nazis began their racial education with primary school children, indoctrinating them about the social division between true Germans and the inferior Jews. The most significant example of this was the picture book *The Poisonous Mushroom*. Published in 1938 by Julius Streicher, the founder and publisher of *Der Stürmer*, the Nazi newspaper, *The Poisonous Mushroom* is a collection of 17 stories designed to teach German children that the Jews were evil and dangerous while pure Germans were heroic and good. The title story likens Jews to poisonous mushrooms lurking in the forest.
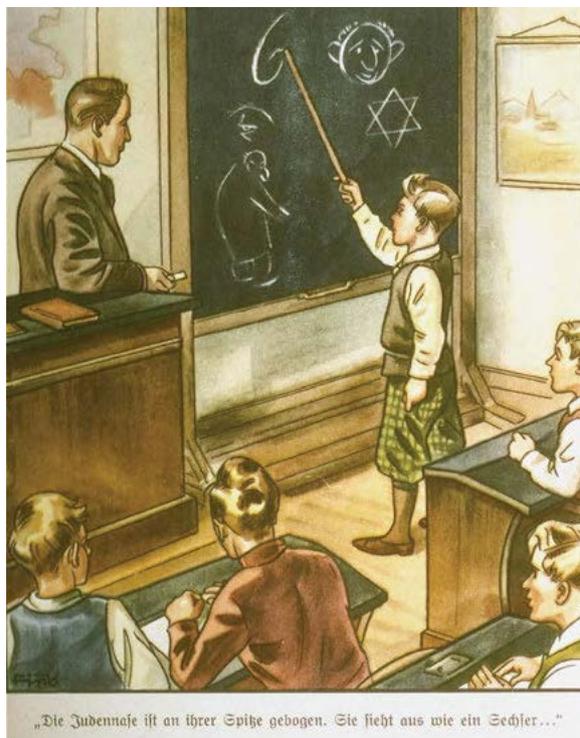
Source 4.19 Story 2: How to tell a Jew. 'The Jewish nose is bent at the tip. It looks like the number six'

Source 4.20 Story 17: Without solving the Jewish question, no salvation for mankind. 'He who fights the Jews battles the Devil'

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.2: THE POISONOUS MUSHROOM

Read the following extract from *The Poisonous Mushroom* and answer the questions below.

A mother and her young boy are gathering mushrooms in the German forest. The boy finds some poisonous ones. The mother explains that there are good mushrooms and poisonous ones, and, as they go home, says:

'Look, Franz, human beings in this world are like the mushrooms in the forest. There are good mushrooms and there are good people. There are poisonous, bad mushrooms and there are bad people. And we have to be on our guard against bad people just as we have to be on guard against poisonous mushrooms. Do you understand that?'

'Yes, mother,' Franz replies. 'I understand that in dealing with bad people trouble may arise, just as when one eats a poisonous mushroom. One may even die!'

'And do you know, too, who these bad men are, these poisonous mushrooms of mankind?' the mother continued.

Source 4.21 The cover of *The Poisonous Mushroom*

Franz slaps his chest in pride: 'Of course I know, mother! They are the Jews! Our teacher has often told us about them.'

The mother praises her boy for his intelligence, and goes on to explain the different kinds of 'poisonous' Jews: the Jewish pedlar, the Jewish cattle-dealer, the Kosher butcher, the Jewish doctor, the baptised Jew, and so on.

'However they disguise themselves, or however friendly they try to be, affirming a thousand times their good intentions to us, one must not believe them. Jews they are and Jews they remain. For our Volk they are poison.'

'Like the poisonous mushroom!' says Franz.

'Yes, my child! Just as a single poisonous mushroom can kill a whole family, so a solitary Jew can destroy a whole village, a whole city, even an entire Volk.'

Franz has understood.

'Tell me, mother, do all non-Jews know that the Jew is as dangerous as a poisonous mushroom?'

Mother shakes her head.

'Unfortunately not, my child. There are millions of non-Jews who do not yet know the Jews. So we have to enlighten people and warn them against the Jews. Our young people, too, must be warned. Our boys and girls must learn to know the Jew. They must learn that the Jew is the most dangerous poison-mushroom in existence. Just as poisonous mushrooms spring up everywhere, so the Jew is found in every country in the world. Just as poisonous mushrooms often lead to the most dreadful calamity, so the Jew is the cause of misery and distress, illness and death.'

The author then concludes this story by pointing out the 'moral':

German youth must learn to recognise the Jewish poison-mushroom. They must learn what a danger the Jew is for the German Volk and for the whole world. They must learn that the Jewish problem involves the destiny of us all.

The following tales tell the truth about the Jewish poison-mushroom. They show the many shapes the Jew assumes. They show the depravity and baseness of the Jewish race. They show the Jew for what he really is:

The Devil in human form.

1 How does the author use mushrooms to explain differences between Germans and Jews?
2 List three separate words that portray the Jews in a negative light (for example, 'poisonous').
3 How does the story claim that Jews disguise themselves as part of everyday life?
4 What does the story claim is the danger of one Jew?
5 What do non-Jews need to know to protect themselves?
6 Summarise the story in two sentences of your own words for someone who has not read it.
7 In your opinion, is this story a good example of propaganda? Explain your answer using examples from the story.

Burning books

Where they burn books, they will ultimately burn people.

Heinrich Heine, *Almansor*, 1821

The Nazis also attacked culture and intellectual objects. In May 1933, they ordered the burning of all books that challenged the ideology and view of German history and society they were promoting. Nazi students were employed to raid university libraries, synagogues and even private homes. Books were then burnt in massive bonfires on streets and outside universities. In this context, book burning can be seen as a way to align culture with politics by purging all undesirable thoughts from German language and literature.

Authors whose books were burnt included:

- Albert Einstein
- Sigmund Freud
- Heinrich Heine
- Helen Keller
- Jack London
- Karl Marx
- Marcel Proust
- Walter Rathenau
- H.G. Wells.

A MATTER OF FACT

The German writer Bertolt Brecht escaped Nazi Germany two months before his books were burnt. He wrote to Hitler complaining that his books weren't being burnt and wanted to know why!

Source 4.22 The public burning of 'un-German' books by members of the SA and university students on the Opernplatz in Berlin

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?
This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What's going on in this image?'** (see Source 4.22). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.
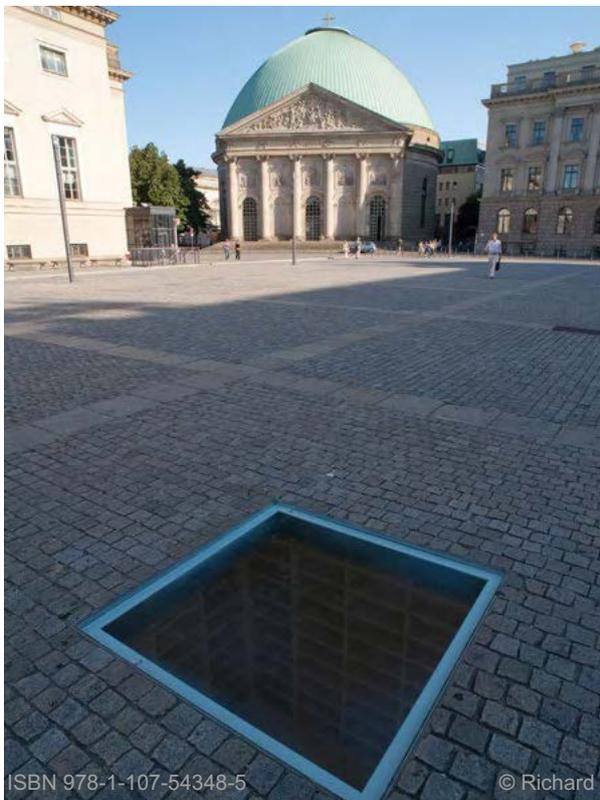
Source 4.23 Book Burning Memorial, Bebelplatz, Berlin

4.7 Challenges to Nazism

While Hitler attempted to create a unified society, and persecuted those who resisted, there were many individuals and groups who actively challenged Nazi ideology. This section outlines their stories and outcomes.

Edelweiss Pirates

Not all teenagers were members of the Hitler Youth. The most prominent alternative 'youth group' was the Edelweiss Pirates who named themselves after the edelweiss flower badges they wore on their collars. These were made up of working-class teenagers between the ages of 14 (when they could leave school) and 17 (when they had to enrol in the army). Their motivation was not political but social; they were united in their resentment of Nazi authority and control. In contrast to the Hitler Youth, the Edelweiss Pirates allowed membership to both boys and girls and had a more liberal attitude towards sex. They camped each weekend and sang songs mocking the Nazis. The Pirates also used graffiti slogans like 'Down with Hitler' as a form of social protest.

The Edelweiss Pirates were a problem for the Nazis throughout World War II, particularly when their activities escalated in Cologne in 1944. Pirates stole weapons and attacked the Gestapo, killing its chief, as well as hiding escaped soldiers and prisoners. The Nazi response was brutal and resulted in the public hanging of 12 of the group's leaders.

White Rose Resistance

The White Rose Resistance was a group led by five medical students from Munich University, including brother and sister Hans and Sophie Scholl. The group directly opposed the Nazi regime on moral grounds. Central to their resistance actions was the writing and distribution of anti-Nazi leaflets. The group felt strongly that they were speaking for thousands of people who were too afraid

Source 4.24 Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst

to speak out. In 1943, Sophie, Hans and their friend, Christoph Probst, were arrested, tried and found guilty of treason. All three were beheaded only a few hours after this verdict.

resistance movement
individuals and groups who unite in the common cause of opposing a specific government

Sophie Scholl occupied a central position in the German **resistance movement**. Sophie's legacy lies in the courage she displayed speaking out against the Nazis. She is widely considered one of the most significant Germans of all time. The 2005 film *Sophie Scholl: The Final Days* was nominated for an Academy Award.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.3: DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Here is an extract from the beginning of the White Rose's 'Second Pamphlet'. Read it and answer the questions.

It is impossible to engage in intellectual discourse with National Socialism because it is not an intellectually defensible program. It is false to speak of a National Socialist philosophy, for if there were such an entity, one would have to try by means of analysis and discussion either to prove its validity or to combat it. In actuality, however, we face a totally different situation. At its very inception this movement depended on the deception and betrayal of one's fellow man; even at that time it was inwardly corrupt and could support itself only by constant lies.

1 According to this pamphlet, what is the White Rose's main criticism of National Socialism?
2 How does the pamphlet illustrate that National Socialism is 'rotten to the core'?
3 What did other groups and other individuals do to resist and oppose Nazism?

Religion

The church in Germany was criticised for not openly opposing the Nazis. Two pastors did, however, speak out against Hitler. Pastors Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Niemoeller were both persecuted for this resistance. When he arrived at Dachau concentration camp, Pastor Niemoeller wrote a famous poem that expressed the ultimate consequences of political and social apathy.

In Germany, they came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist;

And then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist;

And then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew;

And then they came for me.

And by that time there was no one left to speak up.

Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages us to explore our own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for our ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'What did Niemoeller mean in this poem?'** A student responds. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

A MATTER OF FACT

The human spirit endures in the face of persecution and evil. Telling jokes can be seen as another form of resistance to a repressive regime. This one, told in the film Jakob the Liar (1999), may have provided the consolation of knowing that Hitler would not be remembered well by history: Hitler goes to a fortune teller and asks, 'When will I die?' And the fortune teller replies, 'On a Jewish holiday.' Hitler then asks, 'How do you know that?' And she replies, 'Any day you die will be a Jewish holiday!'

Migration

Between 1933 and 1938, 150 000 of Germany's 600 000 Jews emigrated, nearly all to the United States, Britain and Palestine. In total, 1.4 million of Europe's nine million Jews fled Europe. From 1938 onwards, Jews were forced to hand in their passports, but they were returned to anyone wanting to emigrate. We can assume that more Jews would have left Europe prior to the outbreak of World War II, therefore escaping extermination, if it had not been so difficult to find countries willing to lift their emigration quotas. In addition, because Jews had been stripped of their businesses and incomes, many could not afford the cost of relocation, or the bribes that were often required to leave.

Albert Einstein (1879–1955) was one of the most famous people to leave Germany; he left with his family in 1932 as anti-Semitism was on the rise. The Nazis would later describe his influential theory of relativity as mere 'Jewish speculation'.
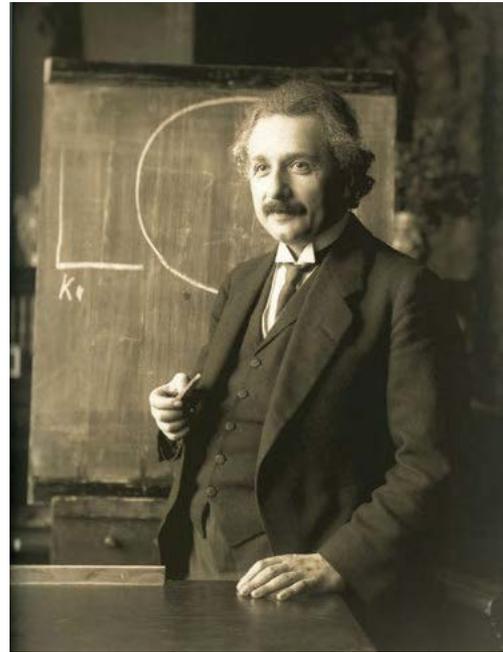
Source 4.25 Albert Einstein

Anne Frank, 1929–45

Otto and Edith Frank married and settled in Frankfurt, Germany. Anne was born in 1929 and her older sister Margot in 1926. The combination of Hitler's open attacks on the rights of Jews and the economic persecution of Jewish businesses drove Otto Frank to relocate to the Netherlands where they settled in the capital city of Amsterdam. They became one of the most famous families to emigrate from Nazi Germany. Anne was just four years old. She is on the front cover of this textbook.

Source 4.26 Anne Frank

Seven years later in May 1940, during World War II, Hitler invaded the Netherlands. Anne's family and four others hid in a secret annexe behind a bookcase in the Franks' house. It was during these years of hiding from the persecution of the Nazis that Anne wrote her diary and short stories, and collected the quotes that inspired her.

After being betrayed and subsequently arrested in 1944, the eight were transported to the Auschwitz death camp. Otto Frank was the only one to survive the Holocaust. He published Anne's diary in 1947 to fulfil her wish of being a published author and devoted the rest of his life to promoting human rights.

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What would you have done if you were living in Nazi Germany in the 1930s?'** The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.4: TRUE OR FALSE?

Read each of the statements below and decide whether they are true or false. If the statement is incorrect, explain why.

1   Due to the restrictions of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was not allowed to build its armed forces. To get around these restrictions, Hitler had military activities redefined as 'sports'.
2   Owing to his strong belief in a superior Aryan race, Hitler encouraged both boys and girls to be trained as 'a violently active, dominating, brutal youth'.
3   Nazism promoted an end to individualism, with a deep philosophy of responsibility and loyalty to the nation and to being part of a 'team'.
4   A high value was placed on marriage under Hitler's Nazism, but this did not extend to non-Aryan men and women, who were compulsorily sterilised to ensure the increase of Aryan German children.
5   Suspicion hung over Hitler's economic success from the very beginning.
6   The economic success of Germany under Hitler certainly did provide a great number of new jobs; however, there was enormous discontent due to harsh working conditions and low wage levels.
7   Just four months after becoming Chancellor of Germany, Hitler ordered the burning of all books he considered to be undermining Nazi policies.
8   Hitler believed one of his greatest assets in rebuilding a perfect Germany was in his power to influence the next generation of youth.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 4.5: USING HISTORICAL TERMS

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words in bold:

What changes did the Nazi government implement between 1933 and 1939?

- youth
- education
- sport
- women
- Jews
- autobahns
- burning books
- Olympic Games
- Nuremberg rallies

The story so far

- *Political changes:* Hitler indoctrinated the nation with beliefs about racial purity and national pride. This was achieved through the Nuremberg Rallies, propaganda, the 1936 Olympic Games and the Hitler Youth. Sport and physical activity were promoted to create a society that was mentally and physically strong.
- *Economic changes:* Unemployment was virtually eliminated by 1939 through the creation of a huge number of new jobs focusing on major public works and military production.
- *Social changes:* Hitler promoted a superior race by promoting the role of women and education.
- *Rebuilding Germany* meant eliminating those believed to be inferior. Jews, in particular, were openly and directly persecuted through events such as the shop boycott, Nuremberg Laws and Night of Broken Glass.
- *Aligning politics and culture* to tighten his hold on the minds of the German people, Hitler ordered the burning of all books considered to be in conflict with Nazi ideology.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1 What was the nature of the political changes in Nazi Germany?

2 What was the nature of the economic changes?

3 What was the nature of the social changes?

4 How did the Nazis attempt to control cultural expression?

5 What were the criticisms and challenges to Nazism?

ANALYSE THE DOCUMENT'S VIEWS

Visual 1: The ideal youth

Source 4.27 'Youth – Serve the Führer. All 10-year-olds, join the Hitler Youth'

Visual 2: The ideal German family

Source 4.28 'The ideal German family'

1 What do you think is the key message of each of these images?

2 What are the similarities in these messages? What are the differences?

3   What do these images tell us in the context of Nazi social changes?

4   Using these images and what you have learned in this chapter, evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the point of view of these images.

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

Write a considered response to this statement about the Nazi Party: *'The Nazi Party's political, economic and social changes produced more negatives than positives for the German nation.'*

    To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer.

- To answer this you will need to know the political, economic and social changes introduced by Hitler.
- Ideally, make a heading of 'positive changes' and list all of the events and policies that you believe fall under this category. Similarly, do the same under a heading of 'negative changes'.
- Better answers will agree with some parts of the statement and disagree with others. Did Hitler benefit the nation politically and economically but not socially? Were his changes positive for the racially pure but negative for those considered 'inferior'. Form your own argument and support it with evidence from this chapter.

Source 4.29 A sign reading 'Germans, defend yourselves, do not buy from Jews' is posted on the Jewish Tietz store during the anti-Semitic boycott of Nazi Germany

United States under democracy

> *People went to work and went to parties until they got the two pursuits confused and never noticed the difference.*
>
> – JACK IAMS, AMERICAN AUTHOR

OVERVIEW

World War I had ended with victory for America and its allies. America had not suffered the same devastation as other countries because it did not join the war until April 1917. As well, the deadly world influenza virus (Spanish flu) of 1918 was over. The American ideology of capitalism also directly affected the daily lives of Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. Social and cultural changes were therefore marked by high optimism. Mass entertainment and information via radio and film became widespread. In direct comparison with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, which used instruments of the state to impose controls on the ways that people lived, life in the United States was characterised by personal freedoms and unprecedented economic growth. The exception to this was the government's prohibition on alcohol, which caused significant social problems. The Great Depression, however, changed this material prosperity to a subsequent decade of severe economic hardship. The Roaring Twenties had ended.

This chapter focuses upon the social life and cultural expression in the 1920s and 1930s and their relation to the technological, political and economic changes of the period in America under democracy. Refer also to the 'United States under democracy 1918–1933' timeline on page 82.

KEY ISSUES

- Who were the political leaders of the 1920s and 1930s?
- Why did the economy boom during the 1920s?
- What were the major changes in social life in the 1920s?
- What caused the Wall Street Crash and what was its impact?
- What was the response to the government prohibition on alcohol?
- Who did not benefit from this period and why?

FLOW OF CHAPTER

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Political influences ──▶ OPTIMISM AT END OF WORLD WAR I ──▶ Social influences
                                      │                              │
                                      ▼                              ▼
                             ECONOMIC INFLUENCES          Fashion, films, jazz,
                                      │                    literature and art
                                      ▼                              │
                          WALL STREET CRASH AND                      ▼
                          GREAT DEPRESSION                     Prohibition
                                      │
                                      ▼
                          PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S
                          NEW DEAL
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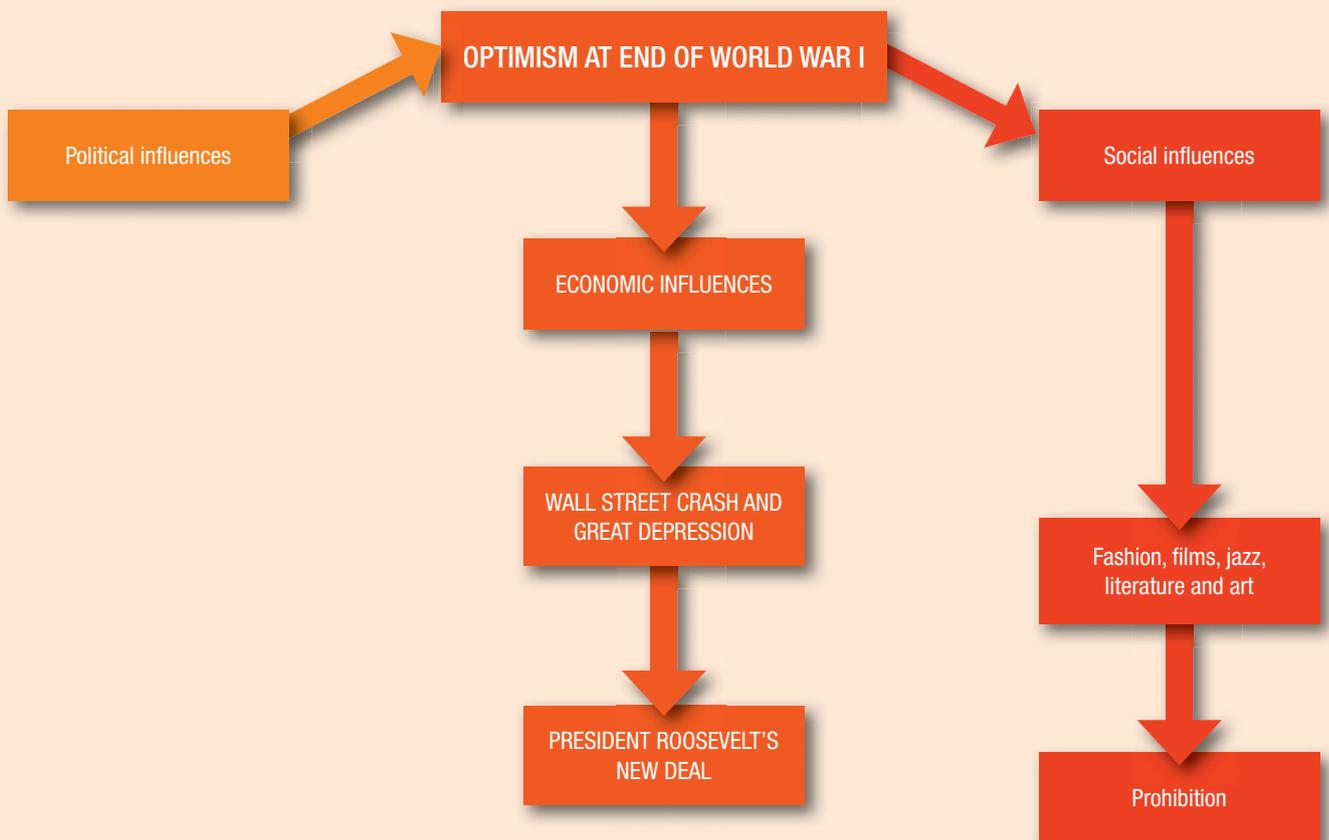
5.1 Influence of political changes

Political leaders in 1920s and 1930s

President Woodrow Wilson 1913–21

Wilson was US President throughout World War I. As he favoured world peace, he tried to keep America neutral but eventually declared war on Germany in 1917 and was a central figure in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Despite Wilson's efforts, the United States Senate would not pass the Treaty or join the new League of Nations, fearing a loss of America's political autonomy. Wilson pursued progressive reforms and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1919. Two significant amendments were passed by his government in 1920: the 18th Amendment which banned the manufacture, sale and transport of alcohol (which Wilson opposed) and the 19th Amendment where women gained the right to vote (which Wilson supported). Wilson is regarded as one of the United States' greatest presidents.
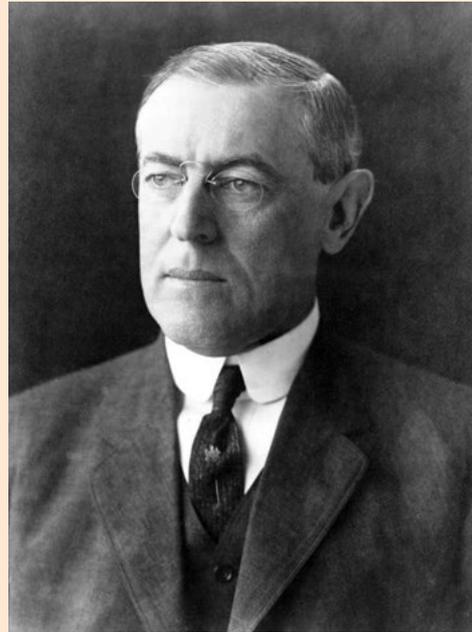
Source 5.1 Woodrow Wilson

President Warren Harding 1921–23

In the first election where females could vote, Harding was voted in. He was a Republican who opposed Wilson's policies and promoted a 'return to **normalcy**' after the hardships of the war. Positively, his presidency featured conservative, pro-business, **isolationist** and Prohibition policies. Negatively, his government was coloured by criminal activities and corruption, which damaged his reputation even though he was not involved. Harding died suddenly in 1923 from a heart attack.

normalcy the state of being normal, standard or typical

isolationism a national policy where a nation stays out of the disputes and affairs of other nations
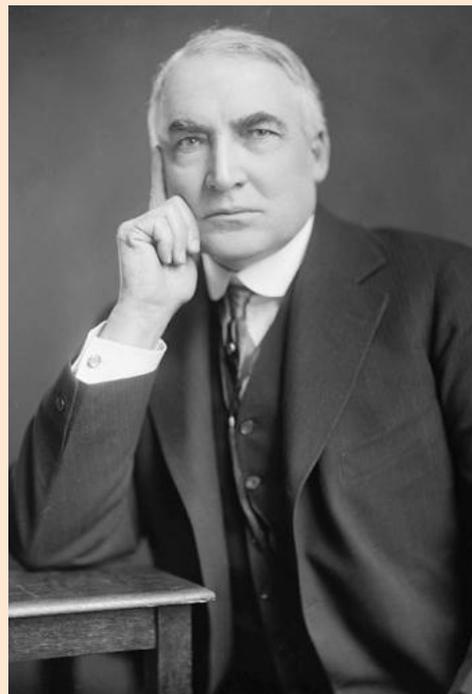
Source 5.2 Warren Harding

President Calvin Coolidge 1923–29

Coolidge's main focus was to clean up the scandals and corruption that had been common under Harding. He ruled over the growing US economy, passed tax cuts and introduced high tariffs. Hence, Harding provided a model of political respectability and economic stability. This was an interesting contrast to the decade of the Roaring Twenties, which was a time of social and cultural changes, of materialism and excesses, that are described in detail in this chapter.

Source 5.3 Calvin Coolidge

President Herbert Hoover 1929–33

The Wall Street stock market crash that led to the Great Depression began eight months into Hoover's presidency. While the economic policies of previous governments contributed to creating the crisis, in the minds of the American people Hoover received much of the blame. He became increasingly unpopular as he was seen to be insensitive to the nation's suffering, and was comprehensively defeated at the 1933 election.

Source 5.4 Herbert Hoover

President Franklin Roosevelt 1933–45

As president during the devastating Great Depression, Roosevelt's key role was to restore public confidence in the government. He ended the controversial ban on alcohol, proclaimed a bank holiday, and spoke directly to the public via radio broadcasts called 'fireside chats'. Economically, Roosevelt began a series of ambitious reforms called the New Deal. He led the United States to victory over Nazi Germany in World War II through a series of successful wartime alliances with Britain and the Soviet Union. Roosevelt's popularity as president resulted in him being elected a record four times.

Source 5.5 Franklin Roosevelt
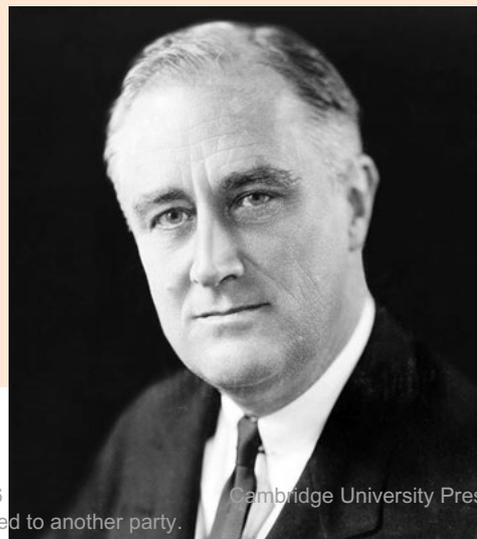
5.2 Influence of economic changes: 'The business of America is business'

Buy it now

The United States was one of the wealthiest countries in the world after World War I. Most people had jobs and cash to spend. One of the core reasons for the economic prosperity in the 1920s was the innovative introduction of a 'hire-purchase' system, which we would today call 'layby', 'buy now, pay later' or 'interest payment plans'. By just paying a small deposit, and not having to pay the whole purchase price in one go, people could literally get whatever they wanted. Individuals were increasing their personal debt without much thought, as they paid interest on the item and therefore paid back more for the item overall. But this had an incredibly positive impact on the economy. Products that were bought had to be made, which in turn meant most people were in jobs. Workers would then spend a lot of their salary or income, meaning more items were being purchased that, in turn, meant more people had to be employed to make things. It created a positive cycle of economic growth and wealth. As President Coolidge (1923–29) rightly said, 'The business of America is business.'

Motor car industry

Ford, General Motors and Chrysler were the three biggest producers of motor cars. The Model T Ford was the most popular car. Before the 1920s, horse and buggy had been the main form of transport. By 1928, 20 per cent of all Americans owned a car. Costing $1200 in 1909, mass production and high turnover meant that the average price of a car had been reduced to only $295 by 1928.

The growth of car production had a massive impact on other industries. Core products such as steel, rubber, plate glass and leather were all needed for car manufacture. Demand for motor vehicles also flowed onto an increased need for petrol stations, mechanical repairs, motels, restaurants, road building and road maintenance. Employment was high.

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Source 5.6 A fully restored Model T Ford

Source 5.7 Ford factory assembly line in 1913

Other popular household products

The adoption of new technologies into daily life was a visible feature of a changed lifestyle. As well as cars, household products were booming – 10 million radios had been sold by 1929 and Hoover vacuum cleaners, fridges and telephones all raced off store shelves. All of the work to make, sell and repair these products created economic and therefore social change. Prices for some popular items were:

- $1.49 – popcorn maker
- $1.69 – two-slice toaster
- $8.75 – waffle maker
- $28.95 – motor driven and suction vacuum cleaner
- $78.95 – electric sewing machine
- $81.50 – electric washing machine
- $295 – electric Frigidaire made by General Motors, whose salesmen came to the home.

Source 5.8 A 1920 advertisement for a fridge

5.3 Wall Street Crash, 29 October 1929

fictitious capital a concept used by Karl Marx to describe value, in the form of credit, shares, debt, speculation and various forms of paper money

In a world where everyone seemed to have money to spare, investing in shares was common. The stock market was located in Wall Street, New York. The hope of making a quick fortune meant that by 1929 over one million people owned shares in America. Large bank loans, investment trusts and the increase of holding companies had resulted in a vast mass of **fictitious capital**.

Prices peaked in August 1929 but began a slow decline in September and early October, with 24 October known as Black Thursday because a record 12 million shares were traded on this day. Panic selling continued, and on 29 October 1929, after another 16 million shares were sold, the Wall Street stock market collapsed completely.
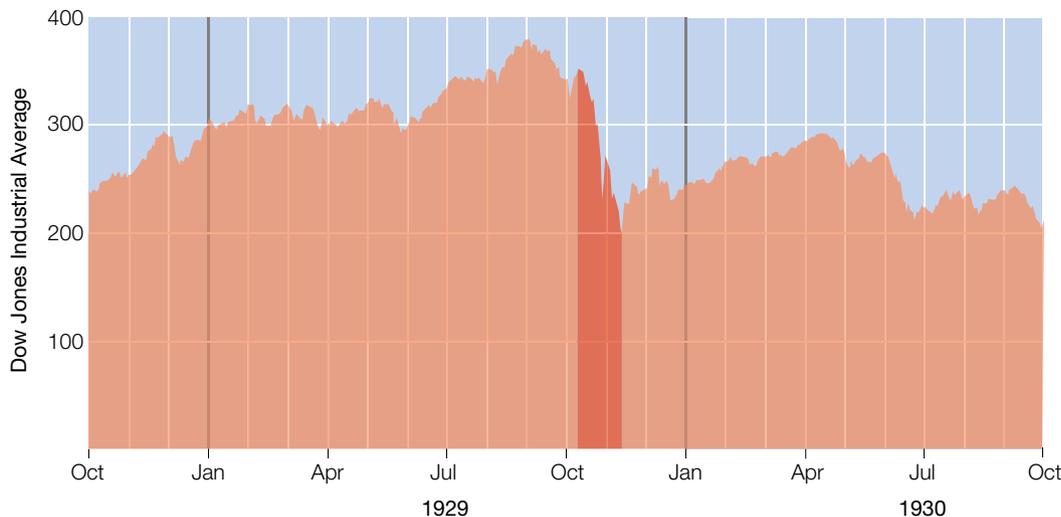
Source 5.9 A graph showing the Wall Street Crash (in red) on the stock market

The crash precipitated a worldwide collapse of share values in stock markets across the Western world and triggered the Great Depression. Ten years of economic hardship began in all industrialised countries with widespread bankruptcies and unemployment. As the saying went, 'When America sneezed, the rest of the world caught a cold.' Soviet Russia was the exception because it was a planned economy and had been isolated from the world economy.

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?
This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What's going on in these two images about the depression?'** (see Sources 5.10 and 5.11). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the two images.
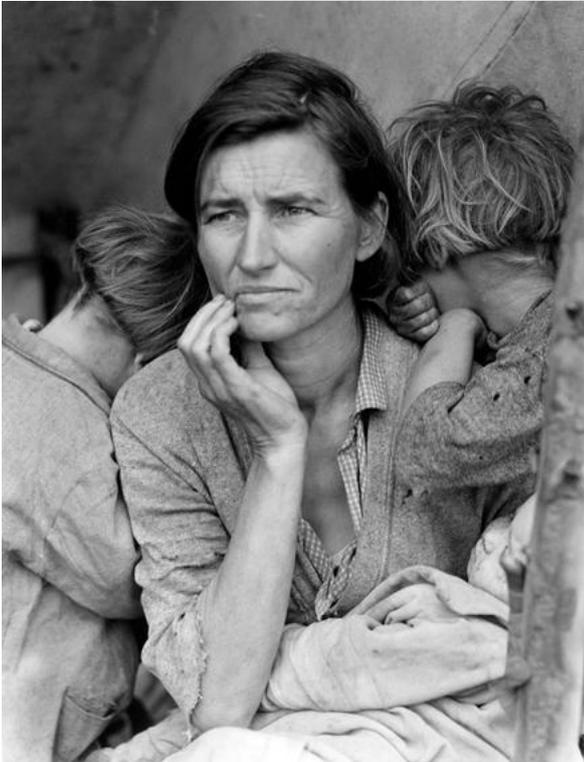
Source 5.11 Farmer in despair over the Great Depression in 1932

Source 5.10 Dorothea Lange's photo *Migrant Mother* (1936) shows destitute pea-picker Florence Owens Thompson, aged 32, mother of seven children

President Roosevelt's 'New Deal' in the 1930s

By 1932, at least one quarter of America's workforce was unemployed. Therefore, incoming President Roosevelt's main task upon taking office in 1933 was to stabilise the economy. Over the next eight years, he initiated a series of projects that together became known as the **New Deal**. Not only did the New Deal revive America's economy, but it also restored its dignity. Significantly, it created stronger links between the US government and its citizens.

New Deal A series of projects and programs introduced by President Roosevelt from 1933 to stabilise the economy after the Great Depression

A MATTER OF FACT

Crazies were people who did crazy things for fun. Like sitting on top of a flag pole for as long as possible. Dance marathons that only stopped when the second last pair had collapsed. And 'wing flying' – being strapped to the wings of a plane for a whole flight!

Focus questions

Answer the following questions using information from the graph in Source 5.12 and this chapter.

1 Who was the President during the depression?
2 Why did the economic outlook improve from 1933 onwards?
3 What impact did World War II have on America's economy?
4 Use an example from the graph to explain why this might have been the case.
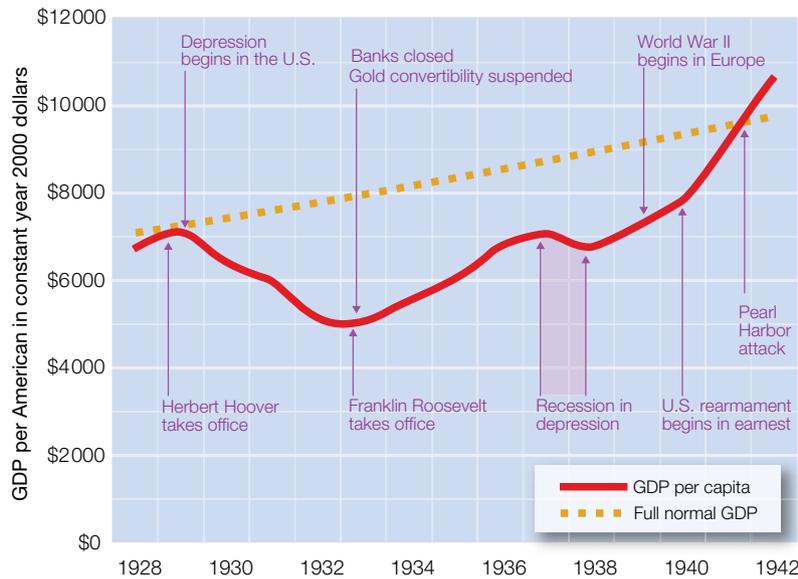
GDP means 'Gross Domestic Product', which is the total monetary value of all goods and services produced that year.

Source 5.12 A graph of America's economic depression followed by growth

5.4 Influence of social changes: Cultural expression in the 1920s and 1930s

Cultural expression was varied and rich. Fashion, literature, music, film and art both influenced and reflected social, economic and political change. It was an era of creative expression, full of loud laughter, excitement and exquisite colours.

Changing role of women

World War I had destroyed old perceived social conventions and the 1920s replaced them with new ones. With the passing of the 19th Amendment in 1920, women had finally won the right to vote. They gained the political equality which they had been fighting to achieve for over 70 years.

Source 5.13 Amelia Earhart, the first woman to fly solo around the world, became a symbol of women's independence after the war

The economic boom required more and more jobs to be filled. Many middle-class women held steady jobs. Increased phone use meant that more operators were needed. Department stores needed sales assistants. And office clerk and secretarial roles abounded. It was in this context that the 'flapper' culture developed.

A MATTER OF FACT

Youth slang from the 1920s included: big cheese (important person), bank's closed (no more kissing), cake-eater (a lady's man), smudger (person who dances too close), Jake (great), handcuff (engagement ring), grummy (depressed), sheik (one's boyfriend), sinker (doughnut), torpedo (hired thug or hitman), zozzled (drunk) or flat tyre (a boring person).

'Flapper' fashion

The political and economic changes meant that a generational gap began developing between younger and older women. Young women provoked older people with short skirts that exposed their legs and knees, a new hairstyle of a short bob cut by male barbers, and silk stockings rolled just above the knee. Women who embraced these fashions were called '**flappers**'. Flappers redefined gender relations. They went to all-night parties without a male partner to look after them, smoked cigarettes in public, drove motor cars and held men's hands without wearing gloves. The President of Florida University said the new fashions 'are born of the devil – they are carrying the present generation to destruction'.

flappers women who wore the new fashions of the 1920s such as short dresses and bobbed hair

Linked with the growth in jazz, which is discussed later in this chapter, was the creation of new dance moves. The Charleston, One Step and Black Bottom became dance crazes that spread like wildfire among the younger generation. The *Catholic Telegraph* published that 'the music is sensuous, the female is only half dressed and the motions may not be described in a family newspaper'.

A MATTER OF FACT

The current version of chewing gum, that allows a chewer to blow bubbles, was created in 1928 by an accountant named Walter Diemer who experimented with different gum recipes in his spare time. Diemer used a pink dye because it was the only colour he had available.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.1: VISUAL ANALYSIS

Sources 5.14–5.17 show four different images of flappers from the 1920s.

1 Make a list of the specific things that these images have in common.
2 What is the common impression of women that they depict?
3 Suggest who might have welcomed the flapper movement. Who might have been against it?

Source 5.14 Dancer with a flask in her garter, 1926

Source 5.15 Flapper Alice Joyce in 1926
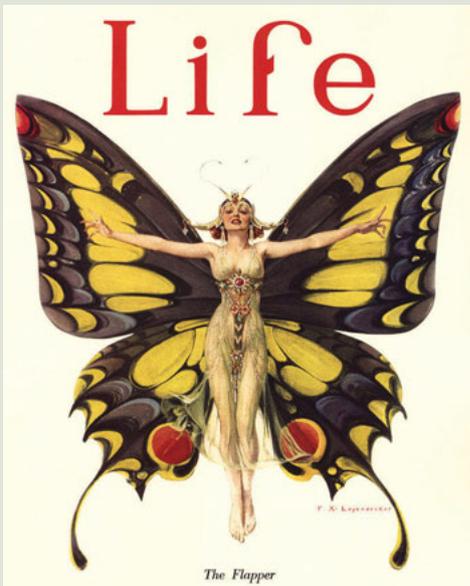
Source 5.16 'The Flapper' on the cover of *Life Magazine*, 1922

Source 5.17 *Where there's smoke there's fire*, painted by American artist Russell Patterson

Literature

The Roaring Twenties witnessed a rich period in American literature. Popular authors emerged who are still considered to be among the greatest American authors of the twentieth century.

F. Scott Fitzgerald (1896–1940)

Fitzgerald's most famous novel, *The Great Gatsby* (1925), is argued to be the story that best captures the culture of the 1920s. Full of dancing, jazz, freedom, materialism, love and pursuit of the American dream, Fitzgerald paints both an exciting and critical picture of life. He wrote that 'It was an age of miracles, it was an age of art, it was an age of excess, and it was an age of satire'. Fitzgerald's message is that you cannot live in the past, or recreate the past, but must live in the present.

A MATTER OF FACT

Fitzgerald lived the same wild social life as the main character Jay Gatsby, full of women and parties, which tarnished his reputation as a serious author. He died of a heart attack at the young age of 44 after battling alcoholism and depression.

A MATTER OF FACT

Fitzgerald published his first story at the age of 13 in the school newsletter. A distant relative on his father's side wrote the American national anthem, 'The Star Spangled Banner'.

Source 5.18 A still from the 2013 film remake of *The Great Gatsby* starring Leonardo DiCaprio
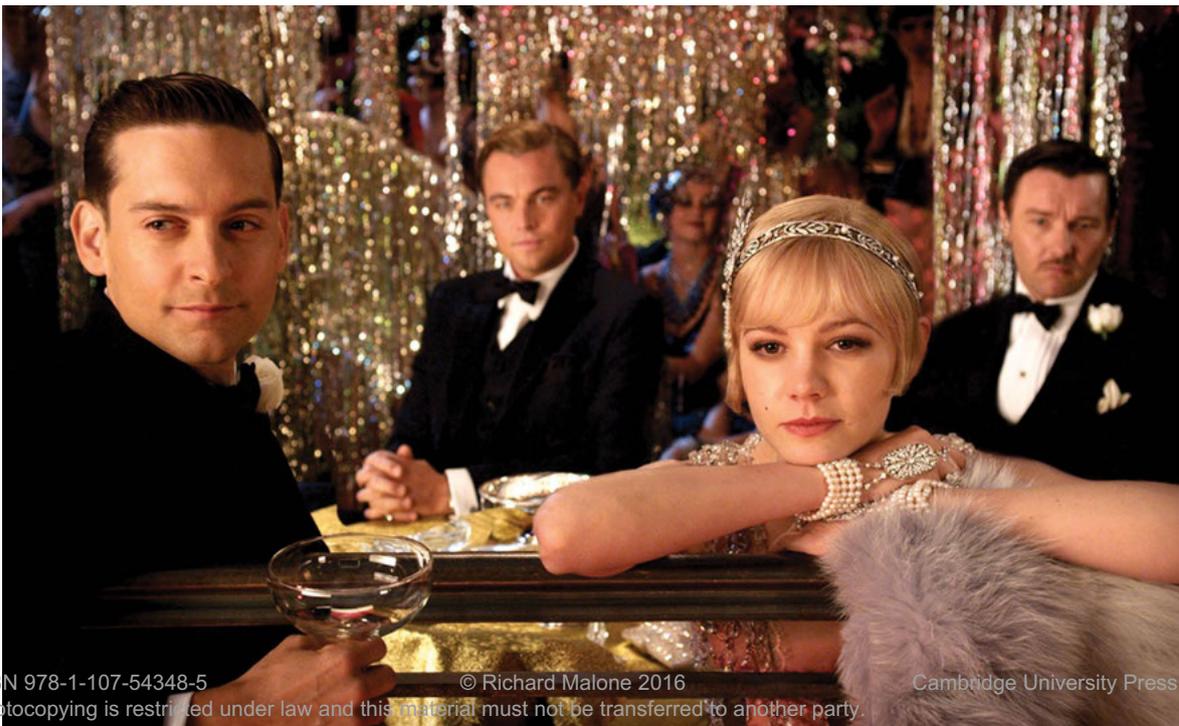
Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961)

Ernest Hemingway was another of America's greatest novelists. He was an absolute celebrity for his famous novels *A Farewell to Arms*, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and *The Old Man and the Sea* and received the Nobel Prize for Literature (1954). He formed a close friendship with F. Scott Fitzgerald who helped him publish his first book in 1925.

A MATTER OF FACT

Hemingway was popular for being 'larger than life'. He fought in World War I, then was involved in the Spanish Civil War and World War II as a war correspondent. He also spent time chasing adventure: hunting big game in Africa, bull-fighting in Spain, and deep-sea fishing in Florida.
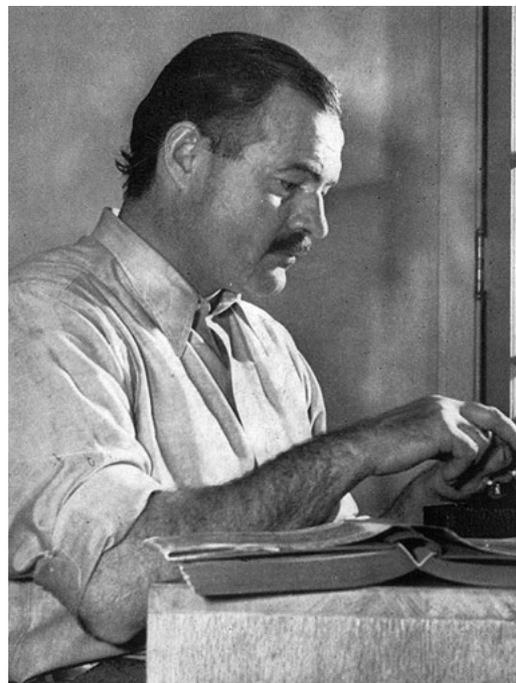
Source 5.19 Ernest Hemingway in 1939

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.2

Research some other famous authors of the 1920s and 1930s such as Sinclair Lewis, Willa Cather, William Faulkner and Carl Sandburg. What did they write about? How were they influenced by the events in America at the time?

The Jazz Age

The Jazz Age was a term coined by F. Scott Fitzgerald. The Jazz Age was more than the introduction of jazz, a new musical movement that combined African and European music. It also represented a major shift in social norms after World War I. Music was for pleasure not propaganda. It was a rebellion against the restrictions on alcohol. Jazz represented a racial breakthrough as African-American performers, such as King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, were in demand at white venues. Interestingly, jazz was influenced in a positive way by Prohibition and the Great Depression. Prohibition, discussed in detail later in this chapter, generated the growth of illegal nightclubs and the Great Depression forced migration throughout America in search of jobs, taking jazz from its birthplace in New Orleans to every state.

Louis Armstrong (1901–1971)

Louis Armstrong was a crucial founding influence on the rise of jazz in the 1920s. He was a charismatic trumpeter whose gravelly voice was also instantly recognisable. He was a clever improviser, and perfected the technique of 'scat' singing, which was singing sounds instead of words. His nicknames were Satchmo and Pops.

A MATTER OF FACT

As his popularity grew in the 1920s, trumpeters challenged Louis Armstrong to 'cutting contests' to see who could blow 200 high C notes in a row! Armstrong was the first jazz musician to be on the front cover of Time magazine (1949). He even had a cigar named after him.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.3

Research some other famous singers and musicians of this era such as Duke Ellington, Jack Pettis, Jane Green, Peggy English, Benny Goodman, Fats Waller, Fletcher Henderson, Cole Porter, Bessie Smith, George Gershwin or Bing Crosby. How did their music impact on this time period?

Films

Hollywood emerged in the 1920s. Beverley Hills became the place to live. Why? One hundred million people a week went to the movies, making movie stars instantly famous and wealthy. Slapstick comedy starred Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton, Laurel and Hardy, and Fatty Arbuckle. The dominance of these silent movies with their subtitles and catchy music was challenged by the first film with audible talking in it. These films were called '**talkies**' and included *The Jazz Singer* starring Al Jolson.

talkies the term used for the first films with audible dialogue

Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977)

Charlie Chaplin is still recognised as one of the comic geniuses of the twentieth century. He wrote, directed and produced his own films, as well as starring in them. Chaplin was famous for his

identifiable character of the tramp – the innocent little man with a bowler hat, moustache, cane and awkward walk. In 2014, Chaplin's tramp celebrated his 100-year anniversary!

Focus questions

Research one of Chaplin's 36 films: *The Kid* (1921), *The Gold Rush* (1925), *The Circus* (1928), *City Lights* (1931) or his first talkie, *The Great Dictator* (1940).

1 Suggest why Charlie Chaplin was so popular in the 1920s.
2 List the likable characteristics of Charlie Chaplin.
3 Discuss whether these films would be popular if they were released today.
4 Brainstorm any instances where this type of film making has been used today.

Source 5.21 Charlie Chaplin and Jackie Coogan star in *The Kid* (1921), an autobiographical film about Chaplin's own abandoned childhood

A MATTER OF FACT

Chaplin's perfectionist streak meant that he often filmed countless takes, rebuilt entire sets or replaced leading actors and started again with someone new.

Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926)

Valentino was one of the leading male stars in the 1920s and the leading women were Clara Bow and Mary Pickford. While he made silent movies like Chaplin, the genre was totally opposite. Instead of comedy, the Italian-born Valentino starred in romantic dramas. His roles as the great lover of the 1920s were best demonstrated in films such as *The Sheik* (1921) and *The Eagle* (1925).

Source 5.22 A female fan prays next to Valentino's body at his funeral in 1926

Walt Disney (1901–1966)

The 1920s was also the decade when the legendary Walt Disney released his first cartoon, a short black and white film called *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), which was shown to producers rather than the general public. Disney's great success came with the introduction of a loveable character called Mickey Mouse in a short film called *Steamboat Willie* (1928), one of the first cartoons to use synchronised sound effects. There were soon Mickey Mouse clubs for children and lots of merchandise. Disney was actually the voice for Mickey for 20 years, and his first words were 'Hot Dog'.
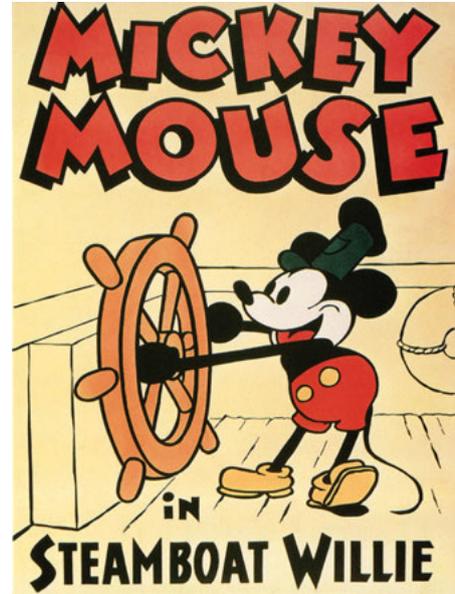
Source 5.23 Mickey Mouse in his original movie appearance in *Steamboat Willie*

A MATTER OF FACT

Great Disney facts! Mickey Mouse was originally called Mortimer Mouse! Walt Disney has won more Academy Awards than anyone. Ever. He has won 22 awards from 59 nominations! He created the Disneyland theme park which opened in 1955. But his body wasn't cryogenically frozen!

Artistic styles

Art Deco

The ornate style of Art Deco impacted on architecture, art, clothing, hairstyles, decor and furnishings in the 1920s and 1930s. Art Deco was a major style in Europe and became popular in America from the mid-1920s. It is characterised by the use of materials such as stainless steel, aluminium, inlaid wood and animal skins.

Source 5.24 Art Deco style in an advertising pamphlet for Holeproof Hosiery Company by Coles Phillips, 1922

Modernism

Similarly to Art Deco, Modernism impacted on many visual aspects of society. Advertisements and posters started using modern principles. For example, Pablo Picasso pushed the boundaries with his cubist painting *Guernica* (1937). *The New Yorker* magazine started publishing work influenced by modernism and Irish author James Joyce wrote *Finnegans Wake* (1939).

Source 5.25 Charles Demuth's *The Figure 5 in gold*, painted in 1928, is an example of American Modernism in art

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.4

Explore some major artists who adopted Art Deco or Modernist themes. Choose an image by one of the artists and prepare a presentation about your chosen piece. Remember to include information about the artist and explain what makes the piece 'Art Deco' or 'Modernist'. Some artists you could explore include illustrator Maxfield Parrish and the signature use of negative space in *Life* magazine covers by C. Coles Phillips.

5.5 Controlling cultural expression: Prohibition of alcohol, 1920–33

Prohibition period from 1920–33 when alcohol was banned by the US government

Perhaps one of most far-reaching attempts by a government to control social and cultural expression was **Prohibition**. There had been a strong movement in the 1800s against the negative effects of alcohol. Many women, primarily the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League, were the drivers behind this noble recommendation. Alcohol was described as the 'national curse' and it was believed that banning alcohol would fix many social problems and help the economy. Family abuse would be limited. Crime would be lowered. Corruption reduced. Taxes lowered. Health and hygiene improved. National character would be enhanced. The 18th Amendment to the Constitution was passed in 1919 and from 16 January 1920 the new law made the manufacture, transport or sale of 'intoxicating liquor' illegal.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.5: VISUAL ANALYSIS

Source 5.26 *The Drunkards Progress* (artist Nathaniel Currier 1846). Produced to support the temperance movement.

The text on *The Drunkards Progress* reads:

> *From the first glass to the grave.*
>
> *Step 1. A glass with a friend.*
>
> *Step 2. A glass to keep the cold out.*
>
> *Step 3. A glass too much.*
>
> *Step 4. Drunk and riotous.*

> *Step 5. The summit attained. Jolly companions. A confirmed drunkard.*
>
> *Step 6. Poverty and disease.*
>
> *Step 7. Forsaken by friends.*
>
> *Step 8. Desperation and crime.*
>
> *Step 9. Death by suicide.*

1 When and why was this image produced?
2 What is the key message of this image?
3 How do you think people at the time would have responded to this message?

Focus question

Talk the thought – human graphs

This activity is designed to gauge your initial opinion about the role of the government in banning alcohol. To answer this question, imagine that there is a line across your classroom with 'Totally agree' on one wall and 'Totally disagree' on the other. Respond to the deliberately provocative statement: **'The American Government was foolish to ban alcohol'**. Stand anywhere along the imaginary line depending on the extent to which you agree with this statement. Share your point of view with others in the class, using examples to support your argument.

The impact of Prohibition

It was the difficult and endless responsibility of the police to enforce the ban on alcohol. Making alcohol at home was very common. Beer drinking became less common because it became too hard to make, compared with making hard liquor such as whisky. Liquor was made everywhere (including people's baths) and out of everything (even whatever fruit and vegetable people could find). These illegally made and distributed distilled spirits and other concoctions were called **moonshine**. The quality of alcohol created in home labs was therefore of a much poorer quality than what had previously been produced professionally.

moonshine illegally made and distributed distilled spirits such as whisky

A MATTER OF FACT

Cleverly, stores would sell grape concentrate with a large warning label of the steps to avoid so that the grapes did not ferment and turn into wine. Or they would package all of the ingredients needed to make alcohol into the same box.

A MATTER OF FACT

Alcohol was banned on land but not on water. Alcohol was legal on any ship that was 5 kilometres or more offshore! Wine was also still allowed for holy communion for religious reasons.

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?
This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What's going on in this image?'** (see Source 5.27). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

Source 5.27 Sheriffs in Orange County, California, oversee the dumping of illegal alcohol

Gangsters and crime

An unintended but direct result of Prohibition was the rise in organised crime. Before 1920, mafia groups had been involved in theft, prostitution and gambling. But producing and selling alcohol became a profitable new business boom in the 1920s. It was called **bootlegging**. Organised crime flourished. There was even a silent movie made in 1928 called *Me, Gangster*. The most infamous event was the St Valentine's Day Massacre in 1929 when several of Al Capone's gangsters shot members of a rival gang on the streets of Chicago. The image of gangsters with tommy guns leaning over the sideboards of old-fashioned cars still grabs our imagination.

bootlegging the illegal production and sale of liquor

A MATTER OF FACT

Ethyl alcohol was used by industry, so the government poisoned it to prevent it from being used to create drinking alcohol. Bootleggers hired chemists to 'renature' it to make it safe to drink. But over 10 000 people died from drinking the poisoned industrial alcohol. Was the government to blame? The bootleggers? Or the drinkers themselves?
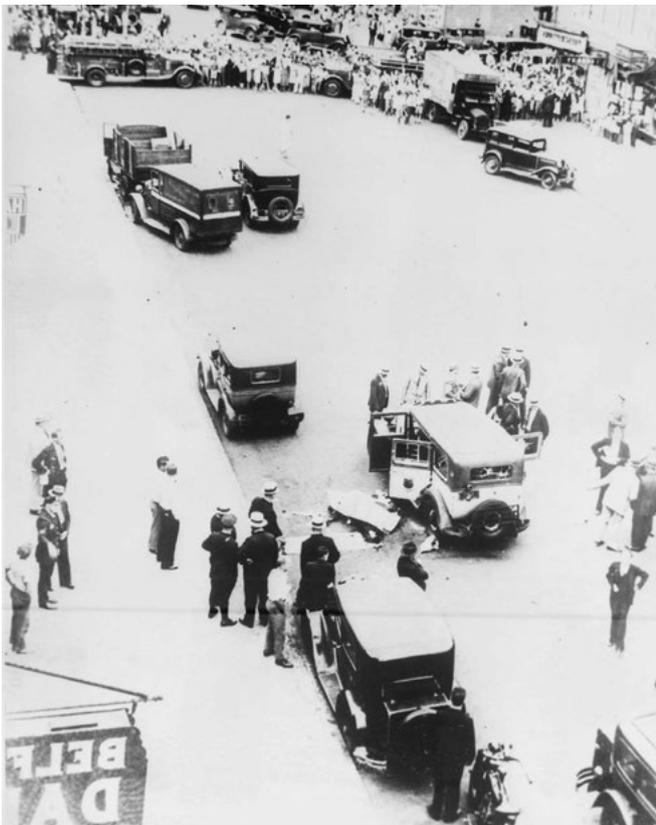
Source 5.28 St Valentine's Day Massacre: A bullet-ridden taxi and the bodies of two gangsters on a New York City street after a police chase and gunfight

Source 5.29 Organised crime leader, 'Scarface' Al Capone, built his gangster empire on profits from illegal alcohol. He was believed to have earned $60 million each year from alcohol alone. He became famous nationally after appearing on the front cover of *Time* magazine.

Speakeasies

speakeasies illegal but popular clubs that served alcohol

There were numerous and popular businesses that sold illegal alcohol during Prohibition. Called **speakeasies**, because people could enjoy themselves and speak freely without the threat of being caught drinking alcohol, they were often located in hidden rooms or basements. Many became sources of varied entertainment such as jazz music. Interestingly, they became a symbol of social connection; African Americans were allowed and women were prominent, both as owners and patrons of speakeasies. Business boomed during the 1920s, despite the poor-quality liquor served and many raids and arrests. It has been estimated that 200 000 to 500 000 speakeasies were established during this period.

Source 5.30 The Mayflower Club was the most upmarket speakeasy in the capital, Washington, DC, offering quality liquor and high-stakes gambling

The cost of Prohibition

Enforcing Prohibition was expensive, both financially and socially.

- During the 1920s, the annual budget of the Bureau of Prohibition increased from $4.4 million to $13.4 million.
- A survey across 30 states in 1920–21 revealed that crime had increased 24 per cent.
- As the wine industry was effectively ruined, grape growers pulled out their vines, which skyrocketed the price of grapes per tonne from $20 to $200.
- While exact figures were not recorded, it is commonly believed that alcohol use fell during 1914–22 but then rose dramatically. Arrests for public drunkenness were higher from 1925 than prior to Prohibition being introduced.
- Consumption of alcohol by women and children increased dramatically.
- According to US Department of Commerce figures, deaths from alcoholism increased four times from 1920 to 1928.
- Organised crime and related criminal activity increased.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.6: COMPARING DIFFERENT VIEWS

The 1929 debates on Prohibition in the US Senate became so popular that people flocked to hear them. The two main attractions were opponents Senators Reed and Borah. Analyse their different views below.

Senator Reed of Missouri argued for Prohibition to end	Senator Borah of Idaho argued for Prohibition and keeping alcohol illegal
'Law has been the instrument of tyrants and the weapon of brutes since time began. An improper law, an unjust law, a cruel law may be as much a crime as is the act of an individual who assassinates in the dark … Let no man say because I have thus spoken that I am declaring we should defy this law. It is our business to proceed in the right way to remedy whatever wrongs exist, and the right way is to repeal bad laws and to change bad constitutions.'	'Time and experience alone will demonstrate that fact, but it was not a crime; the people of the United States were in sincerity struggling with that which was deemed to be one of the greatest evils of modern civilization … I am only committed against the change, the repeal of either of the amendment or the law, so long as nothing better and more effective has been or can be presented. If there be a better way to control the evil of drink, a more effective way, more thorough, and with better results to those whom we would serve, let us have it.'

1   What is the main argument of each politician?
2   What reasons does each give to support his argument?
3   Which argument do you believe to be more powerful? Explain why.

Prohibition ends in 1933

By 1932, 75 per cent of the American population and an estimated 46 states favoured ending Prohibition. The initial aims of Prohibition had not been achieved. Instead, alcohol had become more dangerous to drink, organised crime had blossomed, courts and prisons were crowded, and corruption of police and public officials was common. Hence, Democratic presidential candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt, promised to remove the law if elected. He was elected in 1933, and Prohibition laws were repealed through the 21st Amendment to the Constitution to end a divisive but intriguing social experiment.

Source 5.31 Customers of a bar in Philadelphia celebrate the end of Prohibition

Analysis of Prohibition

1 Prohibition created a disrespect for the law.
2 Prohibition encouraged organised crime.
3 Prohibition corrupted law enforcement and politics.
4 Prohibition overburdened police, courts and prisons.
5 Prohibition harmed people financially and morally.
6 Prohibition caused physical harm.
7 Prohibition changed drinking habits from going out to drinking at home, and getting drunk became more common.
8 Prohibition increased smoking.
9 Prohibition prevented the treatment of drinking problems.

Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys
This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Was Prohibition worth it?'** A student briefly answers the question. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

5.6 Social and economic exclusion

Despite the Roaring Twenties and economic recovery in the 1930s, there were two groups who did not prosper at all because they were 'out of sight and therefore out of mind'.

African Americans

The southern states forced African Americans to undertake hard labour, for poor wages, in dismal living conditions. Discriminatory laws separated white from blacks. Their break from hard work was the entertainments of jazz, singing, dancing and sport. The existence of the Ku Klux Klan reinforced their inferior role in society. The Civil Rights Movement, which fought against these conditions, is the focus of Chapter 12 of this book.

Source 5.32 A mother and daughter in the impoverished Harmony Community, Georgia

Sharecroppers

Sharecroppers rented out land from landlords but were evicted if they failed to pay the rent. This became more common in the 1920s as there was such a massive boost in food production which lowered prices of goods. Many farmers in the mid-west lost their homes and many men simply moved around in a desperate search for any type of work.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 5.7: USING HISTORICAL TERMS

Write a paragraph summarising life in America in the 1920s. You must include all the words in bold in your paragraph so that your writing is specific.

- **hire-purchase**
- **electrical appliances**
- **Model T Ford**
- **flappers**
- **F. Scott Fitzgerald**
- **jazz**
- **Charlie Chaplin**
- **Wall Street Crash**

The story so far

- A successful end to World War I meant that the United States began the interwar years full of optimism.
- Hire-purchase schemes meant that ordinary Americans could now access a wide range of new technologies, from fridges in the home to cars in the street. Consistent purchasing created an economic boom.
- The Roaring Twenties ended suddenly with the Wall Street stock market crash that began the worldwide Great Depression. After years of unemployment and significant hardship, President Roosevelt's New Deal programs gradually restored economic stability.
- Social and cultural life was reimagined with the women's 'flapper' fashions, toe-tapping jazz music, iconic authors and impressive films.
- The government's attempt to alter social norms through the prohibition of alcohol failed due to the increase in gangsters and organised crime. After 13 years, Prohibition laws were removed in 1933.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1   Why and how did the economy boom during the 1920s?
2   What were the major changes in social life in the 1920s and 1930s?

3   What caused the Wall Street Crash and what was its impact?

4   How did President Roosevelt help restore economic stability?

5   What was the response to the government prohibition on alcohol?

ANALYSE THE HISTORICAL VIEW

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. explained his sadness at the failure of Prohibition in a letter written in 1932:

> *When Prohibition was introduced, I hoped that it would be widely supported by public opinion and the day would soon come when the evil effects of alcohol would be recognized. I have slowly and reluctantly come to believe that this has not been the result. Instead, drinking has generally increased; the speakeasy has replaced the saloon; a vast army of lawbreakers has appeared; many of our best citizens have openly ignored Prohibition; respect for the law has been greatly lessened; and crime has increased to a level never seen before.*

1   What were Rockefeller's hopes when Prohibition was introduced?

2   List four things that he says actually occurred.

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

> *Nothing is more destructive of respect for the government than passing laws which cannot be enforced.*

> Albert Einstein

To what extent is this Einstein quote true of Prohibition in America from 1920 to 1933?

- This is a controversial statement to make you think about the role of government decisions. Is it true that we respect governments who make good decisions? Is it true that decisions that cannot be enforced, or cannot be imposed successfully, make us lose respect for a government?
- This question needs to be answered regarding the United States government's decision on Prohibition in the 1920s. Use examples from this context based on the information in this chapter.
- When and how did the government make the decision on Prohibition? Why did the government think this was an important decision to make? How would it benefit American society? For example, discuss the hopes of the temperance groups who wanted prohibition introduced.
- What were the responses or reactions to the decision? For example, discuss the rise of gangsters, crime, violence and speakeasies.
- Why did Prohibition end? For example, use the statistics about the cost of the Prohibition laws plus the United States Senate debates in Analysis activity 5.6. Then add when and how Prohibition laws were ended.
- Summarise your argument by stating whether you agree or disagree with Albert Einstein's comment about government decisions.

unit two

AOS 2

Twentieth century history, 1945–2000

part one

Competing ideologies

> *At no previous period has mankind been faced by a half century which so paradoxically united violence and progress.*
>
> – VERA BRITTAIN, BRITISH PACIFIST AND WRITER

OVERVIEW

Despite the formation of the United Nations in 1945 to promote international peace and cooperation after World War II, the second half of the twentieth century was dominated by competing ideologies. The United States of America (USA) promoted capitalism and the Soviet Union (Russia, or the USSR) promoted communism. The direct result of these competing ideologies was the intense conflict called the Cold War. Rather than being one direct battle, the Cold War was fought over many decades in many contexts. Conflicts in Germany and Cuba, races to develop nuclear weapons and space technology, and wars in Korea and Vietnam became prime examples of tense ideological battles. Soviet President Khrushchev undertook his two most daring acts of the Cold War – the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961, and placing missiles in Cuba in 1962.

Steps were taken during the 1980s to weaken the stronghold of communism throughout Europe, meaning that President Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* (more open government) was popular. The direct results by 1991 were nuclear disarmament, the reunification of Germany and the breakdown of the Soviet Union. The Cold War had thawed and melted away.

KEY CONCEPTS

- Capitalism
- Communism
- Cold War
- Democracy
- Ideology
- Nationalism

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SUMMARY OF KEY EVENTS, 1945–1991

1945	**24 October:** United Nations formed	An organisation created as an international peacekeeping body due to the crimes against humanity in World War II
1945	Germany and Berlin divided into East and West	East and West Berlin and Germany are created under competing ideologies
1948–49	**1 April–12 May:** Berlin Blockade	The first of many political contests between America's capitalism versus the Soviet Union's Communism in the Cold War
1950–53	**25 June:** Korean War begins	A battle over the political allegiance of Korea with America controlling United Nations forces
1957	**4 October:** Sputnik satellite successfully launched by Soviet Russia	The Soviet Union is moving ahead of the United States in the nuclear arms and space race. Both rapidly develop technology
1961	**13 August:** Berlin Wall built	The divisive and powerful symbol of the Cold War is created
1962	**14 October–28 October:** Cuban Missile Crisis	A nuclear crisis that serves as a reminder of the potential deadly consequences of the Cold War
1963	**22 November:** President John F. Kennedy assassination	Horrific public assassination of a popular Cold War president in controversial circumstances
1965–75	**1 November–30 April:** Vietnam War	A prolonged war that divides the American population and results in massive protests
1969	**20 July:** Moon landing by US astronauts	After an expensive space race for the previous decade, American astronauts are the first to land on the moon
1979	**December:** Russia invades Afghanistan	This aggression has direct impacts as the USA boycotts the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics. The Soviet Union boycotts the 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics in return

1985	**14 March:** Gorbachev becomes president of the Soviet Union	Gorbachev is the major influence in ending the Cold War through his policies of *glasnost* and *détente*
1989	**9 November:** Fall of Berlin Wall	Not only is the wall removed through a popular revolution, but Germany is reunified as one country
1991	**December:** Collapse of Soviet Russia	The 74-year Communist experiment is over with the breakup of the Soviet Union into independent states
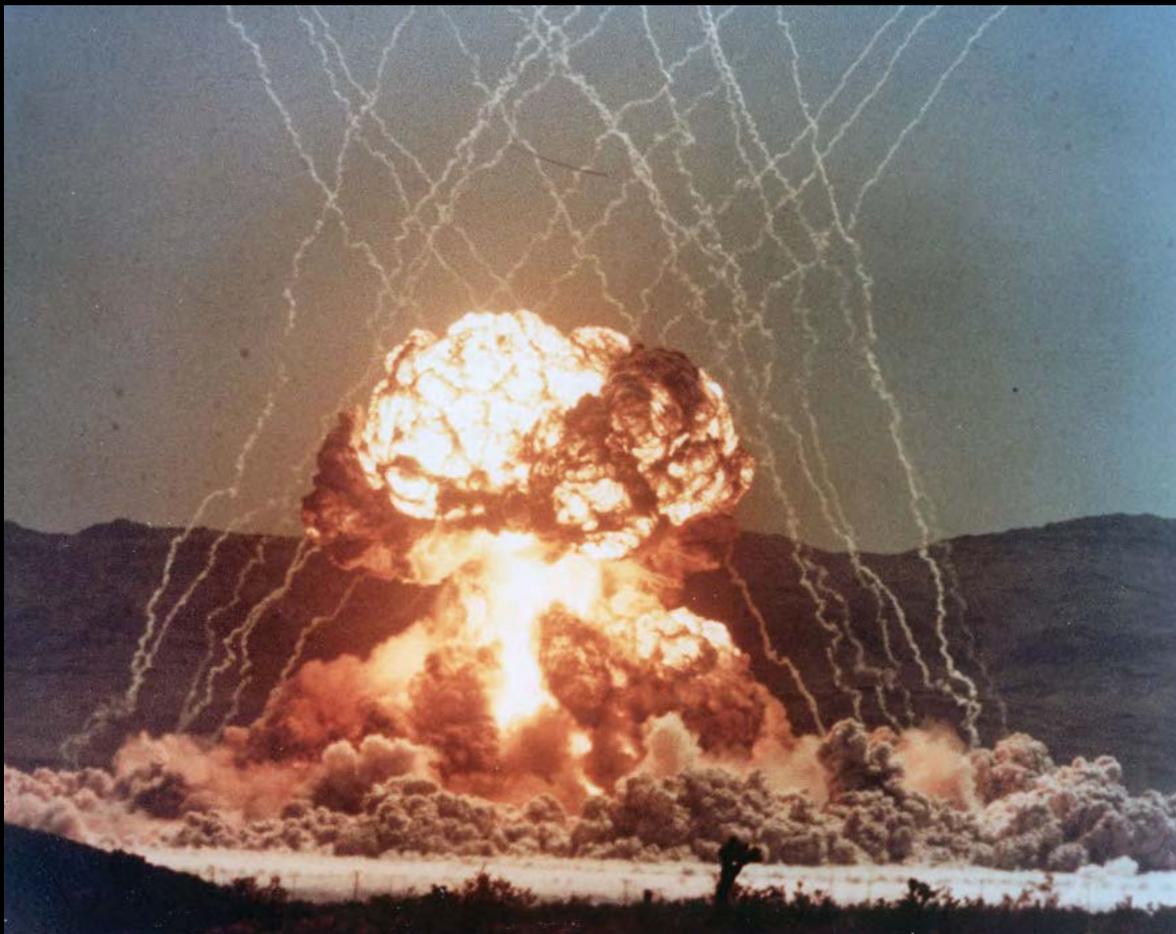
Source 6.0 During the Cold War there was general fear of a nuclear attack on the US by the Soviets. This prompted the US to test nuclear explosions at their Nevada test site in a series known as Operation Teapot.

6

The Cold War

> *The Cold War isn't thawing; it is burning with a deadly heat. Communism isn't sleeping; it is, as always, plotting, scheming, working, fighting.*
>
> – RICHARD NIXON, US PRESIDENT (1968–1974)

OVERVIEW

One war was simply replaced with another in 1945. The end of World War II signalled the beginning of the Cold War between the world's two strongest countries – the United States (USA) and the Soviet Union.

A 'hot' war is one where military forces directly fight each other, such as World Wars I and II. Therefore, a 'cold' war is one where military forces do *not* directly fight each other. How did the United States and the Soviet Union 'fight' each other? They did this primarily through politics and competition, such as competing over who could develop the technology to get to the moon first, or by dividing Germany into East and West Germany and building the Berlin Wall. The most common way of fighting in the Cold War was to support nations that wanted to attack one of the superpowers. One example is when the Soviet Union provided weapons to Cuba, which used them to threaten the United States in an event called the Cuban Missile Crisis. But the best example is the Vietnam War, where the Soviet Union supported North Vietnam and the United States supported South Vietnam.

Understanding the Cold War means understanding that all politics are driven by the assumption and maintenance of power. Examining the Cold War provides an insight into what the United States and Soviet governments were willing to expend in order to achieve victory. Both believed not just that their ideology was superior, but that the other ideology was the completely wrong way to run a country.

KEY ISSUES

- How did the United States and the Soviet Union become superpowers by the end of the war?
- Why did tension continue after World War II ended?
- What were the goals of the new United Nations?
- What defined the competing ideologies of capitalism and communism?
- What was the Iron Curtain?

FLOW OF CHAPTER

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                          AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR II
                                    │
                                    ▼
United States of America (USA) ◄── EMERGENCE OF ──► Soviet Union (USSR)
                                   SUPERPOWERS
                                    │
                                    ▼                    ┌──► Yalta Conference
        Global initiatives ◄──── GROWING TENSIONS ──────┤
                                    │                    └──► Potsdam Conference
                                    ▼
                          ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED
                                   NATIONS
                                    │
                                    ▼
   Ideology of capitalism ◄── COMPETING COLD WAR ──► Ideology of communism
                                  IDEOLOGIES
                                    │
                                    ▼
                          CHURCHILL'S 'IRON CURTAIN'
                                   SPEECH
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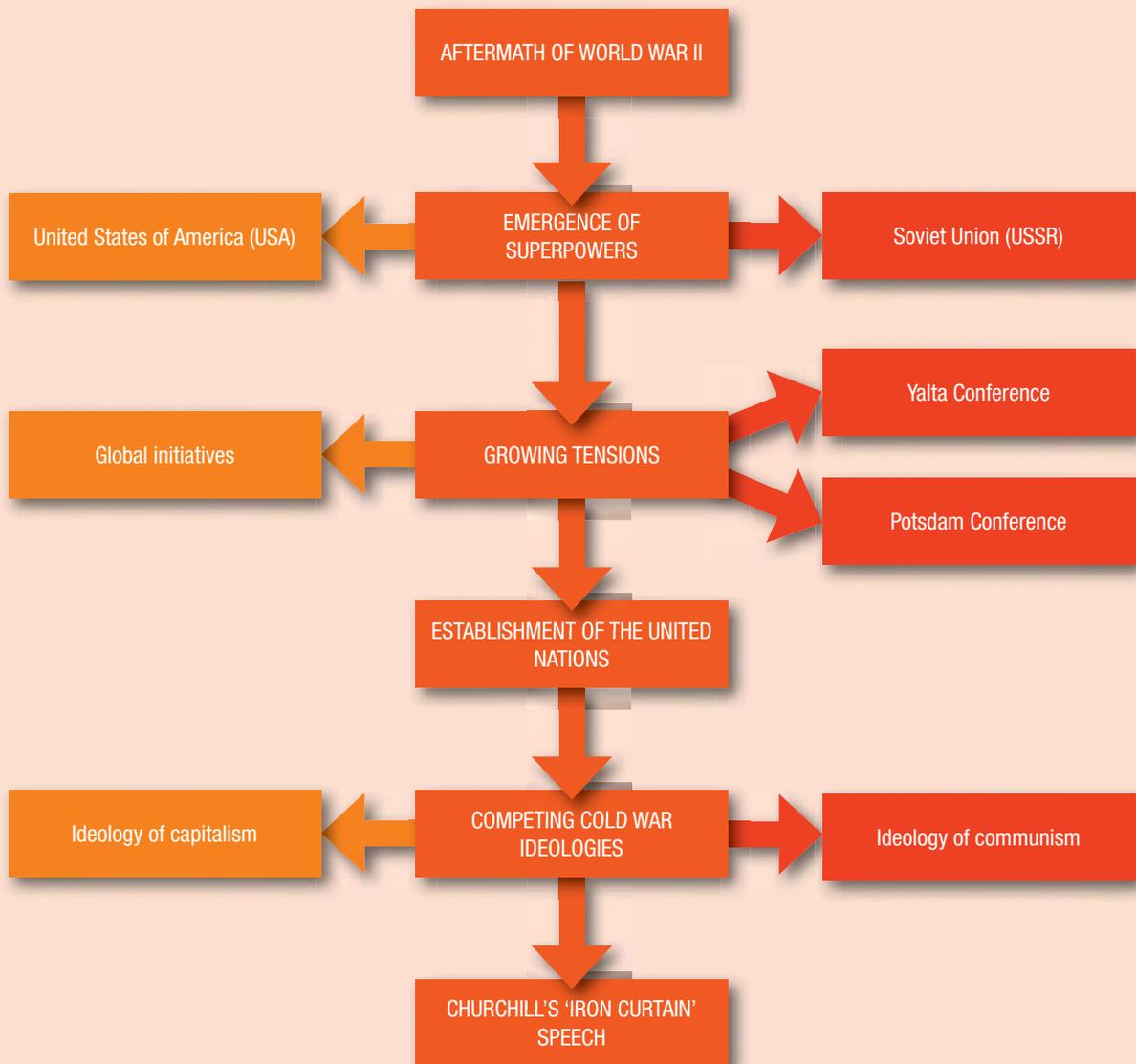
6.1 The aftermath of World War II: United States and Soviet Union emerge as superpowers

United States: Strength from wealth

The United States became an incredibly wealthy country during the war for three main reasons. First, apart from the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States was not invaded. It did not have to spend billions of dollars repaying debts or repairing buildings and factories as Germany, Japan, Britain, France and the Soviet Union were forced to do. Second, the United States was able to supply the Allied countries with weapons, making their industries extremely wealthy. Third, its massive military power was proven through the technology of the atomic bomb, and its large navy and air force.

Source 6.1 US naval forces, 1945

Statistics

- Production in American factories increased by 50 per cent during the war.
- By 1945, 50 per cent of the world's manufactured goods and 33 per cent of the world's exports came from the United States, and the United States held 67 per cent of the world's gold reserves.
- The United States had the strongest air force and navy in the world, with 1200 major warships and 2000 heavy bombers.

Soviet Union: Military strength

The sheer size of the Soviet Union's population meant that its strength was in numbers. Its army had accomplished the impossible – it stopped the German army from taking Moscow, and then single-handedly defeated the Germans in Eastern Europe. The Soviets had also been the first to capture Hitler's headquarters in Berlin.

Statistics

- The Soviet Union suffered an incredible 27 million military and civilian deaths in World War II – more than Australia's entire population today.

Source 6.2 Soviet army, 1945

6.2 Tensions continue

After the collapse of the German Reich … there will only be two superpowers in the world: the United States and Soviet Russia.

Hitler's prediction of superpower rivalry was incredibly accurate. The United States and the Soviet Union had suppressed their hostility through their common hatred of Hitler. Both had fought to defeat the Nazi regime – the United States from the west and the Soviet Union from the east. But once Hitler was defeated, the two countries came into conflict over a number of problems.

Problem 1: Global initiatives

US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had a joint vision for a new postwar world. They developed three global initiatives:

- the United Nations – to deal with threats to international peace
- the International Monetary Fund – to minimise the chance of economic depression and currency fluctuations
- the World Bank – to aid in the reconstruction of destroyed countries using capital from the International Monetary Fund.

capitalism a political and economic system in which production and distribution are privately owned or operated for profit

These initiatives were devised to create a more secure global community after a devastating war, not to promote **capitalism**. Soviet President Joseph Stalin, however, interpreted these moves as being politically motivated by the capitalist Western Allies in order to wipe out communism. Stalin developed a genuine and permanent distrust of the West due to these initiatives.

Problem 2: Arguing over Poland at Yalta

The three most powerful leaders in the world – Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin – met in February 1945 in the Soviet waterfront resort town of Yalta. Their discussions focused on the punishment for a defeated Germany and the future governance of Poland. They agreed to Germany's unconditional surrender, a joint occupation of Germany and war crime trials for the leading Nazis. The issue of Poland was far more complicated. As the largest country in Eastern Europe, Poland's future was likely to form a model for the rest of Europe.

- *Churchill's argument* – As he did not trust Stalin, he did not want communism to spread. Poland was not to be controlled by Stalin.
- *Roosevelt's argument* – Although he wanted democracy in Poland, he also wanted the United States and the Soviet Union to remain on good terms when the war ended.
- *Stalin's argument* – Security was his main priority, given that historically Poland had always been the corridor for attack on Russia. He was determined that any new government in Poland must be friendly towards the Soviet Union, and was very reluctant to give up the vast amounts of Polish territory controlled by his Red Army.

Source 6.3 The big three: Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin at the Yalta summit in February 1945

A MATTER OF FACT

Within just five months of the Yalta Conference, Stalin was the only leader of the 'Big Three' left. Roosevelt had died and Churchill was voted out of office.

The issue of Poland's **self-determination** was not resolved. Churchill and Roosevelt feared that Stalin intended to expand communism throughout Europe. Stalin refused to recognise and reinstate the democratic government of Poland from before the war and had already installed a communist government.

self-determination
the right of a country to determine its own social, economic and political agendas

Problem 3: Arguing over Germany at Potsdam

Hitler's suicide allowed other Nazi leaders to sign an unconditional surrender on 8 May 1945. Afterwards, Stalin met with Churchill and the new President of the United States, Harry Truman, in the city of Potsdam outside Berlin.

Truman adopted a much more aggressive style than Roosevelt, saying: 'We have to get tough with the Russians. They don't know how to behave.' By this stage, the United States had tested its new atomic bomb – with devastating effect on Hiroshima and Nagasaki – which allowed Truman to argue confidently as he knew the extent of his nation's military power.

The Potsdam Conference divided Germany into four zones, one for each of the main Allied nations – the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France.

Focus question

1 Summarise the three problems the United States and Soviet Union came into conflict over.

2 Explain why Hitler's prediction of a superpower rivalry was so accurate.

War Crimes Tribunal
an independent body set up to investigate and prosecute perpetrators of atrocities during wartime

An Allied Control Council was established to oversee this process. Proceeds from the breakup of the German navy were divided equally. A War Crimes Tribunal was established to ensure 'swift and sure justice' for leaders of Nazi Germany.

But Stalin's demand for $10 billion from Germany to repair damage to the Soviet Union was refused, and Stalin himself refused the United States' and Britain's request for a greater say in Eastern Europe. The issue of governance in Poland was still disputed.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.1: A VISUAL DOCUMENT OF US–SOVIET RELATIONS

Source 6.4 American and Soviet soldiers meet on a destroyed bridge in Germany in April 1945

1 Describe the Soviet soldiers' attitudes in this photograph.
2 Describe the American soldiers' attitudes in this photograph.
3 How does the date of this photograph help explain the reaction from both sides?
4 Using the information from this chapter, explain why the relationship between these two countries became so tense in the years after this photograph was taken.

6.3 Establishment of the United Nations, 1945

As Roosevelt and Churchill had envisioned and proposed, the United Nations was the new international organisation to replace the failed League of Nations. Interestingly, the League of Nations was created immediately after World War I and the United Nations immediately after World War II. On both occasions, the Western world was desperate to conclude conflict.

Representatives from the Soviet Union, Britain, United States and China created draft proposals. Fifty nations then met to discuss and debate these proposals in San Francisco, resulting in the signing of the United Nations Charter in June 1945. The new peacekeeping body officially began on 24 October 1945.

A MATTER OF FACT

Each year 24 October is celebrated as United Nations Day.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.2: UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Source 6.5 A UN poster released in 1943

PREAMBLE

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

- to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
- to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and
- to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
- to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom

AND FOR THESE ENDS

- to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and
- to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
- to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
- to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples

Source: The United Nations, www.un.org/en/documents/charter/preamble.shtml

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1   Use the APPARTS model below and answer each of the seven questions about the United Nations Charter.
2   The goal of the League of Nations in 1919 was 'to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security'. How similar or different is the United Nations' goals in 1945?

APPARTS model for primary source analysis

This is a helpful model to analyse primary sources. The heading is really suitable, because analysis is pulling apart a document or image, to look at the separate parts of a source, so that we understand it better. Remember the APPARTS model as a way to analyse, or pull apart, a document or image.

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

Source: 'Improving student comprehension: primary sources', *The AP Vertical Teams Guide for Social Studies*. The College Board (2001): 15–17

6.4 Competing Cold War ideologies: Capitalism vs communism

For the enemy is the communist system itself – implacable, insatiable, unceasing in its drive for world domination … For this is not a struggle for supremacy of arms alone – it is also a struggle for supremacy between two conflicting ideologies: Freedom under God versus ruthless, godless tyranny.

President John F. Kennedy, 1960

The Russian ideology of communism was totally opposite to the United States' ideology of capitalism. Capitalism proclaimed economic liberty, praised private enterprise and gave the individual absolute freedom.

Research question

American singer songwriter Billy Joel wrote a number one song called 'We didn't start the fire' that lists over 100 reference to the Cold War from 1949–89. Listen to it, read the lyrics and list all the references to the Cold War. Compare your list with a partner.

Source 6.6 Billy Joel in concert

The opposing ideologies of capitalism and communism formed the foundation of the superpower rivalry that erupted between these two powerful nations after World War II (the basic differences between the two ideologies are summarised in Source 6.7). Each country was totally committed to its ideology, and believed that every country would be happier if they converted to this ideology. In fact, the United States joined with several other countries such as Britain and France to invade Russia in 1919 in an attempt to destroy communism at its very birth. They failed. Communism, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin and then Stalin, was able to grow. The birth of communism, through the Russian Revolution, is discussed in Chapter 2 of this text.

Source 6.7 Capitalism and communism

	Capitalism	Communism
Money	People should be able to make as much money as they can and keep it for themselves.	Rich people should be forced to share their wealth.
Business	Factories and property should be owned by individuals and companies.	Factories and property should be owned by the government on behalf of all the people.
Daily life	The government should interfere as little as possible in the daily lives of ordinary people.	The government should be as involved as possible in the daily lives of ordinary people.
Elections	People are allowed to vote for whoever they want at elections.	People are only allowed to vote for communists at elections.
Media	The media are free and independent and should be allowed to criticise the government.	The media are controlled and should not be allowed to criticise the government.
Religion	The government is separate from the church and should not interfere in religion.	Religion is nonsense and should therefore be banned by the government.
Perception of each other	Communists are controlling.	Capitalists are greedy.
Quotes	President Truman, 12 March 1947: 'One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political oppression.'	President Stalin, 9 February 1945: 'The Soviet social system has successfully stood the test in the fire of war and it has proved its complete vitality. The Soviet social system has proved to be more capable and more stable than a non-Soviet social system. The Soviet social system is a better form of society than any non-Soviet social system.'
Propaganda		
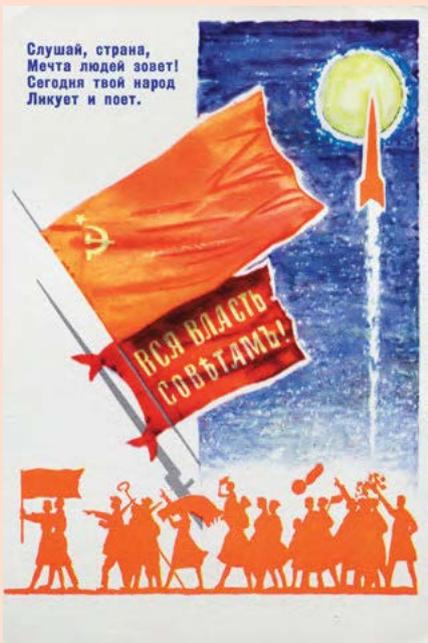
Source 6.8 Capitalism and consumerism go hand in hand

Historians' hot debates over the Cold War ideologies

Soviet historians, who supported communist ideals, believed that the Russian Revolution in 1917 was the greatest event in world history because it effectively eliminated the oppression of workers. For example, British historian Christopher Hill argued in 1947 that Lenin's Russian Revolution 'abolished a regime of despair and created a new world of hope'.

In comparison, many historians from capitalist countries have been very critical of communism. For example, Polish-born American historian Richard Pipes argued in 2001 that 'the excesses of the Bolsheviks, their readiness to sacrifice countless lives for their own purposes, were a monstrous violation of both ethics and common sense'.

What is undebatable, though, is the phenomenal impact that communism had on the shape of the twentieth century. Communism spread from Russia to many other countries, including China under Chairman Mao through the Chinese Revolution of 1949.

Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Which ideology is better in theory, capitalism or communism?'** A student responds briefly. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student's brief response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.3: DEFINING THE COLD WAR

Understanding the Cold War is vital to understanding the world today. Read the following explanations by historians of the Cold War. Then write your own definition.

Explanation 1

After 1945 the USSR and the USA were rivals, locked in a struggle which became known as the Cold War. The basis of the Cold War was fear … the two powers carried out a dangerous war of words which sometimes turned into armed conflict on a limited scale.

V. Dixon and S. Greer, *Understanding the Modern World*, 1998

Explanation 2

The Cold War was not just a clash of military empires, but of economies, of cultures, of rival ways of life.

J. Isaacs and T. Downing, *Cold War*, 1998

Explanation 3

At no stage however was there direct and open warfare between the two rivals although often conflict was played out between third parties and allies, hence the name Cold War as opposed to a 'hot war' involving direct confrontation.

G. Engwerda and J. Oakes, *International Studies*, 2002

Explanation 4

The story of the Cold War begins in the ruins of Berlin and the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, and ends not with a bang but with a whimper. No shots were fired, no bombs were dropped … In the end the Cold War stumbled to the finish line of 1991 due to the determination of ordinary individuals who became the 'vehicles of power', whether at the ballot box, in street protests, in strikes or on the political podium.

Justin Briggs, *Contested Spaces*, 2010

Source 6.9 The famous sign at the former East–West Berlin border that divided Berlin during the Cold War

6.5 The Iron Curtain

Within a year after World War II, five countries had converted to communism and were loyal to Stalin and the Soviet Union. These countries were Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, all in Eastern Europe – which prompted British Prime Minister Winston Churchill to say in a speech on 5 March 1946 that Europe had been divided by an 'iron curtain'.

Source 6.10
Europe divided by the Iron Curtain

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.4: CHURCHILL'S FAMOUS 'IRON CURTAIN' SPEECH

*From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe: Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest and Sofia. All these famous cities lie in the Soviet sphere, and all are subject to a high and increasing control from Moscow. The Russia-dominated Polish government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans are now taking place. The Communist Parties, which were very small in all of these Eastern states, are seeking everywhere to obtain **totalitarian** control.*

totalitarian referring to a government that has absolute authority over the public and private lives of its people

Winston Churchill, 5 March 1946

1 According to Churchill, what is the major problem in Europe?
2 How does Churchill describe the problem in Poland?
3 How does Churchill describe the problem of the communist parties?

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.5: VISUAL ANALYSIS

Source 6.11 'A peep under the iron curtain' by Leslie Illingworth, *Daily Mail*, 6 March 1946

1 Describe life behind the Iron Curtain.
2 Suggest why Churchill wants to 'peep' under the curtain?
3 Explain whether this cartoon favours capitalism or communism.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.6: A COLD WAR FORUM

The Cold War was made up of several significant conflicts, each symbolising the deep tension that gripped the Western world for over 40 years. The aim of this activity is to create a summary of the entire Cold War. Chapters in this textbook provide an ideal starting place to begin researching these conflicts.

Divide the class into working 'committees'. Each committee will be responsible for researching a particular Cold War event from the list below. Every topic can be covered only once. Each committee is to report back to the class during a forum to be conducted over two lessons.

Each committee must do the following:

- Present a five-minute analysis of its particular Cold War event and be prepared to answer questions on the event.
- Produce a bibliography for the forum when it presents its information.
- Undertake a test on the information discussed at the forum to demonstrate the quality and accuracy of the information presented.
- Accompany its presentation with a visual display, including at least three images.
- Make its presentation available to its classmates, perhaps via a class wiki or website, or a blog.

uprising an act of resistance or rebellion

Cuban Missile Crisis a 13-day standoff between the Soviet Union and United States in October 1962 over the Soviet Union providing missiles to Cuba

Working committee topics

Berlin Blockade, 1948–49	Berlin Wall, 1961–89	Space race
Korean War, 1950–53	Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962	Vietnam War
Uprising in Hungary, 1956	Nuclear arms race	Invasion of Afghanistan, 1979

There is an excellent website devoted to explaining the Cold War and its events. It will be very helpful for this analysis activity. Look it up via the link at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/?id=5880.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 6.7: USING HISTORICAL TERMS

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include each historical term listed in bold: *How did the two different ideologies develop into the Cold War?*

- capitalism
- communism
- United States
- Soviet Union
- United Nations
- Yalta
- Potsdam
- Churchill
- Iron Curtain

The story so far

- The aftermath of World War II resulted in the emergence of two superpowers: the United States with its wealth and strong military power and the Soviet Union, which had strength in numbers due to its large population.
- The defeat of Hitler led to conflict between these two superpowers. This was due to conflicted visions of the postwar world and arguments over the future of Poland and Germany.
- The United Nations was established to replace the failed League of Nations as a desperate attempt to conclude conflict. The new peacekeeping body officially began on 24 October 1945.
- The United States' ideology of capitalism and the Soviet Union's ideology of communism led to a superpower rivalry. The United States and other countries attempted to destroy communism, but it continued to grow.
- The 'Iron Curtain' was first established in the year following World War II as five countries converted to communism: Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. This divided Europe and prompted Churchill's famous speech.

Source 6.12 Preserved sections of the 'iron curtain' still run through the Czech Republic. During the Cold War, electric fences made the Czech-German boundary impossible to pass.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1   How did the United States and the Soviet Union become superpowers by the end of the war?
2   Why did tension continue after World War II ended?
3   What were the goals of the new United Nations?
4   Define the competing ideologies of capitalism and communism.
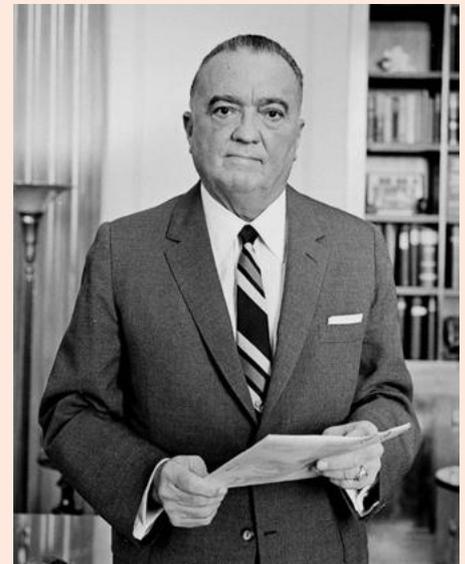5   What was the Iron Curtain?

ANALYSE THE DOCUMENT'S VIEWS

J. Edgar Hoover was the powerful director of the FBI from the 1930s until his death in 1972. His role was to investigate and restrict national security risks. The following excerpts are from a speech he delivered to the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on 26 March 1947, where he explained his view of the destructive potential of communism in the United States.

Source 6.13 J. Edgar Hoover

My feelings concerning the Communist Party of the United States are well known. I have not hesitated over the years to express my concern and apprehension … It stands for the destruction of our American form of government; it stands for the destruction of American democracy; it stands for the destruction of free enterprise; and it stands for the creation of a 'Soviet of the United States' and ultimate world revolution …

The communist, once he is fully trained and indoctrinated, realises that he can create his order in the United States only by 'bloody revolution'. Their chief textbook, The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is used as a basis for planning their revolution. Their tactics require that to be successful they must have:

1   The will and sympathy of the people.
2   Military aid and assistance.
3   Plenty of guns and ammunition.
4   A program for extermination of the police as they are the most important enemy and are termed 'trained fascists'.
5   Seizure of all communications, buses, railroads, radio stations, and other forms of communications and transportation …

What can we do? And what should be our course of action? The best antidote to communism is vigorous, intelligent, old-fashioned Americanism, with eternal vigilance. I do not favor any course of action which would give the

communists cause to portray and pity themselves as martyrs. I do favor unrelenting prosecution wherever they are found to be violating our country's laws. As Americans, our most effective defense is a workable democracy that guarantees and preserves our cherished freedoms.

1 According to the document, what does the Communist Party in the United States stand for?

2 What are two examples of violent tactics needed to have a successful communist revolution?

3 What are two actions that Americans can do to defend themselves from communism?

4 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the differences between the ideologies of capitalism and communism.

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

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

Write a considered response to this statement about the emergence of the Cold War: '*Discuss why the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union emerged between 1945 and 1947.*'

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

- To answer this question you will need to be able to explain why the United States and the Soviet Union were strengthened by World War II.
- The key examples, or evidence, are the Yalta and Potsdam conferences as these are practical examples of 'tension'. You will need to define 'tension' too.
- Better answers will also analyse the core of the tension, which is competing ideologies. The United States favoured the ideology of capitalism while the Soviet Union favoured the ideology of communism. Explain why these ideologies are so different. It would be helpful to go back to Chapter 2 in this text and look at the section on the Political Spectrum, which has further explanations of each of these ideologies.

Source 6.14 The *Enola Gay*, a Boeing B-29 Superfortress bomber, became the first aircraft to drop an atomic bomb on 6 August 1945, during the final stages of World War II. The city of Hiroshima in Japan was hit.

The division of Berlin and Germany

> *Since it represents a resounding confession of failure and of political weakness, this brutal border closing evidently represents a basic Soviet decision which only war could reverse.*
>
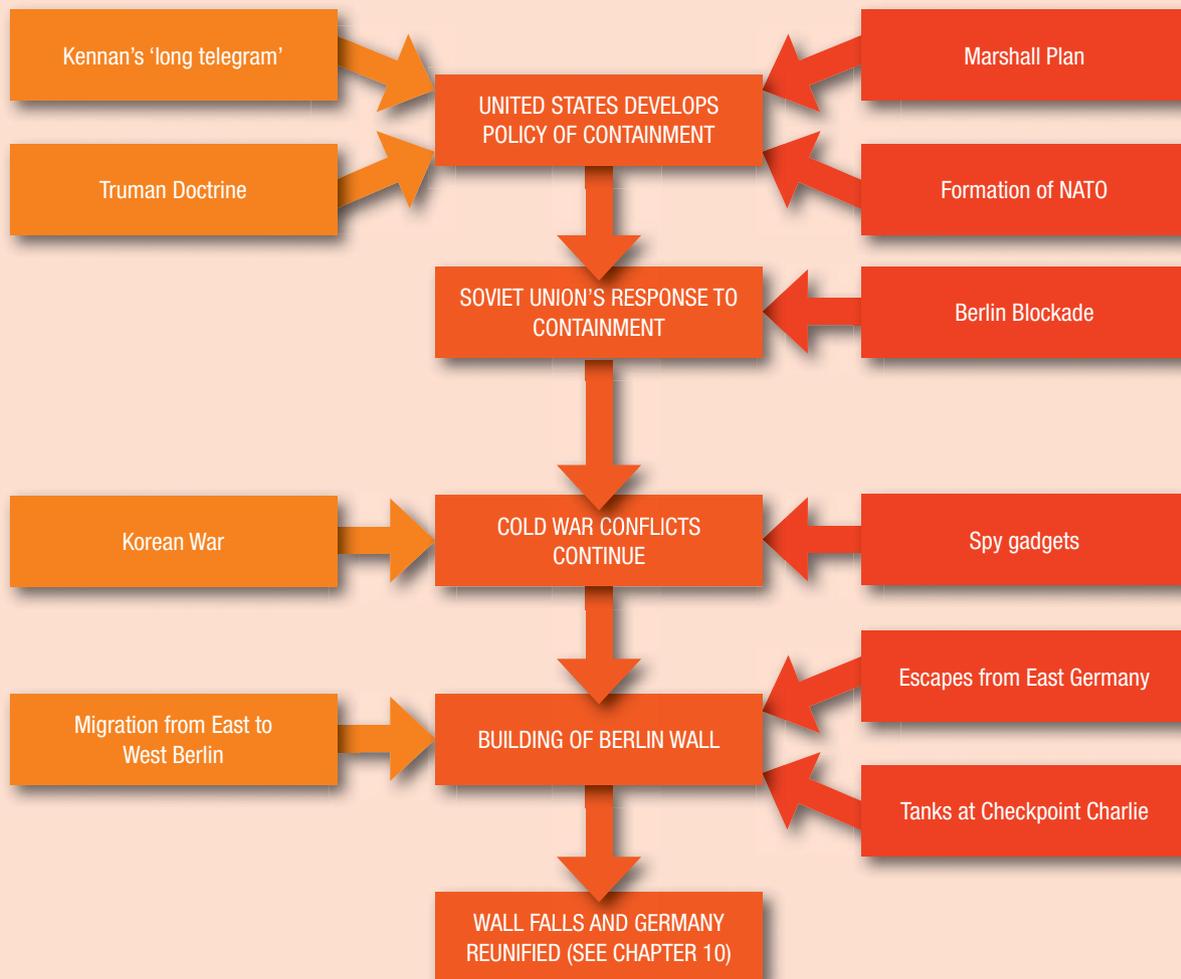> — US PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY IN A LETTER TO WILLY BRANDT, 18 AUGUST 1961

OVERVIEW

With World War II ended, the tensions between the Soviet Union and the other Allied powers began to grow stronger. One of the first places where these tensions became apparent and led to major international problems was in Berlin, the capital city of Germany, which had been divided up between the Allies after the war. It became a hotbed of political intrigue, spying and conflict, which intensified dramatically with the building of the divisive Berlin Wall in 1961. The tension in Germany was finally healed decades later but did not end until the Berlin Wall was dismantled and Germany was reunified (discussed in Chapter 10, 'The End of the Cold War').

KEY ISSUES

- Why did the United States develop a policy of 'containment'?
- What was the Soviet Union's response to containment?
- What other conflicts continued in the 1950s?
- Why was the Berlin Wall built?
- What were the responses to the Berlin Wall?

FLOW OF CHAPTER

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Kennan's 'long telegram'  ─┐
                           ├─►  UNITED STATES DEVELOPS   ◄─  Marshall Plan
Truman Doctrine  ──────────┘     POLICY OF CONTAINMENT    ◄─  Formation of NATO
                                          │
                                          ▼
                                 SOVIET UNION'S RESPONSE TO  ◄─  Berlin Blockade
                                      CONTAINMENT
                                          │
                                          ▼
Korean War  ──────────────►      COLD WAR CONFLICTS        ◄─  Spy gadgets
                                      CONTINUE
                                          │
                                          ▼
Migration from East to  ──►      BUILDING OF BERLIN WALL   ◄─  Escapes from East Germany
West Berlin                                               ◄─  Tanks at Checkpoint Charlie
                                          │
                                          ▼
                                 WALL FALLS AND GERMANY
                                 REUNIFIED (SEE CHAPTER 10)
```

7.1 The United States and its policy of containment

George Kennan played a critical role in shaping the United States' attitude towards the Soviet Union. As a young diplomat based at the American Embassy in Moscow, he sent a famous report to the US Government in February 1946, warning of the dangers of Soviet motives in Eastern Europe. Kennan argued that the Soviet government feared the advancements of the Western world and was therefore hostile towards it. Communism had added a ruthless edge, and the Soviet government was determined to expand in order to protect itself. Most significantly, Kennan's recommendation was to adopt a policy of 'containment'. Containment involved using the power and wealth of the United States to contain or stop the spread of communism in Europe and throughout the world.

Source 7.1 George Kennan

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.1: KENNAN CRITICISES SOVIET MOTIVES

All Soviet efforts will be negative and destructive in character, designed to tear down sources of strength beyond reach of Soviet control. We have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with the US there can be no permanent way of living peacefully together. If Soviet power is to be secure our traditional way of life must be destroyed and the international authority of our state destroyed …

George Kennan in February 1946

1 List two words and/or phrases that George Kennan uses to describe Soviet efforts.
2 List two things that the extract states the Soviets must destroy in order to secure their power.
3 Using this extract and your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Kennan's point of view.

Kennan's 'long telegram' (as it became known), in addition to the events of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences that were discussed in Chapter 6, convinced President Harry S. Truman that the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was a fanatic and that communism was a direct, real threat that must be stopped. Truman's response was to adopt Kennan's policy of containment, reflected in three major decisions.

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Initiative 1: The Truman Doctrine, 1947

Truman developed a generous aid policy. He promised financial support from the United States to any country that wanted to resist communism. In a speech to the US Congress on 12 March 1947, he argued that:

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life … I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must help free peoples to work out their own destiny in their own way.

Initiative 2: The Marshall Plan, 1947

Europe's economy was devastated after the war. General George Marshall, the US Secretary of State, devised a plan to rebuild Western Europe and make its nations wealthy, and so create a direct barrier to the spread of communism. The belief was that communism would not be attractive to workers if they had good jobs and were well paid in a democratic country.

Over the next four years, the United States spent approximately US$13 billion rebuilding Western Europe. The **Marshall Plan** was extremely successful; not only had the United States limited the spread of communism, but it established wealthy trade partners and political allies.

Marshall Plan US strategy to make capitalism attractive by rebuilding Western Europe after World War II

Source 7.2 President Harry S. Truman

Initiative 3: Formation of NATO, 1949

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) an alliance formed in 1949 between the United States and various European states for the purpose of collective defence against common enemies

America's global perspective extended beyond economic recovery. The United States initiated a military alliance of non-communist countries in Europe and North America called the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Members of NATO pledged to defend each other if attacked by the common Soviet enemy.

Source 7.3 General George Marshall

Focus question

1 Summarise the three initiatives of the policy of containment and explain the background to these decisions.
2 Describe George Kennan's role in developing America's attitude towards the Soviet Union.

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Source 7.4 President Truman and leaders of other member states signing the NATO treaty

7.2 Soviet Union's response: The Berlin Blockade, 1948–49

Background

Germany divided into East and West

After Germany's defeat in 1945, the Allies divided Germany and its capital city of Berlin into four zones. The Americans, British and French ruled the western side of Germany and Berlin, while the

Source 7.5 The division of Germany and Berlin into four zones

Soviets ruled the eastern side. However, since Berlin lay 160 kilometres inside the Soviet-ruled zone, the four occupying powers needed to work together to rebuild Germany. This division of Germany and Berlin was a crucial decision that created the foundation for conflict for the next 45 years. The first crisis of the Cold War took place over Berlin, when this cooperation was destroyed.

Tensions increase

By February 1948, the Western Allies realised that the Soviets would never agree to reunite Germany. Tensions rose when the Allies introduced a new single currency, the Deutschmark, into the regions they controlled. Stalin was afraid they were trying to create a new, unified Germany and might try to influence the implementation of communism in East Germany.

The Soviets act

On 28 June 1948, the Soviets blockaded West Berlin by closing the roads, canals and railways that linked the city with West Germany. This standoff was intended to push back the Allies and change their attitude concerning the rebuilding of Germany's economy.

Actual events

Cut off from supplies, the population of Allied Berlin only had six weeks of food and fuel. The British urged breaking roadblocks with tanks, hoping that the Soviet Union would not fight, but this was deemed too risky; it could have started a third world war. US General Lucius Clay suggested airlifting supplies into Berlin. The theory was that the Soviets would have to shoot the US planes down in order to maintain the **blockade**.

blockade barriers stopping movement of people or goods for political reasons

West Berliners adopted a strong anti-Soviet stance due to energy, electricity and coal being severely limited during the blockade. The Allies flew in supplies and aid daily for over a year, at incredible cost. On 12 May 1949, the Soviets admitted defeat, recognising that the United States was not going to give in. The blockade was lifted and the Western powers once again had full access to West Berlin.

Source 7.6 Berlin citizens watch the arrival of an American supply plane

Significance

There were a number of significant outcomes from the Berlin Blockade.

1   The Soviets had miscalculated. The United States was prepared to invest massive resources over Berlin, and therefore Europe. Relations between East and West deteriorated with no future cooperation foreseeable.
2   The United States was able to establish a strong military presence in Britain and West Germany.
3   Germany was permanently divided into two separate countries until 1989: the German Federal Republic (West Germany) formed from the western zones and including West Berlin; and the German Democratic Republic formed from East Germany and East Berlin.
4   The Berlin crisis led to the formation of NATO as a mutual protection pact involving the United States, Canada and most of the Western European countries in April 1949. This was precisely the outcome the Soviets had hoped to avoid.
5   In 1955, in response to West Germany's application to join NATO, the Soviets formed the Warsaw Pact, which was an alliance of communist nations to counter NATO.

7.3 Analysis of the Berlin Blockade

The Berlin Blockade was a crucial event because it created a pattern for future conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union. Similar themes come through in this and other conflicts between the superpowers over the next 40 years.

1   *Unwillingness to fight a direct war:* A primary feature of the Cold War was supporting nations who wanted to attack one of the superpowers. With the Soviet Union supporting East Berlin and the United States the West, conflict was direct but diffused.
2   *Suspicions:* The Berlin Blockade showed that the superpowers were rightfully suspicious of each other. This suspicion led to both sides becoming paralysed by an irrational fear of the other's power. For example, Americans were so scared of the communists invading the United States that people were encouraged to watch out for 'Reds under your beds'.
3   *Equally matched enemies:* The Berlin Blockade proved the ambition and resources of both superpowers. Both governments knew that they were so powerful that a direct 'hot' war would lead to massive casualties and cost.
4   *Use of propaganda:* The Berlin Blockade demonstrated the power of propaganda. Both sides claimed victory for the blockade and represented the other country as the aggressor.

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7.4 Conflicts continue in the 1950s

After the Berlin Blockade in 1948, the conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union continued but in different theatres. The first was the Korean War from 1950–53, the second the development of nuclear weapons in an arms race, and the third the development of space technology in a race to the moon.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) the spy agency from the United States during the Cold War

Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (KGB) the spy agency from the Soviet Union during the Cold War. It translates as Committee for State Security.

During all of these conflicts, spying became critically important. Information was valuable. Spying became a dangerous but hidden 'game' where being captured resulted in torture, prison or execution. It was not the romantic occupation shown in Hollywood movies. Therefore, blending in with one's surroundings was crucial while still needing to be ready for the worst. The result was the spending of truckloads of money to develop technological innovations. The **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)** was the spy agency from the United States and the **Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (KGB)** was the spy agency from the Soviet Union.

Amazing spy gadgets

Sources 7.7 to 7.12 show six amazing real spy gadgets from the Cold War.

Glove pistol

Source 7.7 CIA Sedgley OSS .38 glove pistol, activated by forming a fist. The single-shot gun goes off when the target is punched.

Spy shoe

Source 7.8 Soviet spy shoe with a heel transmitter, used to record and forward enemy conversations

Lipstick gun

Source 7.9 KGB's 'Kiss of Death'. The 4.5mm single-shot gun fired by twisting the bottom of the lipstick.

Suicide glasses

Source 7.10 The spy could casually chew on the arms of the glasses and release a pellet of cyanide poison (the red pill in the right arm) to avoid prison or harsh torture if captured by the enemy

Invisible ink pen

Source 7.11 KGB pen that wrote with invisible ink

Pocket camera

Source 7.12 Sneaky KGB camera with a lens inside a buttonhole and a wire running down to a pocket where the user could discreetly press the shutter button

7.5 Why was the Berlin Wall built?

This climate of mistrust and spying provided the background for intensified tension from which the crisis of the Berlin Wall erupted.

Economic background of Berlin

By 1961, Berlin was a tale of two cities. The rubble and destruction from World War II had been cleared away, and West Berlin had become prosperous from the Marshall Plan. In comparison, while East Berlin civilians had food and shelter, they lacked the prosperity of the West. For example, for those who could even afford to buy a refrigerator, the wait was one year, and two years for a washing machine. The basic difference was how each superpower had approached the occupation of Germany: the Soviet Union took wealth from East Berlin, while the United States gave financial aid to West Berlin.

A MATTER OF FACT

In East Berlin, houses had to be painted grey on the outside and white on the inside, but the owner could choose the colour of the internal electrical cords – black or brown!

A MATTER OF FACT

Passengers could wait for over an hour for a taxi in East Berlin – not because there were not enough of them, but because the communist regime made taxi fares extremely cheap so that everyone could afford them.

East Germany and West Germany were divided by a border, which was marked by a barbed-wire fence and patrolled by guards. Berlin was completely surrounded by East Germany, so the fence did not run through the city, and people could travel relatively easily across the border between West Berlin and East Berlin. But in August 1961, this changed.

Source 7.13 East German Combat Groups close the border between East and West Berlin on 13 August 1961 in preparation for the Berlin Wall construction.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL
Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971)

Nikita Khrushchev fought in the Red Army during the Russian Civil War under Lenin's leadership. He was actively involved in the Communist Party under Stalin, assuming the important role of First Secretary upon Stalin's death in 1953, and became Soviet President in 1958. Khrushchev denounced Stalin's violence, overturned many of Stalin's oppressive policies and introduced 'socialism with a human face'. His determination to fight against the United States led to reforms that modernised the Soviet Union and strong political actions in Berlin, Eastern Europe and Cuba.

Source 7.14 President Nikita Khrushchev at the United General Assembly, New York

Why the wall was built

The Berlin Wall was built because of the constant comparisons between West and East Berlin. With its higher standard of living, West Berlin promoted capitalism as being the better system. The Allies used West Berlin like a shop window, showing off all the benefits of life in the West. West Berlin's economic boom meant professionals (such as doctors and teachers) and skilled labourers were paid high wages. The border between the Western and Soviet zones remained open and people crossed it daily for work, shopping, visiting or entertainment. As a result, many skilled people from communist East Berlin illegally relocated to capitalist West Berlin. Between 1949 and 1960, three million people defected to the West – one-sixth of East Berlin's population. It was one of the largest migrations in European history. Walter Ulbricht, the East German First Secretary, publicly warned Khrushchev in July 1961 that he needed to stop this flow to the West. Western governments were also using West Berlin as a base for spying on communist countries.

A more complex reason for the wall was how Berlin represented the wider Cold War struggle. Khrushchev had pressured President Dwight Eisenhower, the US leader before Kennedy, to negotiate over Berlin's future. In particular, Khrushchev wanted the Western Allies to withdraw, making Berlin a neutral city. Kennedy took a tougher line, and repeatedly refused. Both leaders issued angry statements, but neither was willing to risk starting a war. Kennedy reflected, on his way back from meeting with Khrushchev in June 1961, that:

It seems particularly stupid to risk killing a million Americans over an argument about access rights on an Autobahn or because the Germans want Germany reunified. If I'm going to threaten Russia with a nuclear war, it will have to be for much bigger and more important reasons than that.
I want peace, but if you want war, that is your problem.

Kennedy to Khrushchev at a meeting in June 1961

Source 7.15 President Nikita Khrushchev and President John F. Kennedy meeting in 1961

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL
John F. Kennedy's story (1917–1963)

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

The war hero

Born into a wealthy family on 29 May 1917, John was the second of nine children born to Joseph and Rose Kennedy. Ironically, he was born in the same year that the ideology of communism was introduced to Russia, an ideology he would spend his adult life fighting against. John rose to wide recognition in World War II when he was awarded medals for his heroism and leadership while serving in the navy. He was on a patrol boat that was blown in half by a Japanese destroyer in August 1943. John helped the surviving crewman swim to shore before being rescued.

Source 7.16 President John F. Kennedy

The politician

John Fitzgerald Kennedy, also known as Jack or JFK, wore the triple crown – he was America's youngest president, the first president born in the twentieth century, and is still regarded as the most popular president. John's youthful looks suggested progressive and fresh political ideals that could move America forward. John was the first politician to use make-up and image consultants to ensure an attractive image in the first televised debates.

After an intense campaign, John narrowly defeated Richard Nixon in the 1960 election to become President of the United States. John loved being president. His speeches were passionate and articulate in ways that ordinary Americans could relate to. His most famous line was: 'Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country'. He was known as a man of distinguished manners with a talent for concentration; he could exhaust people just by listening to them for long periods. Mostly, John was described as a leader who loved wit and irony because it helped lighten a crisis, could hold problems in balance and acted as a form of healthy self-criticism.

The family man

John was not just intelligent and witty; he was also handsome and charming, which won him many admirers. In 1953, he married Jacqueline Lee Bouvier, a beautiful socialite who was frequently featured in fashion magazines. The White House, where the Kennedy family lived, was nicknamed Camelot by the media because John and Jackie reminded people of King Arthur and his wife Guinevere.

His personal life

There was a darker side to John that contradicted this perfect image. Although he was devoted to his family, he regularly had extramarital affairs. Jackie was aware of his unfaithfulness but was powerless to stop him. His two most remembered affairs were with film star Marilyn Monroe, and with Judith Campbell, the girlfriend of a Chicago Mafia boss.

His assassination

John's assassination was as fascinating as his life. He was shot in the head while waving to crowds from a convertible in Dallas, Texas. Although there are genuine theories that there was also a second shooter, Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested as the lone gunman. John's death was shocking because it was seen live through the powerful medium of television.

Source 7.17 John and Jacqueline Kennedy with their children

Source 7.18 John (bottom right) and Jackie (bottom left) at their wedding

Source 7.19 Marilyn Monroe

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A MATTER OF FACT

Kennedy took afternoon naps throughout his political career; he would change into pyjamas and sleep for 45 minutes. He borrowed this idea from former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

A MATTER OF FACT

Throughout childhood, Kennedy suffered from nearly crippling bouts of back pain. When he was 38 years old, these back pains hit again and he was strapped to a board for six months. During this time he wrote a book, Profiles in Courage, which won the Pulitzer Prize two years later.

Focus question

Talk the thought – human graphs

This activity is designed to gauge your initial opinion about Kennedy. To answer this question, imagine that there is a line across your classroom with 'Totally agree' on one wall and 'Totally disagree' on the other. Respond to the deliberately provocative statement: **'Kennedy's personal life shouldn't matter in our opinion of his political leadership'**. Stand anywhere along the imaginary line depending on the extent to which you agree with this statement. Share your point of view with others in the class, using examples from this section to support your argument.

How the wall was built

Kennedy felt that negotiations over Berlin had reached a stalemate. But Khrushchev had a final and radical solution. At 1 am on 13 August 1961, 50 000 East German police with machine guns lined the border between West and East Berlin while contractors rolled out a barrier of barbed wire. The path of the wall exactly followed the borders of each zone, zigzagging through cemeteries and down the middle of streets. Soviet tanks took up positions, a warning to the West not to interfere. Within seven days, cement blocks topped with barbed wire replaced the initial fence. Over the next few months, the final, permanent wall was completed with reinforced concrete slabs, guard towers, searchlights, minefields and machine-gun posts. Westerners called it the 'Wall of Shame', but Khrushchev's term for the wall was 'border control'. It effectively stopped the flow to the West, and as a result the economy of East Berlin improved.

> *If your troops try to force their way into Berlin, we will oppose you by force … though you and we may survive, all your European allies will be completely destroyed.*

> Soviet President Khrushchev in July 1961
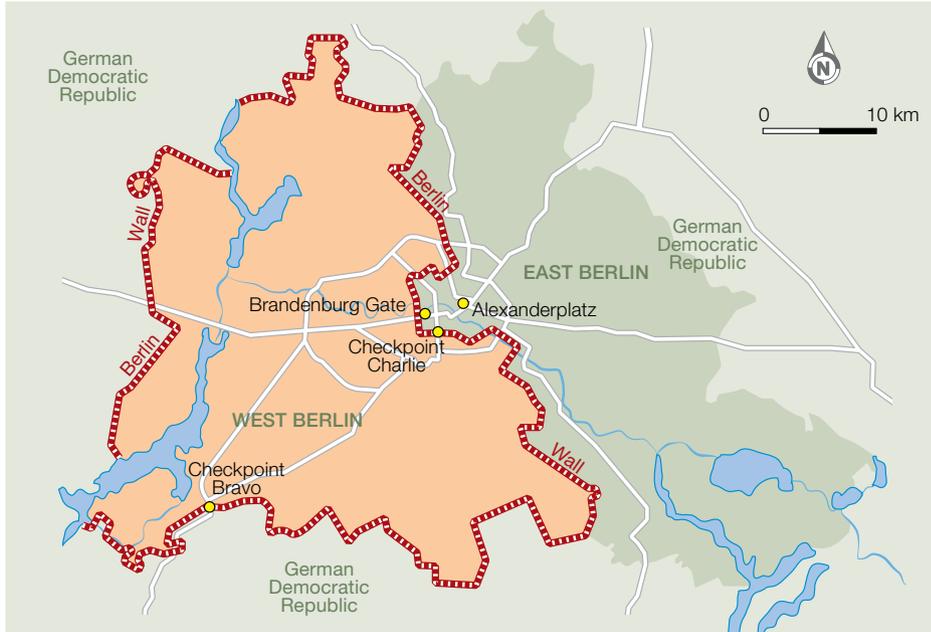
Source 7.20 Map of Berlin divided by the wall, 1961

Statistics

- *Built* – from 13 August 1961
- *Material* – vertical slabs of reinforced concrete
- *Height* – 3.4 metres
- *Length* – 165 kilometres (45 kilometres in the city and 120 kilometres separating West Berlin from East Germany)
- *Number of watchtowers* – 300
- *Number of bunkers* – 22
- *Anti-vehicle trench* – 105 kilometres
- *Successfully crossed the wall* – 5043 people

Source 7.21 Fortifications of the wall in 1961

Source 7.22 Graffiti on the west side of the wall, 1986. As the concrete wall had a smooth surface, it was an ideal canvas for graffiti artists.

- *Arrested in the border area* – 3221 people
- *Died crossing the wall* – approximately 200 people
- *Destroyed* – 9 November 1989

7.6 The response to the Berlin Wall

East Berlin's response: Escapes and migration

People in East Berlin who did not support communism were literally trapped behind the wall. Some families who had crossed the border, either from the west or the east, to visit friends over the weekend were now separated on either side. While the barbed wire wall was being built on 13 August, many people desperately swam across the Teltow Canal, which formed a boundary between the two halves of the city, or jumped the low parts of the wire; one family crashed through the fence in their Volkswagen! But this was the only day of 'easy' escape. Once the wall was erected, those who tried to escape were shot. The large flow of migrants from the east stopped as a result. Despite this, many people still tried to escape, and many succeeded – but others failed and were killed.

A MATTER OF FACT

Many of Berlin's underground train stations became deserted ghost stations, patrolled by border guards to prevent East Germans from escaping through the tunnels.

A MATTER OF FACT

On 17 August 1962, two 18-year-old men ran towards the wall. The first successfully scaled it. The second, Peter Fechter, ran out of energy just as he reached the top and was shot by an East German guard. His body lay on the sand at the base of the wall as he screamed in agony for nearly an hour. Once he had bled to death, guards carried his body away. He was the 50th person to die at the Berlin Wall and became a symbol of the struggle for freedom.

Western response

The time chosen to divide the city was perfect – it was a weekend, the middle of the night in Washington, DC, and the French Government was on its summer vacation. Quick decisions were impossible, and the Western Allies were powerless. To add to the surprise, Walter Ulbricht, the East German First Secretary, had stated just prior to 13 August that 'No one has any intention of building a wall', when asked why significant amounts of building materials were being amassed.

Despite the failure of diplomatic measures, President Kennedy was reluctant to begin a war over Berlin. He sent a special representative to West Berlin, General Lucius Clay, who had been the commander of the American zone during the 1948 Berlin airlift. Vice President Lyndon Johnson was also sent to West Berlin to reassure its citizens that they would not be abandoned.

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A MATTER OF FACT

General Clay's first action in Berlin was to build a concrete wall at an American military training school, so that US soldiers could have practice knocking it down.

Historian Robert Dallek recorded President Kennedy's realisation that the Berlin Wall could actually be perceived as a godsend.

'Why would Khrushchev put up a wall if he really intended to seize West Berlin?' Kennedy asked … 'There wouldn't be any need of a wall if he occupied the whole city. This is his way out of his predicament. It's not a very nice solution, but a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war.'

Cited in Robert Dallek, *An Unfinished Life: John F Kennedy 1917–1963*, Allen Lane, London, 2003, p. 426

Checkpoint Charlie: Tanks with live ammunition

Only one border crossing was open for Westerners to enter East Berlin. It was called Checkpoint Charlie, and it became an important Cold War symbol – the place where East met West. It was not only a crucial exchange point for spies but also the scene of one of the tensest scenarios in the Cold War.

The Allies and the Soviets agreed that government personnel could move freely between East and West without needing passports. At the end of October 1961, senior American diplomat E. Allan Lightner was refused access to East Berlin – to attend the theatre – because he refused to show his passport. American troops were immediately sent to escort Lightner and his wife into East Berlin. This practice continued over the next few days, as Allied leaders decided to test the East Germans' resolve. It escalated to the point where battle-ready soldiers escorted US civilians into the East on meaningless excursions, waving their loaded guns, just to prove the point.

Source 7.23 President Kennedy visiting Checkpoint Charlie

But Khrushchev was equal to the American bluff, and added his own show of force by sending 33 Soviet tanks into East Berlin – 23 at the Brandenburg Gate and 10 at Checkpoint Charlie. The Soviet tanks pointed loaded cannons directly at the US tanks less than 100 metres away. Tensions soared and everyone was on full alert – the Soviet military commander had a direct line to Khrushchev for orders, Clay had a direct line to Kennedy, and NATO and Strategic Air Command were on alert. Khrushchev demanded that force be met with force, while the commander in West Germany complained: 'What did Clay think he was doing? You don't spit in the face of a bulldog.' Commanders on both sides were concerned that some nervous soldier would fire his weapon and trigger an all-out war between the superpowers.

After a tense 16 hours at Checkpoint Charlie, while the world held its breath, the tension was broken as a Soviet tank reversed 5 metres, beginning a withdrawal of all the tanks.

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What's going on in this image?'** (see Source 7.24). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

Source 7.24 Threatening Soviet tanks at Checkpoint Charlie

7.7 Analysis of the Berlin Wall

The construction of the Berlin Wall led to three significant outcomes.

1 It transformed the Cold War and became the primary symbol of Cold War tensions.
2 Berlin became an issue of principle at the heart of each side's Cold War stance. Both sides were determined never to lose power in Berlin. The wall was of strategic and ideological importance.
3 The Soviets began a 30-year policy called *détente*, where defined communist territory was tolerated by the United States. A period of uneasy calm descended on Europe, as both sides accepted that neither would change its views.

détente the label given to the 'thawing out period' of the geo-political tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 7.2: USING HISTORICAL TERMS

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words in bold.

How did the policy of containment erupt into the Berlin Blockade?

- **containment**
- **Truman Doctrine**
- **Marshall Plan**
- **zones**

- **Berlin**
- **blockade**
- **airlift**
- **Stalin**

The story so far

- Germany became a crucial battleground throughout the Cold War.
- After World War II, Germany was divided in East and West Germany with separate governments, ideologies, flags and anthems. Berlin was also divided into East and West Berlin. The east was controlled by communist Soviet Union while the west was controlled by capitalist Western powers.
- Soviet Union President Stalin blockaded West Berlin by closing all links between the two sections, in what was called the Berlin Blockade, from 1948–49. The United States called Stalin's bluff and spent US$224 million flying in supplies to West Berlin.
- The Berlin Wall was built in 1961 as an aggressive response by the East Berlin government to stop migration from east to west, to avoid constant comparisons and to improve the economy in East Berlin.

Source 7.25
A woman waves over the Berlin Wall

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1   Why did the United States develop a policy of 'containment'?

2   What was the significance or outcome of the Berlin Blockade?

3   Why was the Berlin Wall built?

4   What were the responses to the Berlin Wall?

ANALYSE THE DOCUMENT'S VIEWS

Kennedy's Ich bin ein Berliner speech, June 1963

In 1963, Kennedy visited Berlin and, while looking over the wall, declared to a crowd of 250 000 Germans that '*Ich bin ein Berliner* [I am a Berliner]'. The power of this speech for Germans in West Berlin was his declaration that 'I am one of you'.

Find this speech online and listen to it yourself.

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system but it permits us to make economic progress. Let them come to Berlin … all free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and therefore as a free man, I take pride in the words Ich bin ein Berliner.

1   List two of the arguments that, according to Kennedy, people use for supporting communism.

2   What might he mean when he says that 'all free men … are citizens of Berlin'?

3   What is the purpose of repeating the phrase, 'Let them come to Berlin'?

Source 7.26 Kennedy addressing the crowd in Berlin. There is an urban myth that Kennedy didn't realise that a 'Berliner' was a popular local jam doughnut. So instead of saying 'I am a Berliner', he actually said 'I am a doughnut'!

4 Use your own knowledge from this chapter to explain why the Berlin Blockade (1948–49) and Berlin Wall (1961) are good examples of Cold War tensions.

5 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Kennedy's point of view.

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

Write a considered response to this statement about the Berlin Wall: *'The Berlin Wall became the best symbol of Cold War tensions.'*

To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer. Use information from this chapter to form an argument that is supported with evidence.

- To answer this question you will need to be able to explain the division and control of Germany and Berlin into east and west, and then the provocative policy of containment.
- It will be important to briefly provide the background for the wall being built, including the Berlin Blockade.
- Think about how best to define what a 'symbol' is. What does a symbol do? What are the qualities of an effective 'symbol'? Using your own definition, in what ways is the Berlin Wall an effective symbol of the Cold War? In what ways is it not?
- What are some other possible symbols of the Cold War – Checkpoint Charlie or a space rocket or a nuclear bomb or the political spectrum itself?
- Better answers will not fully argue that it was or was not the best symbol, but rather discuss ways in which it is and is not the best symbol. Use this discussion to decide on your overall argument.

Source 7.27 Checkpoint Charlie in 1961 – another important symbol of the Cold War

The Cuban Missile Crisis

> " *We're eyeball to eyeball, and I think the other fellow just blinked.*
>
> – PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY "

OVERVIEW

After the Korean War in the 1950s, US policy became very aggressive. The policy of containment was replaced by 'brinkmanship' – showing strength by pushing conflict to the brink (the edge) of war and then retreating. Both superpowers fought for influence in the Middle East, Europe, Africa and Asia. These tensions of the 1950s exploded into the threat of a devastating nuclear war in October 1962. The crisis was based around the small island country of Cuba in the Caribbean Sea, only 140 kilometres off the southern coast of the United States. Cuba became the site of the most dangerous fortnight in human history.

The statement of Robert McNamara, US Defense Secretary, 'Reason has its limits', identifies the core of this crisis. Rational thinkers and politicians were willing to risk the future of the human race, all for the ideas of capitalism and communism. The Cuban Missile Crisis was the point when the limit of reason was reached and the United States' desperation for ideological victory took over. Should this crisis be remembered for its logic or its lunacy?

KEY ISSUES

• What was the crisis about?
• Why did Castro want Soviet missiles in Cuba?
• What was Kennedy's response?
• How did negotiations between Kennedy and Khrushchev achieve peace?
• How was the crisis perceived?

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┌─────────────────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────────────┐          ┌─────────────────────────────┐
│ Broken ties with United     │ ───────▶ │ Castro accepts Soviet    │ ◀─────── │ Active support from         │
│ States                      │          │ missiles into Cuba       │          │ Soviet Union                │
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┌─────────────────────────────┐     │                 │
│ Resentment of Bay of Pigs   │ ────┘                 ▼
│ invasion                    │          ┌──────────────────────────┐
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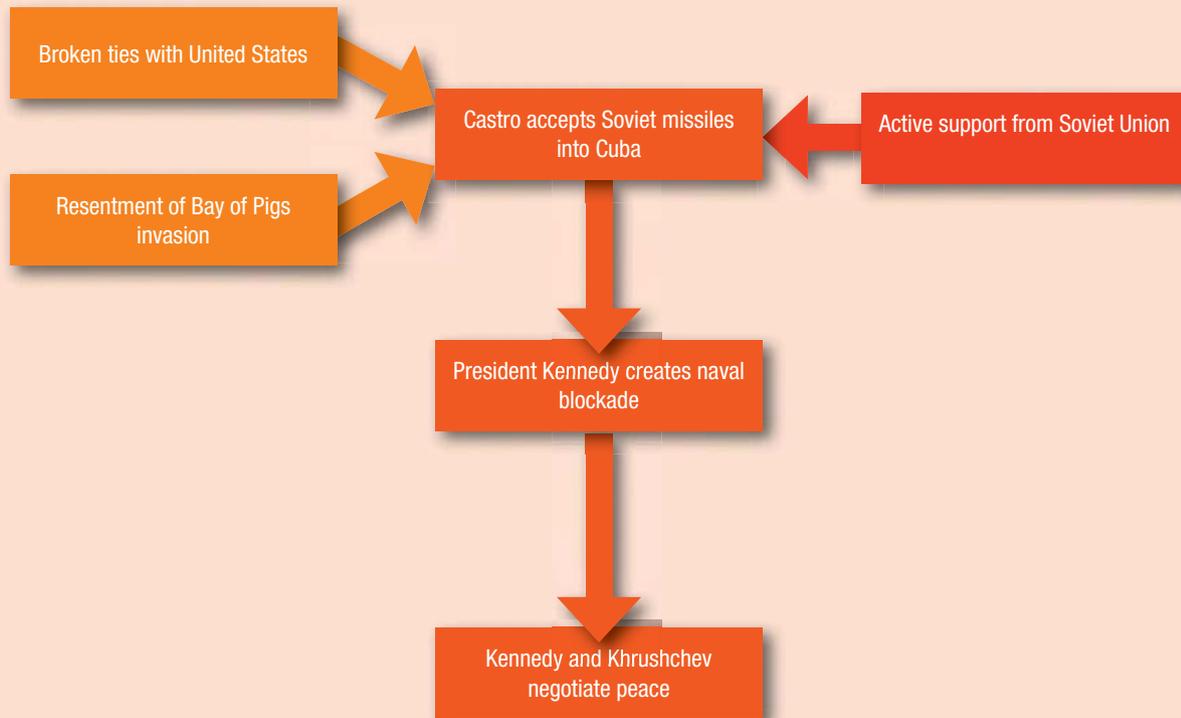
Source 8.0 The Cuban Missile Crisis was the closest the world had ever come to nuclear war.

8.1 The crisis

Robert Kennedy was President John F. Kennedy's brother. His role as Attorney General meant he was also a crucial adviser to the President, and a valuable eye-witness to the events in Cuba. This is his summary of the beginning of the crisis:

On Tuesday morning, 16 October 1962, shortly after 9 o'clock, President Kennedy called and asked me to come to the White House … In his office, he told me that a U-2 [a US spy plane] had just finished a photographic mission and that the intelligence community had become convinced that Russia was placing missiles and atomic weapons in Cuba.

That was the beginning of the Cuban Missile Crisis – a confrontation between the two giant atomic nations, the United States and the Soviet Union, which brought the world to the abyss of nuclear destruction and the end of mankind.

Focus questions

1 What was the key concern for President Kennedy?
2 What was Robert Kennedy's definition of the Cuban Missile Crisis?
3 Use information from the map (see Source 8.1) and extract above to write your own two-sentence summary of what the crisis in Cuba was about.
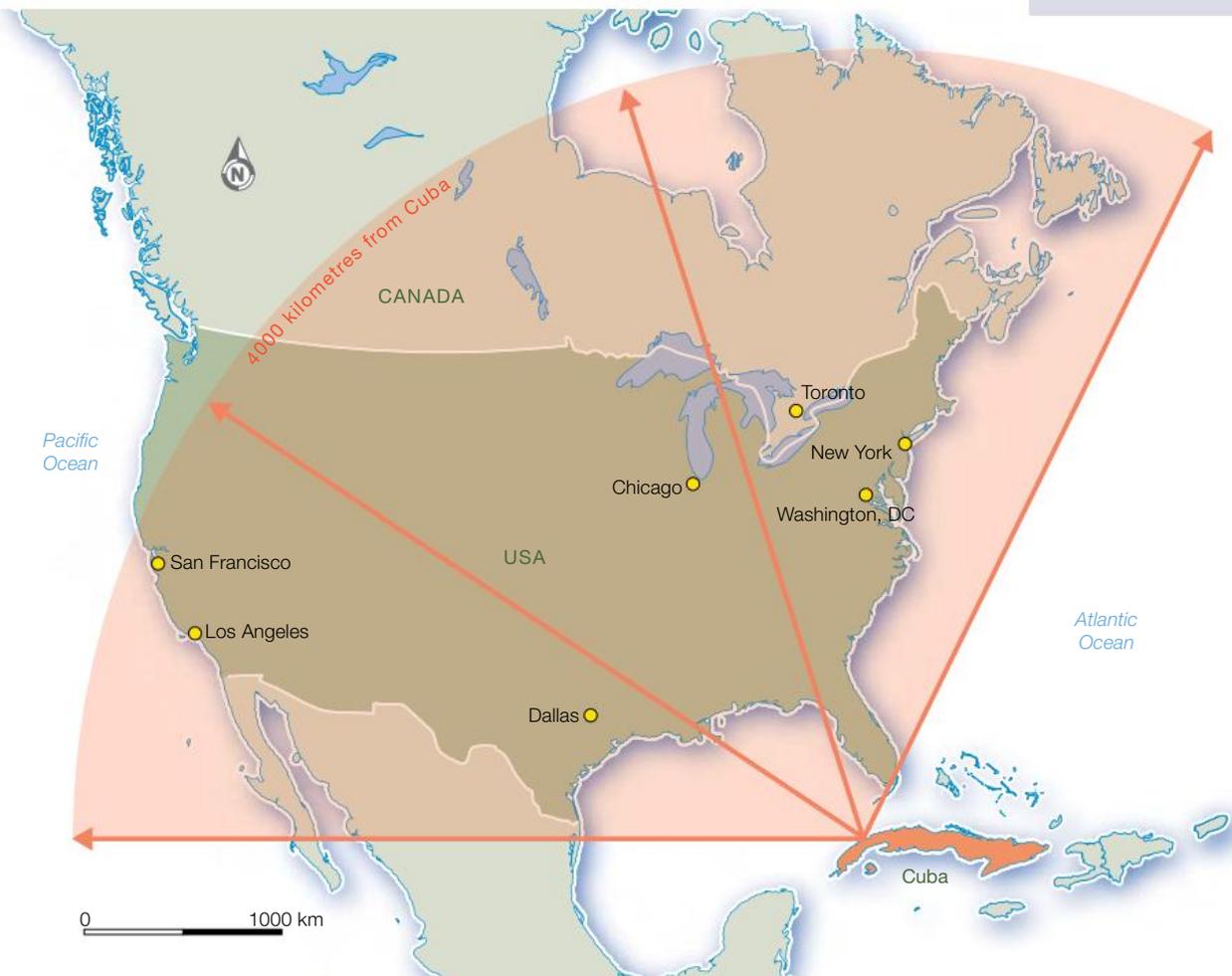
Source 8.1 The cities that could be reached by Soviet missiles from Cuba

Source 8.2 Robert Kennedy (centre) with his brothers Ted (right) and John F. Kennedy (left)

8.2 Why did Castro want Soviet missiles in Cuba?

Reason 1: Broken economic ties with the United States

coup d'état overthrow of a government by forces within that government, such as the military

guerrilla unconventional warfare or tactics, where individuals or small groups use raids, ambushes and stealth to attack and destabilise larger and more powerful forces

The United States had been deeply involved in Cuba since helping it become independent from the Spanish in 1898. The United States controlled 90 per cent of Cuban mines, 90 per cent of the cattle ranches and 40 per cent of the sugar industry.

Fidel Castro seized power in a military **coup d'état** in 1959, carried out by his **guerrilla** force called the '26 July Movement' (which included famous Argentinean revolutionary Che Guevara). Castro was not communist at this stage, although leading members of his government were, including his brother Raúl. The United States, however, became hostile to Cuba because it perceived Castro's reforms, such as nationalising private schools and redistributing large portions of land to the peasants, as being communist in nature. As a result, the US Government not only repeatedly refused to provide financial aid, but actively fought against the new government. For example, the United States blockaded any oil from entering Cuba.

The problem for Castro became one of survival – how to transfer Cuba's economic links from the United States to the Soviet Union, while still maintaining the perception of nationalist independence throughout Latin America. In February 1960, Castro signed a trade pact with the Soviet Union, which resulted in all diplomatic ties with the United States being cut by January 1961.

Source 8.3 Cuban president Fidel Castro
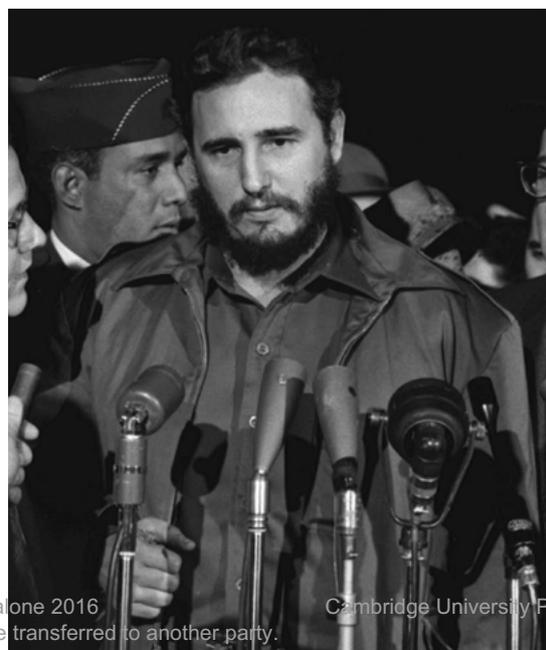
A MATTER OF FACT

Castro announced that he was Cuba's new leader via television. His speech lasted seven hours!

Reason 2: Resentment of the Bay of Pigs invasion

Source 8.4 Cuba's close proximity to the United States was what made it such a threat

The broken economic links between Cuba and the United States soon expanded to political alienation. Middle-class Cuban exiles living in America planned a counter-revolution to overthrow Castro. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) trained and equipped 1400 men to invade Cuba after landing on the beach in the Bay of Pigs. The CIA believed that many Cubans were opposed to the new Castro government and that the invasion would spark an uprising, eventually resulting in the overthrow of Castro.

But the April 1961 invasion was a complete disaster. Cuban locals were hostile to the landing, and no uprising occurred. Troops quickly defeated the invaders. More than 100 men were killed, and only 14 were rescued by the US navy.

The Bay of Pigs was a major affront to Cuba and a complete embarrassment for the new president and the CIA. But Kennedy continued an aggressive policy towards Cuba with a new CIA plan called Operation Mongoose. Operation Mongoose included:

- continuation of the economic blockade of Cuba
- a ban on all Cuban imports into the United States
- a ban on US travel to Cuba
- the sinking of a Cuban merchant ship coming with goods from Europe

- sabotaging oil-drilling sites in Cuba
- invasion exercises by 40 000 US military personnel on the neighbouring island of Puerto Rico.

The Bay of Pigs and Operation Mongoose attacks drove Castro into a permanent alliance with the Soviets. Not only did he officially declare himself a Marxist-Leninist in December 1961, but he formally asked the Soviet government for assistance against any future US invasions. It was this request that directly led to the creation of Soviet missile bases in Cuba.

A MATTER OF FACT

The CIA invented many ways to try to kill Castro, including poisoned cigars, bacteria-infested handkerchiefs and exploding seafood! Castro's former Security Chief, Fabian Escalante, claimed that Castro had survived 638 assassination attempts in his 49-year rule.

Source 8.5 Douglas A-26C Invader 44-35440 used in the Bay of Pigs invasion painted in false Cuban AF markings at the Wings over Miami air museum

Reason 3: Active support from the Soviet Union

Nikita Khrushchev became Soviet President in 1958, and took an immediate interest in the new Castro government because of Cuba's close proximity to the United States. In 1959, at Castro's request, a Cuban–Soviet political relationship was established, and this quickly developed into Operation Anadyr, a secret military agreement to assist Cuba.

In May 1962, Khrushchev was walking on the shore of the Black Sea in Bulgaria, aware that over the water in Turkey American military bases were pointing nuclear missiles at the Soviet Union. It was then that he decided to threaten the United States in a similar way through Cuba. 'Why not throw a hedgehog at Uncle Sam's pants?' he mused, and made a plan to equalise the balance of nuclear power.

By 25 September 1962, Soviet forces were in place in Cuba, including 40 nuclear warheads and 34 Soviet ships sailing towards the island. Missile bases and launch pads were under construction and due to be operational by the end of October. It was the first time that ballistic missiles had been placed by the Soviet Union outside of its own soil.

Soviet weapons in Cuba

These were:

- 24 SS-4 medium-range ballistic missiles (each could travel 1770 kilometres)
- 16 SS-5 long-range ballistic missiles (each could travel 3540 kilometres)
- 42 Il-28 jet bombers
- 42 MiG-21 jet fighters
- 24 advanced SAM surface-to-air missiles
- four elite combat regiments
- two tank battalions with the latest T-55 tanks
- more than 40 000 troops and personnel.

Source 8.6 An image taken by a US spy plane of Cuban missile sites

I want to make one thing absolutely clear; when we put our ballistic missiles in Cuba, we had no desire to start a war … our principal aim was only to deter America from starting a war. We were well aware that a war which started over Cuba would quickly expand into a world war … Our goal was precisely the opposite: we wanted to keep the Americans from invading Cuba, and, to that end, we wanted to make them think twice by confronting them with our missiles.

Nikita Khrushchev, 1977

Focus questions

1 What was Khrushchev's main aim in putting Soviet missiles in Cuba?
2 What was his attitude to war?

8.3 Kennedy's response

We will mould our strength and become first again. Not first if. Not first but. Not first when. But first period. I want the world to wonder not what Mr Khrushchev is doing. I want them to wonder what the United States is doing.

Kennedy campaign speech, 1960

The U-2 spy-plane photographs proved that Cuba was becoming a secret missile base. Soviet planes capable of carrying nuclear weapons were photographed on Cuban airfields. Kennedy and his advisers needed to restrict any further build-up of weapons in Cuba, and considered four main options:

- a letter of protest to Khrushchev
- bombing the missile sites
- invading Cuba
- a naval blockade.

Kennedy decided to send the US navy to blockade Cuba. This naval blockade totally surrounded the island, stopping Soviet ships from transporting any more weapons. A blockade, or quarantine, was a commonly accepted practice because it did not qualify as a declaration of war.

Source 8.7 Kennedy meets with Soviet ministers in the middle of the crisis

But the threat dramatically escalated when the Soviets called the United States' bluff and continued sending ships towards Cuba anyway. Khrushchev placed all Soviet troops in Cuba on full alert. US planes patrolled Cuban shores and Kennedy mobilised 200 000 military personnel in Florida, along with B-52 bombers armed with active nuclear warheads and 156 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).

Kennedy appeared on television on 22 October 1962 to inform the American public of the dangerous confrontation with the Soviets over Cuba:

The 1930s taught us a clear lesson: aggressive conduct, if allowed to go unchecked, ultimately leads to war … We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth – but neither will we shrink from that risk at any time it must be faced.

Three days later, 12 Soviet ships were intercepted by the US navy and turned back from approaching Cuba.

Focus questions

1 In the quote above, to which other nation is Kennedy linking the aggression of the Soviet Union?
2 What does he mean by 'the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth'?
3 Do you interpret Kennedy's comment about his willingness to confront nuclear war as a sign of positive leadership strength or negative arrogance?

Source 8.8 *Thirteen Days* (2000) is an excellent movie about the Cuban Missile Crisis

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8.4 Outcomes and consequences

Negotiations for peace

I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat to world peace.

President Kennedy, 22 October 1962

Khrushchev's telegrams, 26 October

With tensions rising and advisers on both sides pushing for open war, Kennedy and Khrushchev both looked for ways to solve the situation without losing face. Khrushchev sent two private telegrams to Kennedy, outlining possible negotiation options.

Khrushchev's first telegram

In his first telegram, Khrushchev suggested that he would be willing to privately discuss the issue of Soviet missiles if the naval blockade was publicly lifted.

Khrushchev's second telegram

In his second telegram, Khrushchev suggested that he would remove Soviet missiles from Cuba if the United States removed its missiles from Turkey and Italy.

I went and telephoned my wife and told her to drop everything and get out of Moscow.

A Russian journalist, fearing that American bombers were on their way

Kennedy's reply, 27 October

On the advice of Robert Kennedy, President Kennedy officially responded to the first telegram but not the second. He promised to lift the naval blockade, and not to invade Cuba, if the Soviet missiles were permanently removed. Secretly, Robert Kennedy met with the Soviet ambassador, Anatoly Dobrynin, and delivered an ultimatum – if the Cuban missiles were not removed by the next day, the United States would destroy the missiles themselves. But he then offered another option: that US bases in Italy and Turkey would be removed in the next six months *if* the Cuban missiles were removed first. The message was relayed to Khrushchev, who accepted the private deal.

The crisis was over.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.1: CARTOON ANALYSIS

The cartoon in Source 8.9 was drawn by Herbert Block immediately after the Cuban Missile Crisis. The two figures in the image are President Kennedy of the United States and President Khrushchev of the Soviet Union.

1 Describe the actions and attitudes of the two leaders in the cartoon.
2 How does the title contribute to the meaning of the image?
3 Explain how 'nuclear war' has been portrayed.
4 Explain the context in which this cartoon was drawn.
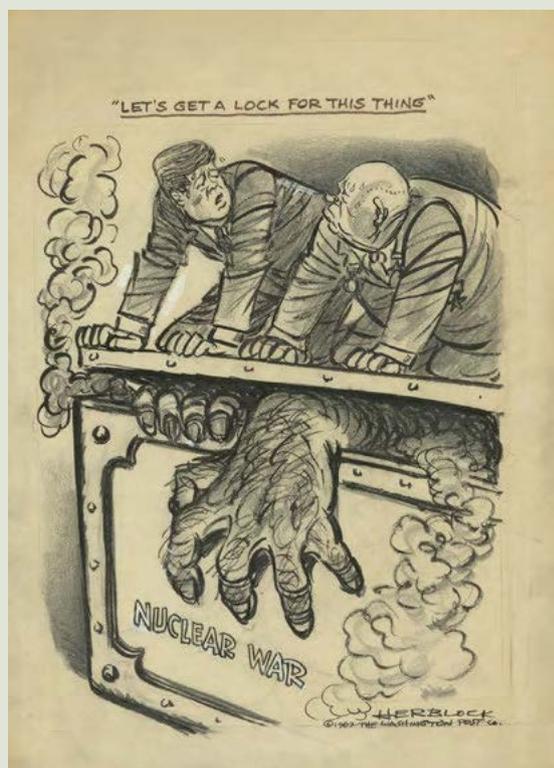
Source 8.9 'Let's get a lock for this thing', a 1962 Herbert Block cartoon

Perceptions of the crisis

The near-catastrophe in Cuba sent a clear and shocking message to both nations about the importance of negotiation and the danger of direct confrontation. Both governments were anxious that mutual concessions were seen to be made, and neither could afford to be perceived as having

backed down in the face of pressure. So both governments claimed victory – the United States boasted that its policy of 'containment' had worked, while the Soviets claimed that their policy of 'peaceful coexistence' had worked.

Both governments were permanently affected by the crisis – Kennedy's popularity grew immensely, while Khrushchev's deteriorated badly. The deal over the missiles in Turkey was kept secret, which meant that Khrushchev was perceived to have backed down; he was forced to resign in October 1964.

A MATTER OF FACT

Khrushchev was the first leader of the Soviet Union not to die in office. Both Lenin (1924) and Stalin (1953) had. Brezhnev succeeded Khrushchev and also died in office (1982).

Castro considered the Soviet withdrawal to be a moral defeat and cursed Khrushchev as a 'son of a bitch, bastard, asshole'. Although intensely disappointed about the outcome, Castro's power increased. China was so unimpressed that it decided to become much more independent from the Soviet Union. America's European allies were appalled that they were not consulted at all, and French President Charles de Gaulle withdrew France from NATO.

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ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.2: CARTOON ANALYSIS

1 Who are the two leaders in this image (Source 8.10)?
2 What is the character on the right about to do?
3 Explain the title of the cartoon.
4 Using the information in the cartoon, what point of the Cuban Missile Crisis would this image be referring to?
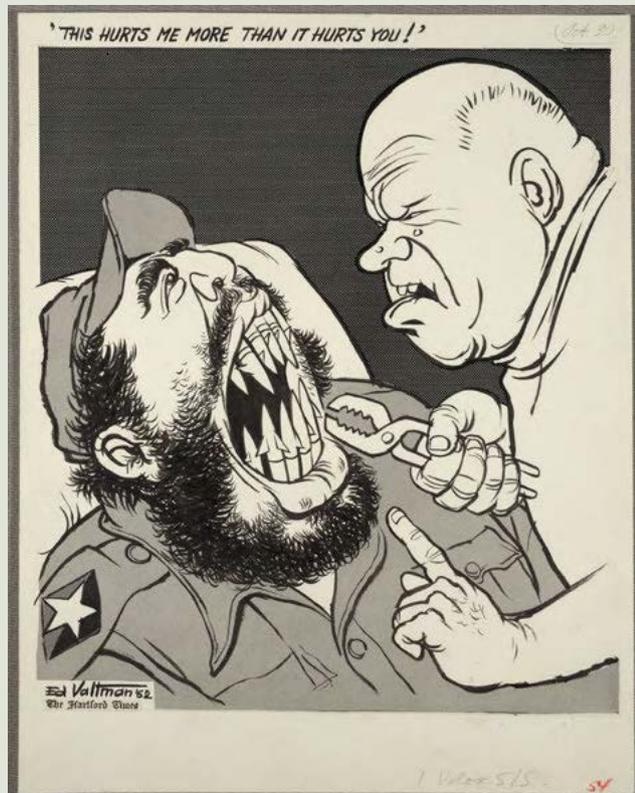
Source 8.10 'This hurts me more than it hurts you' by Edmund S. Valtman

A MATTER OF FACT

Castro ruled Cuba for 49 years, only retiring in 2008 at the age of 81. He outlasted nine American presidents. He handed over control of Cuba to his 77-year-old brother, Raul. In his retirement message, he claimed that 'I want only to fight as a soldier of ideas'.

It is interesting to analyse the crisis from a leadership perspective. Kennedy established a small group of senior officials to debate the crisis. ExComm, the Executive Committee of the National Security Council, met almost hourly for the next two weeks. One interesting reflection was that ExComm officials had such respect for Kennedy that they developed a 'messiah complex'. They believed that the President could not do anything wrong, and that his opinions must be the right ones. Kennedy had to rely on his brother Robert for objective advice.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.3: A SPEECH BY KHRUSHCHEV

In December 1962, Khrushchev gave a speech to the Supreme Soviet summarising the role of the United States in the crisis.

> Comrades, everyone still remembers the tense days of October when mankind was anxiously listening to the news coming from the Caribbean. In those days the world was on the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. What created this crisis? The revolution in Cuba was met with hostility from the imperialists in the United States of America. The imperialists are frightened of Cuba because of her ideas. They hate the idea that little Cuba has dared to go her own way, instead of trying to please American business. American forces have been doing everything they can, from the first day of the revolution, to overthrow Cuba's government and restore their own control. They set up an economic blockade of Cuba. This is inhuman – an attempt to starve a whole nation. Even this was not enough for them. They decided to use force to suppress the Cuban revolution.
>
> We carried weapons there at the request of the Cuban government. Cuba needed weapons as a means of deterring the aggressors, and not as a means of attack. We sent about forty missiles to Cuba. Naturally, neither we nor our Cuban friends thought that this small number of missiles would be used for an attack on the United States. Our aim was only to defend Cuba.

1 According to Khrushchev, who was responsible for creating the crisis?
2 According to Khrushchev, why were the imperialists frightened of Cuba?
3 List two actions taken by the United States against Cuba.
4 Using information from this chapter, explain why Soviet missiles and bases were built in Cuba.
5 Using information from this and previous chapters, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Khrushchev's perspective in understanding the dynamics of Cold War tensions.

APPARTS model for primary source analysis

This is a helpful model to analyse primary sources. The heading is really suitable, because analysis is pulling apart a document or image, to look at the separate parts of a source, so that we understand it better. Remember the APPARTS model as a way to analyse, or pull apart, a document or image.

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

Source: 'Improving student comprehension: primary sources', *The AP Vertical Teams Guide for Social Studies.* The College Board (2001): 15–17

Focus question

Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model in reference to Khrushchev's speech in Analysis activity 8.3.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.4: DEVELOPING YOUR OWN ARGUMENT

1   In your opinion, who was the key aggressor in this crisis? You must support your ideas with evidence. Key points to consider would be:
    - Kennedy initiated the Bay of Pigs invasion and the quarantine; he called the missiles in Cuba 'offensive [attacking] weapons'.
    - Khrushchev initiated shipments of missiles and troops to Cuban soil; he called the missiles 'defensive weapons'.
2   Which leader deserves the credit for avoiding nuclear war?

Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys

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

Source 8.11 Many Americans, such as these women protesting in 1962, were desperate to avoid the full-scale war threatened by the Cuban crisis

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 8.5: USING HISTORICAL TERMS

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words in bold.

Why did Castro accept Soviet missiles in Cuba?

- **Castro**
- **nationalist**
- **Bay of Pigs**
- **CIA**
- **Operation Mongoose**
- **Operation Anadyr**
- **ballistic missiles**
- **Khrushchev**

The story so far

- The small island of Cuba, close to the southern coast of the United States, became a dangerous new launch pad for a Cold War crisis.
- The Soviet Union had placed missiles and atomic weapons in Cuba ready for a direct attack on the United States.
- US President Kennedy surrounded Cuba in a naval blockade but the President of the Soviet Union, Khrushchev, continued to send ships towards Cuba anyway. This created a dangerous situation where total war was the likely result.
- Through a series of tense telegram negotiations, plus a private deal, the United States promised not to invade Cuba and the Soviet Union promised to remove its missiles.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1   Why did Castro want Soviet missiles in Cuba?

2   Describe how the naval blockade nearly resulted in full-scale war.

3   How was peace finally achieved?

ANALYSE THE HISTORIAN'S VIEWS

Thomas G. Paterson is an American historian who criticised the US government's actions. This is an extract from Paterson's writings, quoted in *The Australian* on the 30th anniversary of Kennedy's assassination, 22 November 1993.

> *Khrushchev's decision to deploy missiles in Cuba was reckless. Yet had there been no exile expedition at the Bay of Pigs, no destructive covert activities, no assassination plots, no military manoeuvres and plans, and no economic and diplomatic steps to harass, isolate and destroy the Castro government, there would not have been a Cuban missile crisis.*

1   What is the author's main argument about the Cuban Missile Crisis?

2   List three examples that the author uses to support his argument.

3   Why is this argument surprising, given the author and the date it was published?

4   Use your own knowledge from this chapter to explain how the negotiations between Kennedy and Khrushchev resolved the crisis.

5   Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Paterson's point of view.

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

Neil Tweedle wrote in *The Age* on 21 February 2008: 'The United States instituted a naval blockade and prepared to invade. It was a game of nerve and Khrushchev blinked.'

What does Tweedle mean by this and to what extent do you think this is an accurate interpretation of the Cuban Missile Crisis? Provide detailed examples to support your answer.

- You will need to understand the dangerous political dynamics of the Cuban crisis in order to be able to explain why it was a 'game of nerve'. Be able to provide some examples as to why the situation was so fragile.
- This statement by Tweedle is a very pro-American statement, suggesting that the United States was stronger ('prepared to invade') and that Soviet Union President Khrushchev was weaker (because he 'blinked').
- In your opinion, what are the true elements of this quote? And what parts, or assumptions, are understated or biased?

9

The Vietnam War

> " *No event in American history is more misunderstood than the Vietnam War.*
> *It was misreported then, and it is misremembered now.* "
>
> – RICHARD NIXON, US PRESIDENT (1968–72)

OVERVIEW

While the United States and the Soviet Union were never engaged in direct armed conflict, they opposed each other in a range of international conflicts, including Berlin, Korea, Cuba and Vietnam.

Vietnam was one of the dangerous 'hot' battlegrounds of the Cold War, with the Soviet Union and China assisting the Vietnamese communists in their battle against America and democratic South Vietnam. The opposed ideological views of capitalism and communism were again used to justify conflict.

Strategically important to the United States was the concept of the Domino Theory. President Kennedy argued that:

The enemy is the communist system itself – implacable, insatiable, unceasing in its drive for world domination…
This is not a struggle for supremacy of arms alone. It is also a struggle for supremacy between two conflicting ideologies: freedom under God versus ruthless, godless tyranny.

In comparison, for the majority of Vietnamese, it was much simpler; this was yet another war against a colonising force, with Americans replacing the French or the Chinese before them. This chapter analyses and discusses how postwar societies used ideologies to legitimise their worldviews and portray competing systems.

KEY ISSUES

- What was the background to the Vietnam War?
- What were the key battles?
- Which weapons were used?
- What was the nature of the anti-war protests?
- What were the outcomes and consequences of the war?

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9.1 Background to the Vietnam War

The war arose out of more than a century of foreign countries occupying Vietnam. France's colonial rule over Vietnam ceased in 1954 when the nationalist Vietnamese forces, led by Ho Chi Minh, emerged victorious from the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. Despite this significant victory, Ho Chi Minh was unable to secure control over all of Vietnam. The 1954 Geneva Convention symbolised the end of French occupation and effectively divided Vietnam into North Vietnam (communist) and South Vietnam (non-communist). With the support of the United States, Ngo Dinh Diem quickly rose to power in South Vietnam.

Source 9.1 A map of South-East Asia

During the early 1960s, the predominantly communist **Vietcong** forces were consistently attacking Diem's regime in the south. These attacks peaked in 1964, when the South Vietnamese government was close to being overthrown by the Vietcong.

Vietcong Vietnamese soldiers who fought for the communist North Vietnam

Domino Theory

The US was concerned by the situation in Vietnam. Leaders of the US believed that once South Vietnam was overthrown by communist forces, its neighbouring countries, Thailand, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia and Cambodia, would also become communist. This concern was known as the '**Domino Theory**'. In 1954, US President Dwight Eisenhower compared the nations of South-East Asia to a row of dominoes: 'You knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly.' As a direct result of the belief in the Domino Theory, the United States decided to send troops to Vietnam to support the government of South Vietnam and to fight against the communists. The spark to enter the war was a dramatic sea battle in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964 where US naval destroyer *USS Maddox* was confronted by three North Vietnamese torpedo submarines. Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, enabling President Lyndon Johnson to legally authorise open warfare against North Vietnam – communist aggression had to be stopped. By 1968, the United States had 550 000 troops fighting in the Vietnam War.

Domino Theory United States' belief that if South Vietnam fell to communism, then all other surrounding countries would also fall to communism, like a row of dominoes
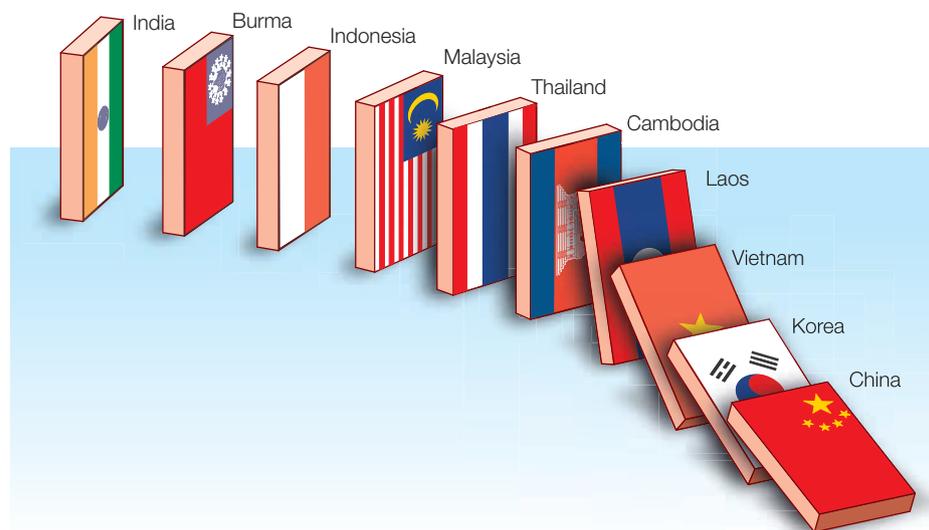
Source 9.2 The American leaders strongly believed in the Domino Theory and feared that if South Vietnam came under the influence of communism, surrounding regions would follow. The US relied extensively on this theory to justify its military intervention in Vietnam from 1965 to 1973.

Interestingly, historians discovered years later that the Domino Theory was not simply a fearful concept but also had a legitimate basis. The Communist Party of Vietnam's official biography of Ho Chi Minh quotes that he 'felt the need for active propaganda and organisational work in order to step up the revolutionary movement in colonial countries, including Vietnam. He deemed it his task to spread communist doctrine in Asia in general and in Indochina particularly.' Similarly, in its internal party directive, the Chinese Communist Party declared that its task was 'to assist in every possible way the Communist parties and people in all oppressed nations in Asia to win their liberation'.

Research question

The Green Berets (starring John Wayne, 1968) was a famous pro-war anti-communist movie justifying America's involvement in Vietnam. Watch the film and compare how it was praised by film critics at the time, but is criticised now as government propaganda.
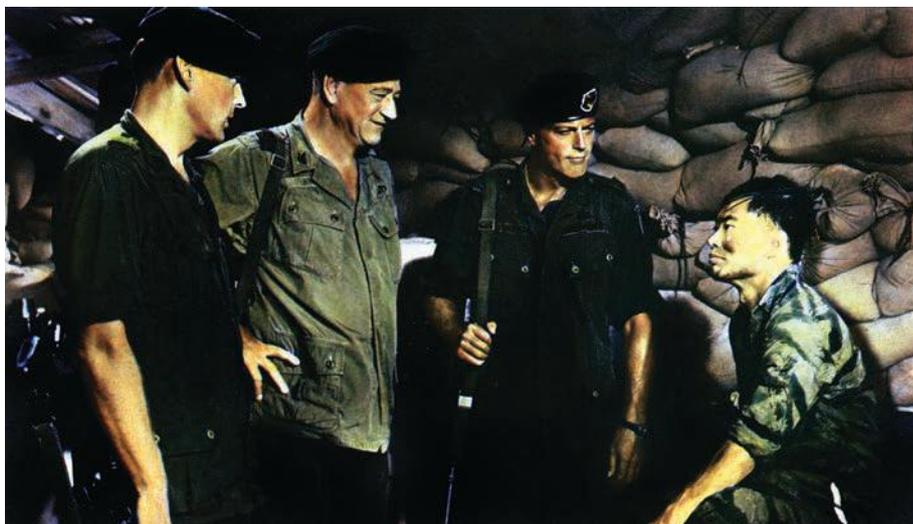
Source 9.3 A scene from the movie, *The Green Berets*

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 9.1: PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

This is an extract from a speech given by US President Johnson to university students in April 1965 in which he justifies the reasons American must begin war in Vietnam.

> *Vietnam is far away from this quiet campus. We have no territory there, nor do we seek any. The war is dirty and brutal and difficult. And some 400 young men, born into an America that is bursting with opportunity and promise, have ended their lives on Vietnam's steaming soil. The first reality is that North Vietnam has attacked the independent nation of South Vietnam. Its object is total conquest … Over this war and all Asia is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea …*
>
> *Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Vietnam? We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American president has offered support to the people of South Vietnam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Vietnam defend its independence. And I intend to keep that promise …*
>
> *We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war.*

1   Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model (see below) in reference to President Johnson's justification for the United States' involvement in the war.

APPARTS model for primary source analysis

This is a helpful model to analyse primary sources. The heading is really suitable, because analysis is pulling apart a document or image, to look at the separate parts of a source, so that we understand it better. Remember the APPARTS model as a way to analyse, or pull apart, a document or image.

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

Source: 'Improving student comprehension: primary sources', *The AP Vertical Teams Guide for Social Studies.* The College Board (2001): 15–17

9.2 Key players and places

Pro-communist forces

These were the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN), or North Vietnamese Army (NVA), and the National Liberation Front for South Vietnam (NLF) or Vietcong (VC), supported by the following:

- From 1950–78, China gave North Vietnam over US$15 billion in economic aid and sent over 300 000 military personnel.
- Soviet Russia gave North Vietnam US$1 billion each year during the height of the war for military and economic aid.

Pro-American forces

These were the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), often called the South Vietnamese Army, supported by the following:

- The armed forces of the United States, Republic of Korea, Philippines, Thailand and the Australian, New Zealand defence forces, and a variety of irregular troops.

9.3 **Major battles of the Vietnam War**

Source 9.4 Major battles of the Vietnam War, including Operation Frequent Wind, the largest helicopter evacuation in history. The battles on this map are described in detail below.

Battle of Ap Bac, January 1963

The Battle of Ap Bac was the first battle in the war. In this battle, 350 North Vietnamese Regulars (NVN) attacked 1500 South Vietnamese Regulars (ARVN). The south was assisted by American military advisers who implemented combat and transport helicopters, paratroopers and mechanised vehicles. Around 186 casualties for the south compared with 57 for the north meant that it was a victory for the north and motivated the United States to consider the seriousness of the communist threat and the need for greater direct involvement.

Source 9.5 American troops operating a machine gun

Battle of Dak To, November 1967

This three-week battle began by chance when an American division on a routine patrol discovered defensive positions of the People's Army of North Vietnam (PAVN) on 3 November 1967 around the city of Dak To in the Central Highlands. Patrols continued for a week until the Bravo Company discovered and engaged the North Vietnamese in battle on Hill 823. The north lost 100 men and the Americans only nine. More confrontations continued over the next two weeks, resulting in high casualties on both sides: 361 Americans died and over 1400 were wounded, and the supporting South Vietnamese Army suffered 73 killed and hundreds wounded; the North Vietnamese Army lost 1600 men with another 1500 wounded.

Battle of Khe Sanh, January to July 1968

The Battle of Khe Sanh was one of the longest and bloodiest battles of the war. It began on 21 January 1968, when PAVN forces initiated a massive artillery bombardment on the US Marine garrison at Khe Sanh, located near the border of Laos. An intense siege began, where

Source 9.6 American soldier watches an airdrop of fresh supplies in 1967

US Marines and their South Vietnamese allies fought off attacks from PAVN. On 9 July 1968, after 77 days of fighting, American forces abandoned the Khe Sanh combat base. The casualties for both sides were significant – 1409 Americans were killed and several thousand wounded compared with the North Vietnamese Army's estimated 10 000 to 15 000 killed with thousands more wounded. Like many battles in the Vietnam War, the overall result was inconclusive, but both sides claimed victory.

A MATTER OF FACT

Australian band Cold Chisel wrote a hit song called 'Khe Sanh' (1978) which described the difficulty of returning soldiers rejoining suburban life in Australia.

Source 9.7 American soldiers at the Battle of Khe Sanh

My Lai Massacre, March 1968

A unique part of the war was that for the US and its allies, the enemy was hard to identify. The Vietcong did not wear uniforms, and after three years fighting in Vietnam, American troops knew that anyone could be a Vietcong fighter or sympathiser. Anti-war English novelist Graham Greene wrote in his book *The Quiet American* that Vietnam was

a war of jungle and mountain and marsh, paddy fields where you wade shoulder-high and the enemy simply disappear, bury their arms, put on peasant dress.

Innocent civilians were often accidentally killed during battles. But they were deliberately targeted in the horrific massacre at Hue and My Lai. Three platoons of US troops were dropped by helicopters to search and destroy Vietcong enemies who had been active around the village of My Lai. Being told that it was a Vietcong village, the platoons moved slowly through My Lai, brutally killing women, children and the elderly. An official US Army investigation decided that 347 villagers had been killed, compared with the actual memorial at My Lai which lists 504 names with ages ranging from one to 82. The American public was horrified.

Source 9.8 Victims of the My Lai Massacre

The Tet Offensive, January to June 1968

With attention and resources focused on defending Khe Sanh, a new strategic campaign began within weeks. North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces launched the Tet Offensive, which was a series of coordinated surprise attacks on cities and towns throughout South Vietnam. In a major political and propaganda success for the north, more than 100 towns and cities in South Vietnam were attacked by over 500 000 North Vietnamese Army troops and Vietcong. These battles were so devastating, with over 45 000 US and allied troops killed, that they became the direct turning point of public opinion against the continuation of the war on the American home front.
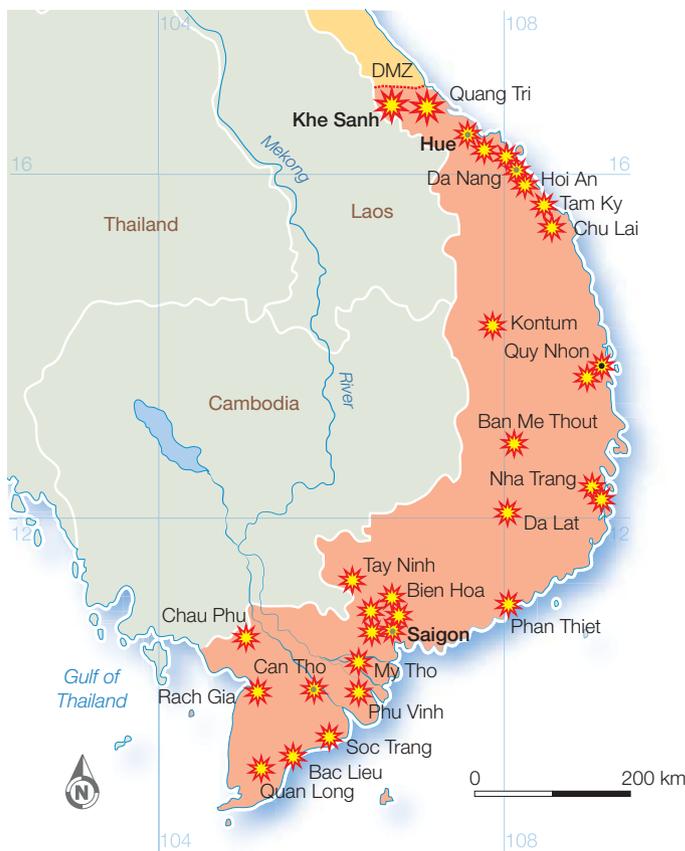
Source 9.9 Places targeted by the North during the Tet Offensive

Research question

Watch the movie *Good Morning, Vietnam* starring comedic actor Robin Williams as a popular DJ in the midst of the war. Then research the Vietnamese radio personality, Trinh Thi Ngo, known as 'Hanoi Hannah', who broadcasted in English against US forces. Compare the two sources.

ROBIN WILLIAMS

In 1965, military D.J. Adrian Cronauer was sent to Vietnam to build morale.
His strategy: keep 'em laughing. His problem: staying out of trouble.

The wrong man. In the wrong place. At the right time.

GOOD MORNING VIETNAM

A BARRY LEVINSON FILM
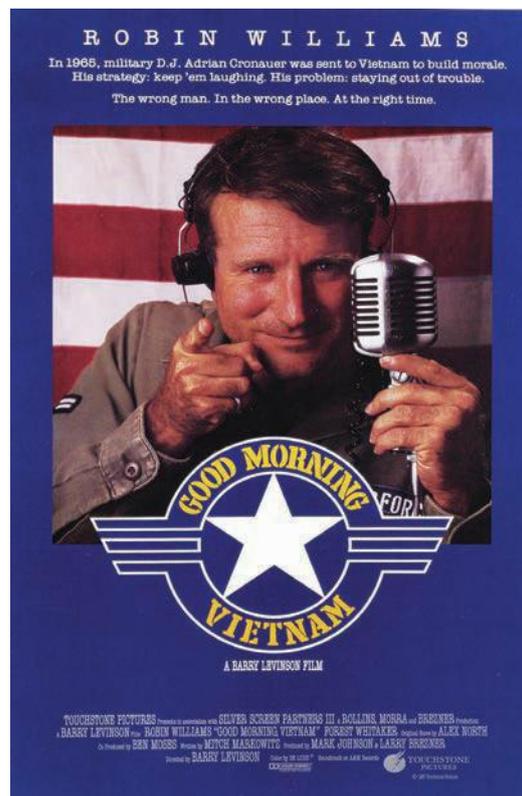
Source 9.10 Robin Williams in *Good Morning, Vietnam*

9.4 Weapons used in the war

From air power to chemicals, the weapons used in the Vietnam War were more devastating than those of any previous conflict.

The US and South Vietnamese forces relied heavily on their superior air power, including B-52 bombers and other aircraft that dropped thousands of pounds of explosives over North Vietnam and communist targets in South Vietnam. While US troops and their allies used mainly American-manufactured weapons, communist forces used weapons manufactured in the Soviet Union and China.

'Huey' helicopters

Over 7000 helicopters were used because they could fly at low altitudes and speeds and land easily in small spaces. US forces used the Huey to transport troops, supplies and equipment, aid ground troops with additional firepower and evacuate killed or wounded soldiers.

Source 9.11 US soldiers repelling from a Huey

M-16 and AK-47 assault rifles

The M-16 rifle was redesigned in 1966 to handle the wet and muddy conditions in Vietnam and became the standard weapon for US soldiers. In comparison, communist troops used the Soviet supplied rifle, the AK-47, which was less accurate but also more reliable.

Source 9.12 American soldiers performing drills

Heavy artillery

A large range of heavy artillery was used during the Vietnam War. Americans were armed with weapons such as self-propelled howitzers, which were the most accurate weapons in the US Army's possession.
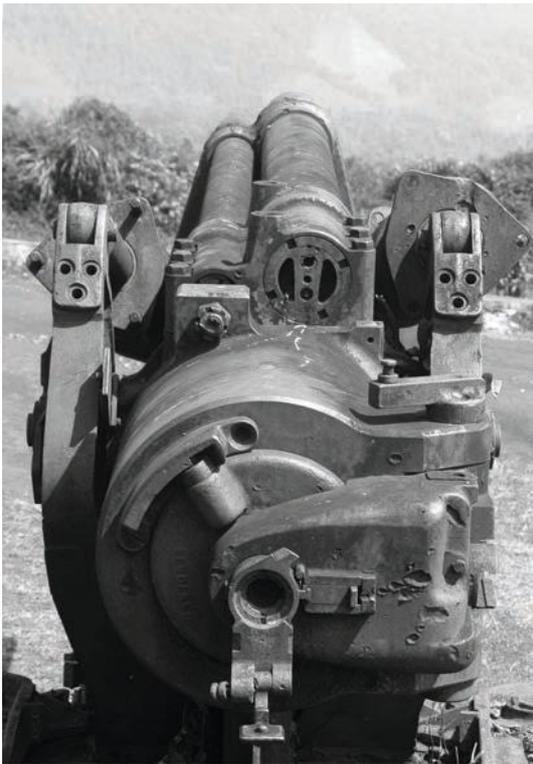
Source 9.13 US artillery piece at Khe Sanh

Bombers

In a time of changing technologies and war-fare, the Vietnam War confirmed that bombers were effective weapons. Bombers flew many missions during the Vietnam War to collect intelligence and provide protection.

Source 9.14 US B66 destroyer and F105 Thunderchief bombing North Vietnam

Bombs

Bombs were used by all parties involved in the war including China, and Southern and Northern Vietnam. Bombs were a prominent part of the American air campaign.

Source 9.15 A bomb on the wing of a Strike Fighter Squadron

Source 9.16 A soldier walks through a field staked with punji sticks

Vietcong booby traps

The North Vietnamese soldiers created inventive weapons such as sharpened bamboo sticks, called punji sticks, and crossbows triggered by tripwires. Punji sticks were often hidden in thick undergrowth, or worse still, at the bottom of a pit with the unsuspecting soldier being impaled when he fell in.

Landmines

Both sides used landmines to terrible effect. In fact, 70 per cent of American marine casualties were from mines and booby traps. The Vietnamese had to deal with unexploded mines for decades after the war.

Source 9.17 Remnants from a landmine

Agent Orange

This poisonous 'defoliant' chemical was widely used by the United States to burn the leaves and branches of forests to remove the hiding places of enemy soldiers.

Source 9.18 Agent Orange devastated large areas of Vietnamese forest

Napalm

Napalm is a chemical thickener which, when mixed with a flammable liquid such as gasoline, makes a sticky incendiary gel. It sticks to bodies and buildings and was used by US forces with devastating results.

Source 9.19 Napalm bombs exploding in a Vietcong village south of Saigon

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ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 9.2: FAMOUS PHOTOS

Source 9.20 South Vietnamese police chief General Nguyen Ngoc Loan executing a Vietcong prisoner on a street in Saigon on 1 February 1968 during the early stages of the Tet Offensive. This famous photo was taken by Eddie Adams and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1969.

(continued)

Source 9.21 Nine-year-old Kim Phuc, known as 'the girl in the picture', escaping her bombed and burning village with severe napalm burns to her back and arms. This Pulitzer Prize–winning photograph was taken by Nick Ut and was declared the world photo of the year in 1972.

1   Look at the famous photos in Sources 9.20 (previous page) and 9.21. What is your initial impression of each of these photos?
2   What do you consider the reaction of the American public would have been to these two photographs?
3   Use the information in the captions to research the full stories of General Loan and Kim Phuc. The true story behind General Loan's action might surprise you! Make sure you read about Kim's reaction to meeting John Plummer in 1996; he coordinated the napalm bomb attack on Kim's village.
4   What is your understanding of each photo now?
5   Also research other famous photos: Buddhist monk Quang Duc setting himself on fire in Saigon in 1963, or the student placing a flower in a soldier's gun barrel in an anti-war rally in Washington in 1968.
6   Why are photographs and other visual images such a powerful source of communication? What are the problems with using photographs as a source?

9.5 The anti-war movement

War guarantees a conflict between patriotism versus anti-war sentiment. But the Vietnam War split America as no previous international engagement ever had. Predictably, at first, there was widespread support for the war from media, former servicemen and the public. However, as the war dragged on and television images brought home the true horror of the war, public opinion turned against it. Early opposition had been limited to groups such as pacifists and mothers' groups. Violent anti-war protests in 1968 had achieved little. However, the cumulative influence and divisive nature of the protests resulted in the US government withdrawing its troops in 1973. The war ended two years later. Communist Colonel Bui Tin was one of the North Vietnamese delegates who accepted the surrender of South Vietnam. He wrote in his memoirs that 'the anti-war movement in the US, which led to the collapse of political will in Washington, was essential to our strategy'.

A MATTER OF FACT

Protest demonstrations were also popular in Australia. Melbourne was brought to a standstill on 8 May 1970 when over 80 000 people marched in the city. Within a year of this moratorium nearly all Australian troops had been brought home.

Source 9.22 War protestors march on the Pentagon in Washington, DC on 21 October 1967

Source 9.23 Martin Luther King's wife, Coretta Scott King, leading a night protest at the White House on 15 October 1969

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Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What's going on in these protest images?'** (see Sources 9.22 and 9.23). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the two images.

Student protests

Civil rights protests and anti-nuclear war protests in schools and universities naturally extended into anti-war campaigns. As the number of troops being sent to Vietnam grew, so did the protests. American youth had been brought up on a diet of peace and love, rejecting their parents' competitive materialism. Mass demonstrations were common. Copied from the civil rights protests, universities also witnessed 'teacher-ins' where staff and students would cancel lessons to debate the war. 'Sit-ins' on railway lines that carried troops to war, or in recruitment offices, were also organised to disrupt the machine of war and shift the focus on to protests.

Resistance to conscription

Draft Resistance Movement formed in the 1960s to protest against the conscription 'draft'

Resistance to conscription was another crucial method of protest initiated by the **Draft Resistance Movement**. Marches were held all across the United States, and draft cards were burned.

A MATTER OF FACT

Conscripted men were also given guidelines as to how to avoid going to war – don't answer the draft letter, fail their interview, get married, enrol in college or leave the country. Around 250 000 avoided going to war but 25 000 were charged for breaking draft laws.

A MATTER OF FACT

Pro-war activists argued that over 90 per cent of those who served in the military were not in any particular danger and that avoiding service to 'save your life' was a myth.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 9.3: PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

My name is John Lacey. I left America in 1967 just after leaving college. I did this to avoid being drafted. I went to Canada and then to Sweden where I lived until there was an amnesty for draft-dodgers which let me return to the USA.

Was I a coward? Did I let my country down? In one way I was a coward for I left rather than go to jail for my refusal to join the army. But I wasn't afraid to fight. I refused to serve in Vietnam because we had no right to be there. We only brought untold suffering and destruction to that country. We acted like the bully of the world and used all our vast military might against a small nation of peasants.

Some people might say that I was not in a position to judge what was happening in Vietnam. However, there were many war veterans who hated the war just as much as I did. They saw the injustices at first hand and they condemned the war too.

I'm bitter about our government's actions. They lied to justify their actions and while they spent millions in bombing North Vietnam the problems in the ghettoes of our big cities grew worse and worse. The Vietnam War has left a deep scar on my country.

J. Cannon et al., *The Contemporary World: Conflict or Co-operation?*, p. 26

1   Did Lacey believe he was a coward? Explain his thinking.
2   What were his main concerns about the amount of money the government spent on the war?
3   Why did he return to the USA?

Songs for peace

Songs became the anthem of peace. They captured the popular imagination, giving a common voice to the desire for peace and unifying communities. Former Beatle John Lennon's 'Imagine' with lyrics such as 'Imagine all the people, living life in peace' and his monumental anthem 'All we are saying, is give peace a chance' in his song 'Give peace a chance' were typical of the era.

American pop artist Billy Joel arguably wrote the epitaph of the Vietnam War with his song 'Goodnight Saigon' (1983). The powerful song is about the struggles and bonding of US marines. It begins with the sounds of crickets in the early evening, followed by the sound of helicopters. The song ends with these sounds in reverse. The experience of fighting and fearing in the war came alive for those at the home front.

'I was only 19' was the most popular song from the Australian group Redgum. The song by John Schumann focuses on a first-hand experience of war combat, to his return home psychologically scarred.

The lyrics to 'I was only 19' can be read on John Schumann's website. Search for these and compare the lyrics with Billy Joel's 'Goodnight Saigon'. Consider how different the war experience of an Australian soldier would have been from that of an American soldier.
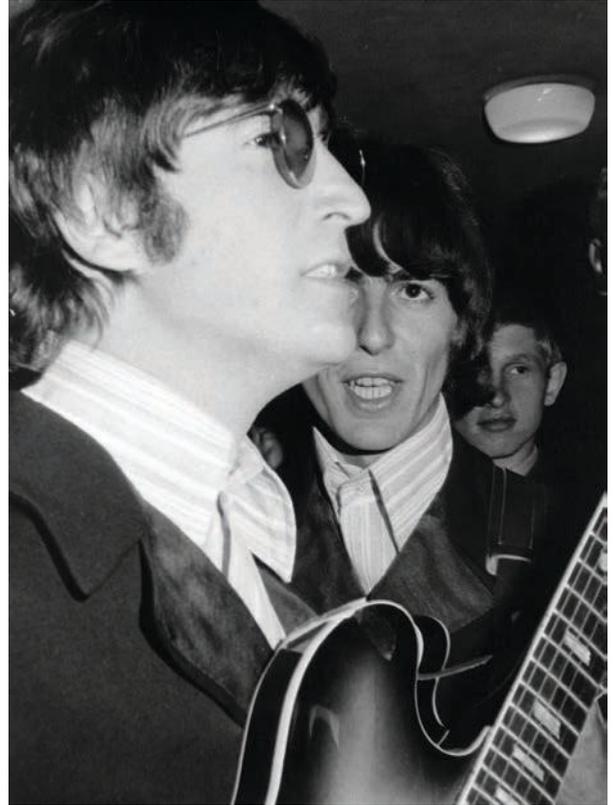
Source 9.24 John Lennon

Veterans protests

A group called **Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW)** was created in 1967. They participated in protest marches and demonstrations. Their website (see http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/?id=6067) states that their aim was to 'expose the ugly truth about US involvement in Southeast Asia and our first-hand experiences helped many other Americans to see the unjust nature of that war'. Their voice became particularly powerful given the increasing number of disabled and crippled soldiers returning home.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) a group of Vietnam Veterans giving a voice to disabled and crippled soldiers and working towards exposing the truth about the US in South-East Asia

A MATTER OF FACT

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War began with six veterans marching in a peaceful demonstration in 1967 but soon grew rapidly to over 30 000 members.

Source 9.25 Movie poster for *Born on the Fourth of July*

9.6 The war ends

Peace talks

Peace talks began between the North Vietnamese government and the United States, resulting in a ceasefire finally being signed on 27 January 1973 in the Paris Peace Agreement. American combat troops were subsequently withdrawn from Vietnam by President Richard Nixon in March 1973. The active war had ended for American soldiers.

But after rebuilding its strength and bases in 1974, the North Vietnamese Army launched a massive attack on the south from January to April 1975 with stunning success, defeating 12 provinces, gaining control over eight million civilians and defeating the major cities of Phuoc Long and Hue. The South Vietnamese army and government were collapsing.

Focus question

What was the role of each US president in the war? Create a table with column headings: Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon. List key battles or decisions under each president.

Operation Frequent Wind, April 1975

In response to the north's invasion of the south, the Americans enacted their final act of the Vietnam War, beginning a massive airlift called 'Operation Frequent Wind'. Using US marine and air force helicopters, over an 18-hour period more than 1000 American civilians and 7000 South Vietnamese refugees were flown out of Saigon on 30 April 1975. By dawn, the final helicopter left with the American Ambassador from the roof of the US Embassy as North Vietnamese tanks drove into a conquered Saigon. With this final act, the Vietnam War had ended.

The north had won and a communist government began ruling over a unified Vietnam. The first 'unification' act of the Northern Army was to conduct mass arrests and persecution of South Vietnamese. Over one million people were placed in concentration camps.

A MATTER OF FACT

At 4.03 am on 30 April 1975, two US marines were the last two Americans killed in the Vietnam War when they died in a rocket attack at the airport.

A MATTER OF FACT

The musical Miss Saigon is based in Saigon at the end of the war. The doomed romance between an American soldier and a Vietnamese bargirl ends in 1975 when the soldier leaves her behind in the chaos and flies away in a helicopter from the roof of the American Embassy. Years later, through a program to help the 'Bui-Doi' (children with American soldier fathers and Vietnamese mothers), the American soldier finds out that he fathered a child with the bar girl and returns to Vietnam.

Source 9.26 Movie poster for *Miss Saigon*

Figures of death, 1965–74

Figures of casualties vary greatly depending on time period and perspective. These are the death statistics estimated by American political scientist Gunther Lewy in 1978:

- Allied military deaths – 282 000 (including 58 000 Americans)
- Communist military deaths – 444 000
- Civilian deaths (North and South) – 587 000
- Total – 1 313 000

Research question

Watch the award-winning documentary *The Fog of War: Eleven lessons from the life of Robert S. McNamara* (2003). McNamara was the US Defense Secretary during the Vietnam War. Explain what you think is meant by the term 'fog of war'.

9.7 Outcomes and consequences

The war in Vietnam came to an end for the United States with its troops withdrawing in 1973 and final withdrawals in 1975. Vietnam was a military engagement for America that lasted in some ways for 30 years, yet was a war that no one 'won'. The impact of a strategic loss to communism in Vietnam shocked the proud nation. As some critics have noted, Vietnam

> *remains an open wound that has never been healed or fully understood, either by successive political administrations or by the media that helps reflect and shape public opinion.*
>
> Albert Auster and Leonard Quart, in *How the War was Remembered – Hollywood and Vietnam*, 1988

In many ways, the name Vietnam itself has become a byword to describe attritional, messy warfare involving the United States, such as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

A MATTER OF FACT

The United States was widely criticised for entering World Wars I and II much later than other countries. It learnt its global lesson. It then entered the Korean War, Vietnam War and Iraq Wars first – but has been widely criticised for doing so!

Vietnam veterans

Unlike the World War II soldiers who returned as heroes in 1945, Vietnam War veterans were not celebrated when they arrived. The war in Vietnam was seen as an embarrassment, meaning that the returning soldiers were also seen in that way. These soldiers became social outcasts and often suffered abuse from the public. The war caused soldiers to experience psychological trauma and many were exposed to Agent Orange, a defoliant chemical, which was found to cause birth deformities as well as cancer. The table in Source 9.28 provides a summary of the enduring effects of the Vietnam War on veterans.

Source 9.27 Vietnam Veteran US Army Sgt Frank Spink hugs his daughter after being awarded a Silver Star

The enduring effects of the Vietnam War on veterans		
Physical impact	**Psychological impact**	**Social impact**
Aside from injuries sustained in battle that caused physical disabilities, the Vietnam veterans also dealt with a higher than normal rate of cancer. Many children of veterans were born with birth defects and also developed and suffered from various types of cancer. Today, Agent Orange is accepted as the cause of these incidents of cancer, fertility problems and birth deformities.	Many veterans suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder, which has been found to increase rates of clinical depression, alcohol and substance abuse and suicide. PTSD can also make returning to civilian life difficult as people tend to feel restless and struggle to maintain marriages and relationships.	The government refused to provide an official welcome home for veterans which began their social exclusion and isolation. American officials also denied the devastating consequences of Agent Orange for several years. The wives, partners and children veterans suffered socially which has been linked to higher rates of PTSD and suicide.

Source 9.28 Impact of the war on veterans

A MATTER OF FACT

In 1995, 1 713 823 of those Americans who served in Vietnam were still alive. Yet the census for that year showed that 9 492 958 people claimed they had served in Vietnam!

Indo-Chinese refugees

When the war ended, many South Vietnamese people urgently attempted to escape the country. They feared that because they had worked with the Americans and Vietnamese government against the communist forces, now the war was over they would be imprisoned or attacked.

Source 9.29 The populations of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos suffered greatly during the conflict. In this image, a suspected Vietcong member is interrogated by American troops. There were atrocities committed on both sides.

While many Vietnamese people did suffer in the aftermath of the war, the expected bloodbath never occurred. The country was devastated by the war, making life exceedingly difficult in Vietnam. It was thus for both economic and political reasons that thousands of Vietnamese people attempted to leave their country as refugees.

Khmer Rouge a murderous group that controlled Cambodia from 1975–78

In Cambodia the situation was more severe. In 1975, the now infamous **Khmer Rouge** came to power. During the three and a half year reign of the Khmer Rouge regime, it is estimated that approximately one quarter of Cambodia's population was killed. Eventually, Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1978, causing another Indo-Chinese war. The war caused widespread starvation and fear, giving significant reasons for Cambodian people to flee their country.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 9.4: USING HISTORICAL TERMS

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words in bold.

Why did the United States join the Vietnam War?

- Ho Chi Minh
- 17th parallel
- North Vietnam
- South Vietnam
- Vietcong
- Domino Theory
- communism

The story so far

- Conflict was continuous in Vietnam well before the Americans arrived. The French occupation was defeated in 1954, resulting in Vietnam being divided into North and South Vietnam.
- An ideological conflict began in the context of the Cold War because North Vietnam was communist. A belief in the Domino Theory prompted the United States, supported by many other Western nations including Australia, to enter the war.
- Bloody battles were fought with dangerous weapons, many of which harmed innocent Vietnamese civilians, prompting widespread protest movements in America.
- Continuing battles at the war front and home front resulted in the US government withdrawing its troops from the war in 1973.
- Two years later, in 1975, the war ended when North Vietnam defeated South Vietnam and formed a combined Vietnamese Government.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1   What was the background to the Vietnam War?

2   What were the key battles of the war?

3   What were the nature and impact of the anti-war protests?

4   How did the war in Vietnam end?

5   What were the outcomes and consequences of war?

ANALYSE THE HISTORIANS' VIEWS

The Vietnam War is still hotly debated. There are three distinct schools of thought. Which one do you agree with most? Justify your response.

Perspective 1 – Losing a noble war: Conservative revisionists
These historians argue that the war was morally right, a noble crusade against ruthless communism. A winnable war was lost because of poor military and political decisions which were further undermined by the anti-war protests at home. Historians Harry Summers, Lewis Sorley, Bruce Palmer, Phil Davidson and Andrew Krepinevich hold this point of view.

Perspective 2 – Seeing America as the real villain: The New Left
These historians argue that the United States was morally wrong to fight the war in Vietnam. They view America as an aggressive imperialist power that was intent on dominating the Third World, mainly for economic reasons, and entered a civil war that was not its war. The most prominent historian holding this point of view is Gabriel Kolko.

Perspective 3 – Making a tragic mistake: The liberal realists
These historians argue that the war was wrong – not on moral grounds, but more for practical reasons. The war was not winnable for the United States. To the liberal realists, Vietnam was not worth the loss of so much American life and money. The most prominent historians who promote this point of view are George Herring, Neal Sheehan and Stanley Karnow.

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

Write a considered response to this statement about the Vietnam War: *'Did we have to kill them, in order to save them?'*
To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer. Use information from this chapter to form an argument that is supported by evidence.

- Think about provocative questions such as whether the Vietnamese could have been any worse off under communism.
- Was America engaged in a noble effort to defend a small, young country against an invading communist force? Or was it guilty of an aggressive war against a people who were merely seeking the right to determine their own style of government and therefore, their own future?

- To respond to this question, you will need to be able to evaluate the reasons for and against American intervention in Vietnam.
- What were the problems created by the war? Think about the death statistics. Think about the outcome of war for returning veterans. Think about the arguments over fighting someone else's war. Think about the anti-war movement and massive protests.
- What did the war solve? Think about the Domino Theory and the desire to stop the spread of communism. Did the war actually 'solve' these issues, or just attempt to solve them? Question to what extent the battles in Vietnam were actually ideological ones.
- Form your overall argument. Crucially, were the Vietnamese really 'saved' thanks to America's involvement in the war? Was the outcome of the war worth the deaths? What is your argument? Write it down in one sentence and include it in your introduction.

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Source 9.30 A helicopter sprays Agent Orange over dense jungle in the Mekong Delta

The end of the Cold War

> " *Healing those wounds of history is the central story of the European Union.*
>
> – DAVID CAMERON, BRITISH PRIME MINISTER "

OVERVIEW

The Cold War began with a bang but ended with a whimper. The ruins of Berlin in Germany, and of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, signalled the beginning of tensions between the world's two new superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Decades of rivalry, antagonism and regional wars followed as each attempted to prove the superiority of its ideology – the United States promoted capitalism and the Soviet Union promoted communism.

KEY ISSUES

- What was the role of Gorbachev?
- What were the monumental events that ended the Cold War?

FLOW OF CHAPTER

```
Nuclear disarmament  ─────┐
                          ├──→  ROLE OF GORBACHEV
Perestroika  ─────────────┤        AND REAGAN
                          │
Glasnost  ────────────────┘
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Fall of Berlin Wall  ─────────┐
                              ├──→  MONUMENTAL EVENTS
Reunification of Germany  ────┤
                              │
Collapse of Soviet Union  ────┘
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ROLE OF GORBACHEV AND REAGAN ──→ COLD WAR ENDS ←── MONUMENTAL EVENTS
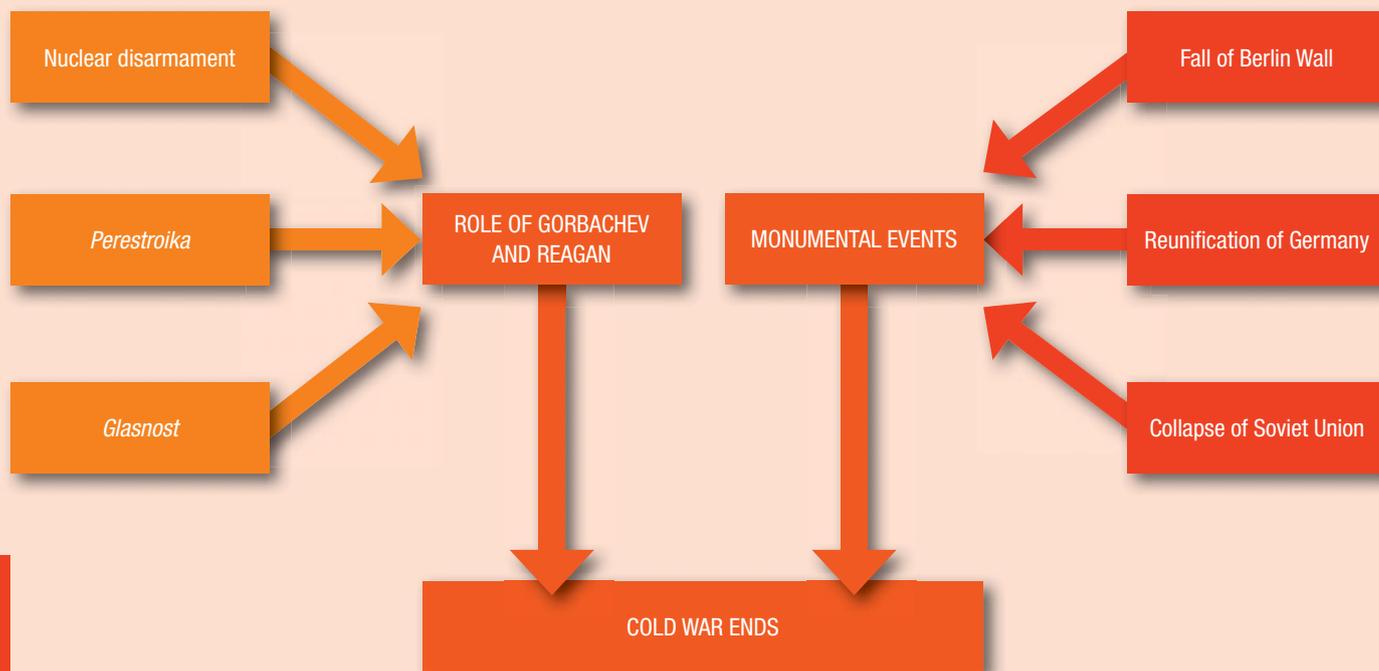
Source 10.0 The Berlin Wall, with Brandenburg Gate in the background, 1 December 1989

10.1 Role of Gorbachev

Mikhail Gorbachev became leader of the Soviet Union in 1985 and immediately became the key figure in ending the Cold War. This involved three main initiatives.

Initiative 1: Nuclear disarmament

The Soviet Union was nearly bankrupt, so slowing the arms race was the most obvious way to begin an economic recovery in the nation. Gorbachev initiated meetings with US President Ronald Reagan in 1985 and 1986 to discuss arms limitation. In 1987 they signed the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF); both countries pledged not to build any more weapons and to dismantle all nuclear weapons with a range of 500–5500 kilometres.

Source 10.1 Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev

Source 10.2 The official portrait of US president Ronald Reagan in 1983

Initiative 2: *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*

As the Soviet Union's communist economy had fallen so far behind free market capitalist economies of the West, and the Soviet Union could not keep up with US technological advances, Gorbachev attempted to dramatically reform the economy of the Soviet Union. **Perestroika** (literally meaning 'restructuring') was a policy designed to adopt capitalistic trade practices by liberating private enterprises after decades of state control. This was intended to stimulate economic growth, and relax restrictive communist ideology in the process. However, the communist bureaucracy blocked *perestroika* so to try to force its hand, Gorbachev then introduced a second major reform; *glasnost*. **Glasnost** was a Russian word meaning 'more open government', which was Gorbachev's new approach to leadership. This directly affected the Eastern European countries that had previously been threatened with military action if they openly opposed the Soviet Union. The classic example was in Hungary in 1956, where tanks rolled into the streets of the capital to disband protests. In 1989, however, citizens in communist countries were able to demand democratic reforms without the threat of attack. Communist governments in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and East Germany all fell in peaceful but emotional scenes.

perestroika a Russian term literally meaning 'restructuring', *perestroika* was one of Gorbachev's major reform policies from the late 1980s, designed to reform the Soviet Union's struggling communist economy by introducing capitalistic practices borrowed from the West

glasnost a Soviet policy initiated by Gorbachev that attempted to make the government more open and encouraged constructive dialogue with Soviet citizens

Cambridge University Press

As a reforming leader, *perestroika* and *glasnost* were Gorbachev's most imperative objectives, and were in effect from 1985–91. Reorganising the Soviet Union in the short term, however, proved difficult. Importantly, Gorbachev's policies ultimately weakened communist ideology itself, by instilling in the people of the Soviet Union a desire for greater economic and ideological freedoms impossible under communist rule.

The new doctrine is in place which is the Frank Sinatra doctrine. Frank Sinatra has a popular song, 'I did it my way'. So Hungary, Poland, any other country has its own way. They decide which road to take. It's their business.

Gennady Gerasimov, Soviet Foreign Office, 1989

Source 10.3
Gorbachev with President Reagan and then Vice-President George Bush in New York, 1988

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Initiative 3: Cold War declared over

In December 1989, Gorbachev met with President George Bush in Malta to officially declare that the Cold War was over.

In a word, the total dismantling of socialism as a world phenomenon has been proceeding … Perhaps it is inevitable and good.

Anatoly Chernvaev, an assistant to the President of the Soviet Union, 1989

Cold War statistics

- *Length* – 44 years.
- *Cost* – up to $8 trillion in the United States for military expenditure, and even higher in the Soviet Union.
- *Deaths* – nearly 100 000 Americans died in Korea and Vietnam.
- *World* – local civil wars in South-East Asia were intensified by superpower involvement, leaving millions dead. By 1989, the United States had developed military alliances with 50 countries and 1.5 million US troops were posted in 117 countries.

> **Focus question**
>
> **Talk the thought – human graphs**
>
> This activity is designed to prompt your opinions about the Cold War. To answer this question, imagine that there is a line across your classroom with 'Totally agree' on one wall and 'Totally disagree' on the other. Respond to the deliberately provocative statement: **'The Cold War was worth fighting'**. Stand anywhere along the imaginary line depending on the extent to which you agree with this statement. Share your point of view with others in the class, using examples to support your argument

10.2 Monumental events

Monumental event 1: Tearing down the Berlin Wall, November 1989

The Berlin Wall fell almost as suddenly and unexpectedly as it was built. It is always described that the wall 'fell', which does not mean that the wall 'fell over', but rather that the government decided people could move freely between East and West Berlin. Its power as a blockage was broken. So how was this **monumental** decision made?

monumental of great importance, significance, extent or size

A MATTER OF FACT

After 38 years of existence, the Berlin Wall had developed into a complex structure that confirmed the division between the East and the West. By the time the Berlin Wall fell, there was a 90-metre no man's land, an additional inner wall, soldiers patrolling with dogs, a raked ground that showed footprints, anti-vehicle trenches, electric fences, massive light systems, watchtowers, bunkers and minefields.

Source 10.4 A crane demolishing part of the Berlin Wall

Communism was weakened throughout Eastern Europe from 1988. Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia had all overthrown their communist governments. East German citizens also wanted revolutionary change whereas the East German Government believed that only moderate changes were needed.

civil unrest disruptions to social order, typically caused by protest and political and social problems

After weeks of **civil unrest**, the East German Government announced that its citizens would be allowed to visit West Berlin and Germany more freely. East German government official Günter Schabowski stated, 'Permanent relocations can be done through all border checkpoints between the GDR (East Germany) into the FRG (West Germany) or West Berlin'.

After hearing the announcement, the people of East Berlin bravely approached border guards and crossed the death strips to climb the wall on the night of 9 November 1989. The border guards let people cross the border unharmed! Both East and West Berlin burst into emotional scenes of hugging, kissing, cheering, crying and singing as shock was replaced with celebration. Over the next few weeks the wall was torn down by the people chipping away at the wall with hammers and chisels.

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A MATTER OF FACT

The Berlin Wall was eventually chipped away into smaller pieces, some the size of a coin and others in big slabs. The pieces have become collectibles and are sold to tourists and stored in both homes and museums.

Source 10.5 Wild celebrations on the night the wall fell

Source 10.6 A West Berliner chiselling off a section of the wall

Monumental event 2: The reunification of Germany, October 1990

The fall of the iconic Berlin Wall also started the fall of the divided Germany. Germany had been divided into East and West Germany, under two different governments and ideologies. Members of each government, along with officials from the United States, France, Britain and the Soviet Union, met regularly to explore the logistics of reunifying Germany. On 3 October 1990, less than one year after the wall had fallen, but 45 years since the nation was first divided, the division of Germany into East and West was removed. Germany was reunited, or reunified. Two months later, the first whole-German elections were held. Helmut Kohl was elected as the first Chancellor of a reunified Germany.

A MATTER OF FACT

3 October 1990 was called 'Unity Day' to mark when Germany was reunified.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.1

Source 10.7 A stamp produced to celebrate the reunification of Germany, reading 'German Unity'

1 Explain the reasoning behind the colours used on the stamp.
2 Identify the monument that can be seen on the stamp.
3 Describe the purpose of the stamp and suggest what it may have meant to the German population.

Monumental event 3: The collapse of the Soviet Union, 1991

In March 1990, Gorbachev overturned Lenin's 1922 prohibition of any political parties other than the Communist Party. These radical moves by Gorbachev energised pre-existing movements for self-government by the national minorities within the Soviet Union. Throughout 1990, several states like Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Chechnya and Ukraine declared independence. A fall in industrial and

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conjunction two (or more) events occurring at the same point in time

agricultural output, in **conjunction** with these new republics no longer contributing to Gorbachev's government, plunged the Soviet Union into economic crisis.

The establishment of the Soviet regime from 1917 was incredibly momentous; it created a new state that, for the remainder of the century, challenged the West and capitalism for ideological supremacy – until Gorbachev wiped it all away.

Despite surviving an attempted coup d'état in August 1991, Gorbachev lost his political authority within his own party, which hastened the breakdown of the Soviet Union. On 1 January 1992, after 75 years under communist rule, the Soviet Union officially ceased to exist. The death of the Soviet Union influenced the world as significantly as its birth.

Source 10.8 The European frontier of the USSR, which separated back into independent countries between 1989–91, and its European satellite republics

Abbreviations:

SSR:	Soviet Socialist Republic
SFSR:	Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
GDR:	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
Fed:	Federal
Rep:	Republic

Eastern Bloc
- USSR
- Satellites
- Yugoslavia
- Albania

Estonian SSR

Russian SFSR

Latvian SSR

Kaliningrad (Russian SFSR)

Lithuanian SSR

People's Rep. of Poland

GDR

Byelorussian SSR

Czechslovak Socialist Rep.

Ukrainian SSR

People's Rep. of Hungary

Moldavian SSR

People's Rep. of Romania

Fed. People's Rep. of Yugoslavia

People's Rep. of Bulgaria

People's Rep. of Albania

Source 10.9 Berlin citizens walking around remnants of the wall shortly after its fall

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 10.2: USING HISTORICAL TERMS

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words in bold.

Why and how did the Cold War end?

- **Gorbachev**
- **Reagan**
- **Berlin Wall**

- **reunification**
- **Soviet Union**
- *perestroika*

- *glasnost*
- **nuclear disarmament**
- **economy**

The story so far

- This is the end of the story of the Cold War.
- The Cold War ended without bombs, gunshots, deaths or peace treaties.
- Instead of the bleak nuclear winter most experts had predicted, the Cold War ended extremely peacefully with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the creation of new democracies in Eastern Europe.
- Churchill's Iron Curtain that had divided Europe was victoriously torn down in the political euphoria of 1989–91.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1 What was the role of Gorbachev in ending the Cold War?

2 How did the Cold War end?

3 How did the Berlin Wall collapse?

ANALYSE THE DOCUMENT'S VIEWS

Anatoly Chernvaev was an assistant to President Gorbachev. This excerpt from his diary was written on 10 November 1989 and praises Gorbachev's visionary role in world politics.

The Berlin Wall has collapsed. This entire era in the history of the Socialist system is over. Following the [Polish United Socialist Party] PUWP and the [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] HSWP Honecker has left. Today we received messages about the 'retirement' of [Chinese Communist Party leader] Deng Xiaopeng and [Bulgarian leader Todor] Zhivkov. Only our 'best friends' [Cuban leader Fidel] Castro, [Romanian leader Nicolae] Ceausescu, [and North Korean leader] Kim Il Sung are still around – people who hate our guts.

But the main thing is the GDR, the Berlin Wall. For it has to do not only with 'socialism' but with the shift in the world balance of forces. This is the end of Yalta … of the Stalinist legacy and the 'defeat of Hitler-ite Germany'.

That is what Gorbachev has done. And he has indeed turned out to be a great leader. He has sensed the pace of history and helped history to find a natural channel.

Source 10.10 Mikhail Gorbachev

1 According to the document, what effect has the end of communism had on other world leaders?

2 According to the document, what is the meaning of the destruction of the Berlin Wall?

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

Write a considered response to this statement about the end of the Cold War: *'The quiet end of the Cold War was nothing like its dangerous conflicts.'*

To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples from all of the Cold War chapters to support your answer.

- To answer this topic you need to have read and understood the beginning and key events of the Cold War – competing ideologies, the Berlin Blockade, Berlin Wall, Cuban Missile Crisis and Vietnam War.
- Look specifically at the key terms in the statement. You will need to be able to describe the 'quiet end' to the Cold War using information from this chapter, plus 'dangerous conflicts' from preceding chapters.
- Form your own argument. Is this statement true? Think about the phrase 'nothing like'.

Source 10.11 People from East and West Berlin are finally reunited, marking the end of the Cold War
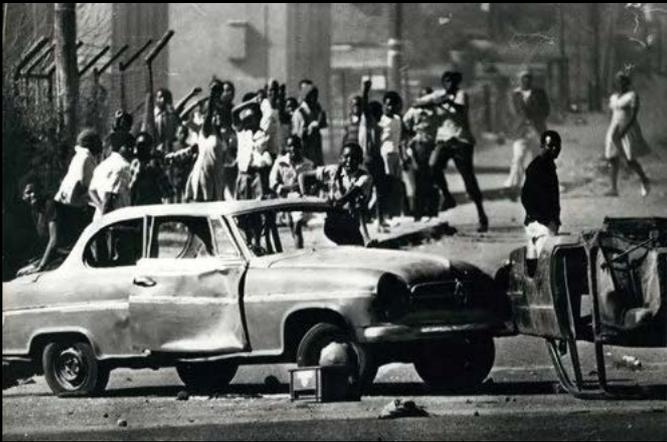
Challenge and change

All the great things are simple, and may be expressed in a single word: freedom, justice, honour, duty, mercy, hope.

– WINSTON CHURCHILL, BRITISH PRIME MINISTER

"

OVERVIEW

One beauty of the second half of the twentieth century was its diversity. While the political backdrop was the Cold War conflicts, social revolutions were occurring. The beginnings of social revolutions were challenging many existing values and traditions. The civil rights movement, feminism, anti-war activism, environmental movements, peace movements, the youth revolution and pressure for greater personal freedom all led to social changes that would have political and economic implications for society, particularly in the West.

There is constant debate as to whether ideas, leaders or movements are the prime catalyst of change. While popular movements and mass protests do spark social revolutions, it is leaders who harness this 'people power' and create a focused movement. Leaders then use ideas to support their point of view and gain mass support. Social revolutions cannot happen without the power of large groups of people. Nor can they happen as effectively if there are no leaders to inspire and focus the popular movements.

The next two chapters focus on the intertwining of these three factors: the main leaders, their ideas, and how they harnessed the popular discontent of the masses. But in two different contexts. The first historical context is the campaign against apartheid in South Africa under the symbolic leadership of Nelson Mandela and other inspiring leaders of the African National Congress. The second context is the fight for civil rights in the United States under the influence of Martin Luther King.

KEY CONCEPTS

- Apartheid
- Civil rights
- Discrimination
- Nationalism
- Non-cooperation
- Racism
- Segregation

SUMMARY OF KEY EVENTS

Apartheid in South Africa 1911–1994

Year	Event	Description
1911	Bedrock legislation enacted	Significant long-lasting laws are passed that separate and discriminate against the coloured populations
1912	**8 January:** ANC formed	African National Congress becomes the primary organisation to oppose racial discrimination in South Africa
1948	Dr Malan introduces apartheid	Apartheid is introduced as the official government policy
1955	**26 June:** Freedom Charter adopted	Over 3000 delegates form the Congress of the People to write an idealistic document that outlines the basic rights and freedoms that are denied under apartheid
1960	**21 March:** Sharpeville Massacre	Police shoot people protesting against the discriminatory homelands and passbooks laws
1961	**16 December:** Mandela forms *Umkhonto we Sizwe*	With the ANC banned, Nelson Mandela and other leaders form an underground military organisation to undertake sabotage of government installations
1963–64	**30 October–12 June:** Mandela imprisoned at Rivonia Trial	Mandela and other prominent leaders are sentenced to life imprisonment for terrorism and treason
1976	**16 June:** Soweto Riots	Student protests against discriminatory education laws. International press coverage of the resulting police violence results in major sanctions against South Africa
1977	**12 September:** Steve Biko killed	A radical leader who begins the Black Consciousness Movement but later dies suspiciously in police custody, increasing outrage against the government
1989	**6 September:** De Klerk elected President	Coordinates the movement to end apartheid and the release of Mandela from prison
1990	**February:** Apartheid laws removed **11 February:** Mandela released from prison	Discrimination officially ended Mandela symbolises both the horror of the apartheid years and the hope for the future of South Africa. He becomes President in 1994
1993	Mandela–de Klerk joint Nobel Peace Prize 1993	Jointly awarded for their work in ending apartheid and laying the foundations for democracy in South Africa
1994	**May:** Mandela elected South African President	Mandela is South Africa's first black president

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Civil rights in the United States 1887–1968

1887	Jim Crow Laws begin	Discriminatory laws that segregate races begin to be implemented
1915	**4 December:** Ku Klux Klan reborn	Aggressive white activist groups actively enforce racial discrimination against African Americans, often with the support of local police and law officials
1955–56	**1 December:** Montgomery Bus Boycott	Rosa Parks' arrest and subsequent boycott famously begin the successful civil rights movement
1957	**4 September:** Little Rock Nine	Nine resilient African-American students endure harassment to desegregate education
1960	**1 February:** Sit-ins begin	Peaceful student protests successfully desegregate lunch counters and department stores
1961	**February:** Freedom Rides	Northern student activists challenge laws with violent consequences
1963	**3 April–10 May:** Birmingham Campaign **28 August:** King's 'I have a dream' speech in March on Washington	Violent police responses to Martin Luther King's peaceful protests are critical in swaying opinion in favour of civil rights King's inspirational 'I have a dream' speech symbolises a day that swayed the popular sentiment towards integration
1964	**2 July:** Civil Rights Act passed	President Johnson grants civil rights to African Americans
1965	**6 August:** Voting Rights Act passed	Political equality is achieved
1968	**4 April:** Martin Luther King assassinated	King's assassination symbolises that the cultural acceptance of the equality of races is openly contested

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The anti-apartheid movement in South Africa

> *There may be times when we are powerless to prevent injustice, but there must never be a time when we fail to protest.*
>
> – ELIE WIESEL

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OVERVIEW

Apartheid is an Afrikaaner word meaning 'apartness' or 'separateness'. It implied the separation, in all aspects, of South Africa's white settlers from 'coloured' immigrants and black indigenous inhabitants. This system was introduced in South Africa by the Malan administration in 1948 and endured until 1990, despite internal and international opposition. This chapter explores the titanic struggle against both government policies and popular attitudes to gain racial freedom and equality.

KEY ISSUES

• What was the daily impact of apartheid?
• How did people fight against apartheid in South Africa?
• Why did apartheid collapse?

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FLOW OF CHAPTER

SYSTEM AND LAWS OF APARTHEID

ANC

Defiance Campaign

FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

Nelson Mandela

Soweto Riots

Sharpeville Massacre

KEY CRISES

Imprisonment of Mandela and ANC leaders

Role of President de Klerk

FALL OF APARTHEID

Release of Mandela to become President

11.1 The system of apartheid

White settlers from Holland had first come to South Africa in 1652. Bitter battles then ensued between the new white settlers and the original indigenous kingdoms, such as the Xhosa and Zulu tribes. The British army arrived in the 1860s and, through the use of modern rifles and cannons, took control of the African Kingdoms by 1900. Political power was then handed from the British in 1910 to the white settlers, who formed a government that recognised only the rights of white people and denied rights to the blacks.

A series of laws was passed between 1911 and 1936, and these are often referred to as the 'bedrock legislation' (see Source 11.2). These laws paved the foundation and became the framework for the more extreme policies of **apartheid** in 1948–56.

apartheid a system that discriminates on the basis of race and separates races from one another
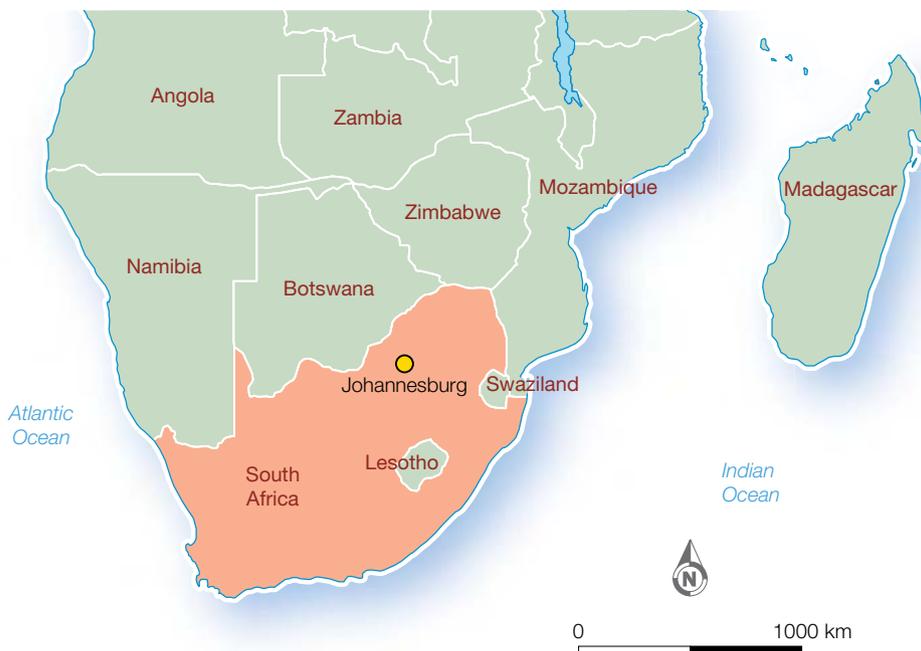
Source 11.1 South Africa is the most southern country in Africa

Source 11.2 Summary of the bedrock legislation

Mines and Works Act, 1911	➔	introduced a nationwide system of employment of whites on railroads and in the mines
Defence Act, 1911	➔	established a White Citizen force
Natives' Land Act, 1913	➔	limited indigenous land ownership to the reserves = 9 million hectares (22 million acres)/7% of South Africa's territory
Native Affairs Act, 1920	➔	created a separate and segregated system of law and administration for indigenous reserves
Native (Urban Areas) Act, 1923	➔	restricted indigenous access to white urban areas
Native Administration Act, 1927	➔	granted the government complete control over indigenous populations outside Cape Province; British Governor-General was paramount chief of all indigenous people
Natives' Trust & Land Act, 1936	➔	extended indigenous land ownership in the indigenous reserves to 13.3%, primarily in the eastern half of the country
Native Representation Act, 1936	➔	removed Cape Province indigenous populations from the electoral rolls

African National Congress: The ANC

It was in the context of the first white government of 1911 that the **African National Congress (ANC)** was formed a

African National Congress (ANC) formed in 1912 and still in existence today as a major political party in South Africa

year later, in 1912. Chiefs, representatives of people's and church organisations and other prominent individuals met to form the ANC. Their aim was to bring all Africans together as one people to defend their rights and freedoms. The ANC website today states that

> *The ANC is a national liberation movement. It was formed in 1912 to unite the African people and spearhead the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change.*
>
> *The ANC's key objective is the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.*
>
> *This means the liberation of Africans in particular and black people in general from political and economic bondage. It means uplifting the quality of life of all South Africans, especially the poor.*

Source 11.3 The ANC was formed to bring together all African people and defend their rights and freedoms

Source: African National Congress website

militant person or group prepared to engage in aggressive or physical conflict for a cause

ANC Women's League formed in 1943 to facilitate the involvement of black women in the work of the ANC

ANC Youth League formed in 1944 by Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo as a response to the conservative approach of the leaders of the ANC itself

By the 1940s, years of racist government legislation had sent a clear message to the leaders and members of the ANC that there would be no real social change to match their agenda of equality. The older and more experienced leaders of the ANC favoured moderate, gradual and non-confrontational change.

Nelson Mandela joined the ANC in 1942, but quickly became disenchanted with its conservative leadership and policies. In 1944 he, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu felt that more **militant** action was needed, and they formed the **ANC Women's League** in 1943 and **ANC Youth League** in 1944. The Youth League members favoured a more militant approach, but not so militant that the government would be forced into violent confrontation with them.

Mandela was acutely aware that while it was fine to be educated in the mould of an Englishman, the white South African Government had no intention of sharing power with the indigenous black majority. This became obvious with the parliamentary elections in 1948.

Research question

Two helpful websites explaining the African National Congress and the history of South Africa can be found via the links at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/?id=5883 and http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/?id=5884.

Prime Minister Malan introduces apartheid, 1948

Dr Daniel Malan and the Afrikaans National Party, the new government, announced the introduction of *apartheid* (separateness) after winning the 1948 national elections. In parliament, Malan raised the

spectre of *swart gevaar* (the black peril), antagonising even the most conservative members of black society. Prime Minister Malan used propaganda slogans such as '*eie volk, eie taal, eie land*' ('our own people, our own language, our own land') to promote his views. The Dutch Reform Church and a secret society called the Broederbond (Band of Brothers) underwrote the propaganda campaign. A whole wave of racist legislation followed (outlined in Source 11.5).

Under apartheid, the population of South Africa was classified into four groups: Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Blacks (the indigenous population). Blacks were stripped of any rights as citizens, despite having had the right to vote before 1948. They lost the right to own land, other than that designated for Black use only, usually unproductive land not wanted by Whites.

The apartheid legislation passed by the Malan government and the National Party in 1949–50 was

Source 11.4 Malan is cheered by supporters after his election victory in 1948

a real test of its strength. Introducing bills into a divided parliament and enacting them was one thing; policing those acts once they were passed was another task entirely.

Mandela and the ANC Youth League urged the ANC proper to mobilise the masses through a non-violent, political campaign similar to that used by Mohandas Gandhi in India. ANC leaders were reluctant to follow this path, so the ANC Youth League organised a coup. They ousted conservative ANC President Alfred Bitimi Xuma and replaced him with Dr J.S. Moroka, who was more sympathetic to their views. Subsequently, a program of strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience and non-cooperation took place from 1950–52.

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                        APARTHEID LEGISLATION
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Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949	Morality Act, 1950	Population Registration Act, 1950	Group Areas Act, 1950
Registration of mixed marriages in SA was illegal	Sexual relations between people not of the same race was illegal	Defined the population into four groups: Whites Coloureds Asians Blacks	Determined living areas in towns and cities for each population group

Source 11.5 Apartheid legislation in South Africa

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL
Nelson Mandela's story (1918–2013)

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

His childhood

Rolihlahla Mandela was born in the Transkei Territory of South Africa in July 1918. Ironically, he was born in the same year that peace was declared to end World War I, and he spent his life trying to bring peace to South Africans. Born in the Xhosa tribe, he was destined to be a tribal royal adviser, just as his father, Gadla Henry Mphakanyiswa, had been. Gadla had four wives; Nelson's mother, Noqaphi, was her husband's third wife, and Nelson was the youngest of 13 children (four boys, nine girls) in the family.

Nelson's life changed dramatically in 1925 when his father died. Tribal Chief Jongitaba Dalindyebo took him in and raised him to manhood. Nelson was introduced to luxury, wealth, excellent education and the world of politics. He attended tribal meetings, and learnt how to give counsel to a tribal Chief. It was during such meetings that he first learnt how the indigenous people of South Africa were losing the power to rule their own lands.

Source 11.6 A young Mandela

His education

Nelson completed his secondary schooling at a prestigious British school but soon realised that while he could receive an English education, he would never be an Englishman. He went on to study law at Fort Hare University, South Africa's first all-black university. He took part in a boycott against university policies and refused to change his stance despite the threat of expulsion. When he learnt of Nelson's decision to sacrifice his education and be expelled from university, Chief Dalindyebo was furious. He demanded that Nelson marry a young woman in an arranged marriage. Instead, Nelson fled his homeland and headed for Johannesburg, where he encountered deep racial divisions. Nelson completed his law studies by correspondence, through the University of South Africa in Johannesburg, while he was working as a law clerk in Alexandra. He also befriended Walter Sisulu, a prominent trade union activist, who had a profound influence on his future thinking that African nationalism was worth fighting for. Nelson's future political role in South Africa's history is covered in detail in this chapter.

A MATTER OF FACT

Rolihlahla literally means 'pulling the branch of a tree', and more colloquially translates as 'troublemaker'. Mandela was given the name 'Nelson' by his teacher on his first day at school.

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11.2 Defiance Campaign

The ANC attempted to appease the Youth League by approving its proposed Defiance Campaign of 1952, to take place on 6 April 1952 on the 300th anniversary of white settlement at Cape Town. The Defiance Campaign was based on non-cooperation with the white government and its unjust laws; it was non-violent, but more confrontational than usual for the ANC. The campaign culminated in a National Day of Protest in June. The ANC hoped that the government would change its policies as a result. Instead, roughly 8500 demonstrators were arrested after the day of protest, including Nelson Mandela.

Undeterred, the ANC joined forces with a number of other opposition groups to form the **Congress Alliance**, and to develop a master plan for challenging the government. The Congress Alliance sent delegates to a meeting called the Congress of the People in 1955. Over 3000 delegates met at Kliptown, near Johannesburg, to draft an idealistic document called the **Freedom Charter** on 26 June. The Charter was a statement of the Alliance's principles and political aims; its lists of basic rights and freedoms were borrowed from similar documents from the United States, Britain and Europe. Here is a summary of the requests of the Charter.

Congress Alliance a group that combined several groups that opposed the South African government, including the ANC

Freedom Charter idealistic list of rights drawn up by the Congress Alliance in 1955

1   Every man and woman shall have the right to vote.
2   No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial.
3   The law shall guarantee to all the right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.
4   All shall be free to form trade unions.
5   Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.

Focus question

Talk the thought – the four Cs

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

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

A MATTER OF FACT

The Freedom Charter was confiscated by police as soon as it was published. As well, 156 members of the group were arrested and put on trial, but none were convicted.

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11.3 The Sharpeville Massacre

Bantustan homeland; under apartheid law in South Africa people were relegated to separate homelands

Rather than quieten indigenous communities as the government had hoped, the arrest of the major ANC leaders provoked anger. On 21 March 1960 protesters demonstrated against the 'pass laws', which regulated the movements of indigenous Africans into white urban areas. As part of these laws, 10 **Bantustans** (homelands) had been created decades earlier for indigenous communities, amounting to about 13 per cent of the area of South Africa.

Source 11.7 Victims of the Sharpeville Massacre

The protests at Sharpeville, an indigenous township outside Johannesburg, were inspired by the Defiance Campaign of the early 1950s, but organised by a group called the Pan-African Congress (PAC). Between 5000 and 7000 indigenous workers converged on the local police station, demanding to be arrested for not carrying their passbooks. The mood of the protesters was positive, almost festive, because they faced only about 20 police and expected little retaliation.

Threatened by the huge number of protesters, the police made a show of force to try to intimidate the crowd. First, they ordered jet aircraft to fly low over the crowd; they then confronted the crowd with armoured cars. At 1.15 pm, the police opened fire on the crowd. Sixty-nine people were killed (including eight women and 10 children) and 180 were injured (including 31 women and 19 children).

The immediate aftermath of Sharpeville

state of emergency a situation in which the government suspends normal procedures due to danger or disaster

The next week saw outbreaks of indigenous violence right across South Africa. The government declared a **state of emergency** on 30 March, which continued until August. Police and military arrested almost 20 000 people; the PAC and ANC were banned under the Unlawful Organizations Act (1960). The South African government immediately passed the Indemnity Act (1961) to protect the government and its leaders from any lawsuits arising out of the incident.

The United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 134 in response to complaints put to it by 29 member countries. This began the international isolation of the South African Government, which was followed by South Africa's expulsion from the British Commonwealth in 1961. The government responded by holding a referendum to become a Republic, allowing it to withdraw from the Commonwealth on its own terms and save face.

Extract from United Nations Security Council Resolution 134

The Security Council …

1   *Recognizes that the situation in the Union of South Africa is one that has led to international friction and if continued might endanger international peace and security;*

2   *Deplores that the recent disturbances in the Union of South Africa should have led to the loss of life of so many Africans and extends to the families of the victims its deepest sympathies;*

3   *Deplores the policies and actions of the Government of the Union of South Africa which have given rise to the present situation;*

4   *Calls upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the present situation does not continue or recur, and to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination;*

5   *Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Government of the Union of South Africa, to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter and to report to the Security Council whenever necessary and appropriate.*

APPARTS model for primary source analysis

This is a helpful model to analyse primary sources. The heading is really suitable, because analysis is pulling apart a document or image, to look at the separate parts of a source, so that we understand it better. Remember the APPARTS model as a way to analyse, or pull apart, a document or image.

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

Source: 'Improving student comprehension: primary sources', *The AP Vertical Teams Guide for Social Studies*. The College Board (2001): 15–17

Focus question

Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model in reference to the United Nations Security Council Resolution 134.
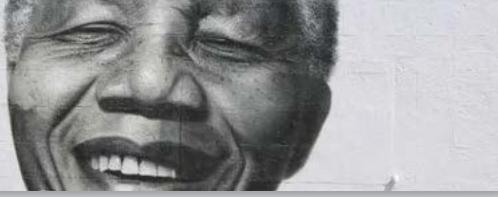
Source 11.8 A painting of the Sharpeville Massacre by Godfrey Rubens

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. The first person asks **'What's going on in this image?'** (see Source 11.8). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

11.4 *Umkhonto we Sizwe*: Mandela's 'Spear of the Nation'

Treason Trials a government response to the Freedom Charter of 1955 where ANC leaders were tried between 1956 and 1961 under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, which outlawed the South African Communist Party (SACP)

Umkhonto we Sizwe formed in 1961 as a response to the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960; a military wing of the ANC, led by Nelson Mandela

The tactics of non-violent resistance and civil disobedience had little impact against a government which used arrests, bans and repressive laws against protesters. Divisions appeared in the ranks of those opposed to apartheid; some favoured peaceful protest, others were moving towards greater radicalism and violence.

With the ANC banned as a political organisation and the leaders tangled in the **Treason Trials**, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others formed an underground military organisation in 1961, called *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, or the 'Spear of the Nation' (also referred to as 'MK'). Mandela was appointed as Chief-of-Staff, and planned a sabotage campaign. MK's first violent act was in December 1961, and over the next three years it was responsible for over 200 attacks on power lines, post offices, jails and other government installations. But these bombings were meant to be symbolic, not deadly, and nobody was to be hurt or killed in the explosions. Plans were also considered for a guerrilla war, should the sabotage campaign fail to remove apartheid.

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Was it acceptable for the ANC to violently attack the government?'** A student responds briefly. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each brief student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

Rivonia Trial, 1963–64

For the government, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* had proved itself to be a terrorist organisation, and it was treated as such. Mandela was arrested on 5 August 1963, and along with 10 other leaders was sentenced in 1964 to life in prison for sabotage and attempting to overthrow the state. The trials became known as the **Rivonia Trial**. Mandela spent 27 years in prison for his opposition to the government's policy of apartheid.

Mandela refused offers of legal representation and instead represented himself. At the trial he said to the judge:

Rivonia Trial the collection of Treason Trials of 1963–64 in Rivonia where the leaders of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, Mandela among them, were tried and sentenced to life imprisonment

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die …

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Source 11.9 The entrance to Robben Island prison

A MATTER OF FACT

Mandela avoided capture by the police and was given the nickname 'The Black Pimpernel'. He was eventually captured in July 1963.

11.5 The Soweto Riots, 1976

Background

South African Students Organization (SASO) an organisation made up of students who resisted apartheid through political means; formed in 1968

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) an anti-apartheid activist group formed in the mid-1960s after the crackdown on earlier black political movements in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre

Afrikaans Dutch-derived language brought to Africa by white settlers

Others continued the fight against apartheid and the South African Government while Mandela was in prison. One prominent leader to emerge in his absence was Stephen Biko, who established the **South African Students Organization (SASO)** and the **Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)** in the 1960s. Mandela was troubled by the radicalism of Biko and the BCM, arguing that they should be more inclusive and join with white activists.

Soweto was an indigenous settlement on the south-western edge of Johannesburg. Its name comes from the acronym for 'South-West Town', which the white settlers of Johannesburg used to call it. Riots broke out in Soweto in 1976 when indigenous students protested about the government's ruling that many school subjects must be taught in **Afrikaans**. Most indigenous people were prepared to be educated in English, but they associated Afrikaans with the ruling National Party and the Dutch Reform Church. Desmond Tutu, then the Dean of the Anglican Church in Johannesburg, called Afrikaans the 'language of the oppressors', and indigenous teachers complained that they were not fluent in Afrikaans.

Event

On 16 June 1976, a student protest march left Naledi High School. The protest was intended to be peaceful, following Steve Biko's 'black consciousness'; the school's principal had even wished the students good luck as they left. They were joined by students from other schools, and before long there were 8000–10000 students in the march.

Source 11.10 The Soweto Riots

By 9 am the march came to a halt because the police were blocking the protestors' intended path. One student leader, Tietsi Mashinini, climbed up on a tractor to address the crowd:

We have just received a report that the police are coming. Don't taunt them, don't do anything to them. Be cool and calm. We are not fighting.

But before 9.30 am, some students were shot dead and panic had set in among the rest. It is still not clear how the violence started; some onlookers claimed that students threw rocks or attacked policemen, who were attempting to disperse them with dogs and tear gas. But eventually shots were fired, students were killed and the violence escalated. Buildings were set alight, bottle shops were looted and burned, and more students were shot. One white government official was dragged from his car and stoned to death.

The situation became worse when nearby schools were closed early, and thousands more students were on the streets by noon. By 9 pm, police in armoured cars were everywhere. Official reports said 23 people were dead, but other reports suggested up to 200 were killed.

Source 11.11 This photo was taken in Soweto in June 1976.

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What's going on in this image?'** (see Source 11.11). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples from the image.

By the next morning, the situation was one of complete chaos, and indigenous anger was high. Even primary school students wanted to join the fight; one said:

On the 16th I just came home and stay … because we formed the slogan 'an injury to one is an injury to all'.

By the evening of 17 June, most government buildings in and around Soweto were torched, along with buses, cars and three schools. More than 1500 police were placed throughout the town. More

protesters were shot. Indigenous workers refused to go to work, so industry ground to a halt. Hundreds of white students from Witwatersrand University protested in Johannesburg against the deaths of the Soweto students, and were joined by striking workers. Marches and protests sprang up in nearby towns, most of them peaceful – but some became violent, and more students were shot there as well.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.1: VISUAL ANALYSIS ACTIVITY – CCF MODEL

There are many models and ways to analyse images. The CCF model is one possible process.

Content

Ask yourself questions about the actual things that you see in the image (Sources 11.12 and 11.13).

- What is the caption of the image?
- When was the image produced?
- Who is/are the key figure or figures in the image?
- What is in the background and what does it symbolise?
- What is in the foreground and what does it symbolise?
- Who or what is NOT in the image?

Content

- Ask yourself questions about what was happening around the time of the topic in the image.
- What event or topic is shown in the image?
- Why did this event happen? What caused it?
- What was the significance of this event? What happened after this event?

Source 11.12 Women and other protestors fleeing in panic after police opened fire during the protest now known as the Sharpeville Massacre

Function

Ask yourself questions about the purpose, or function, of the image.

- What is the main message of the image?
- Is this image for or against apartheid?
- Which other examples can you think of that would support this message? Which examples would be opposite to this message?

Source 11.13 Hector Pieterson being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubo after being shot by South African police during the Soweto uprising. His sister, Antoinette Sithole, runs beside them.

1   Use the CCF model to analyse the images in Source 11.12 and Source 11.13.
2   What are the similarities between these images?
3   Which one do you think is most effective?

Outcome

In the end, the police force won the battle, and the riots died down after 17 June. Had simultaneous, full-scale revolts occurred nationwide, the impact of the Soweto Riots might have been greater. However, international press coverage of the riots led to international economic, military and sporting sanctions against South Africa. These sanctions had the greater impact over time. South Africa was banned from the Olympics until 1992, and South African cricket and rugby tours to Australia were banned between 1971 and the early 1990s.
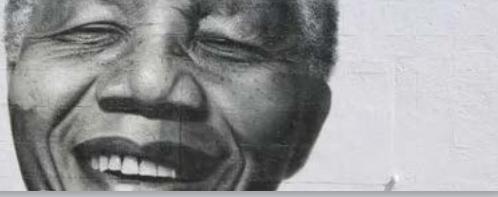
SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL
Stephen (Bantu) Biko (1946–1977)

- South African political activist, founder and leader of the Black Consciousness Movement (BMC) in the mid-1960s.
- Born in King Williams Town, Cape Province.
- Expelled from his first school, Lovedale, for 'anti-establishment behaviour'.
- Became involved in politics while studying medicine at Natal University.
- Co-founder and first President of the all-black South African Students Organization (SASO) in 1969. SASO was involved in providing legal aid and medical clinics, and developing cottage industries in indigenous communities.
- Helped establish the Black Peoples Convention (BPC) in 1972, a coalition of over 70 indigenous organisations, and was expelled from Natal University as a result.
- Served with a banning order in 1973, severely restricting his movements and freedom of speech and association; restrictions increased in 1975.
- Died in custody in August 1977, allegedly as a result of a beating from the police.

Source 11.14 Stephen Biko
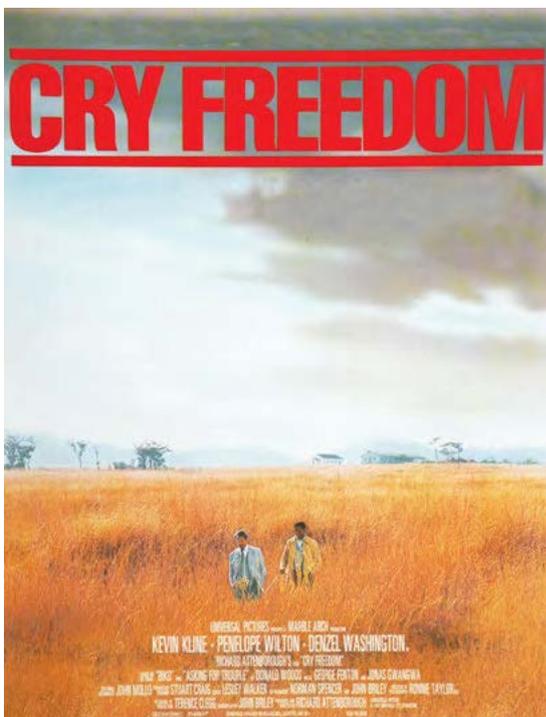
Research question

Watch the powerful movie on Steve Biko's life and death, *Cry Freedom* (1987). Summarise the main themes of this film. Explain how the police and the justice system are portrayed in the film.

A MATTER OF FACT

Steve Biko was famous for his slogan 'Black is beautiful ... begin to look upon yourself as a human being ...' This simple slogan was an attempt to empower his people under the racial oppression of the South African government.

Source 11.15 The theatrical poster for *Cry Freedom*

11.6 Apartheid in the 1980s

By the mid-1980s, clear cracks were appearing in the apartheid system. Laws banning multi-racial political parties and interracial sex and marriage were gradually repealed, as well as segregation in restaurants, hotels, transportation and public facilities. However, the repeal of a few laws did not remove the anger and resentment of the population.

Internationally, US President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher could not control anti-apartheid opinion within their own nations. University campuses organised multiple protests and pickets of South African embassies, often leading to large numbers of arrests. The United States Congress passed the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in 1986, overriding Reagan's attempt to veto the legislation. Hundreds of American businesses with manufacturing plants in South Africa withdrew their facilities, thus contributing to increased unemployment in South Africa.

By the late 1980s, apartheid was being battered by both internal and external factors. The proportion of whites in the population had dropped to just 15 per cent in 1985, while indigenous populations in the cities and towns had exploded. At the same time, the economy was deteriorating due to rapid inflation, rising unemployment and foreign disinvestment. The result was a society bitterly divided about its future.

It was time for reform. It was in this context that government officials and business leaders began secretly meeting with ANC members. Meetings also took place with Nelson Mandela. In 1988, he was visited by President P. W. Botha and his successor, F. W. de Klerk. The President was serving Mandela tea and being particularly gracious to his celebrity guest. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was present at the meeting, later remarked that:

> *… you could say it is the outgoing president meeting someone who is going to succeed him.*

The President tried to persuade Mandela to renounce violence and guarantee the future rights of the white minority. Mandela rejected these terms for his release.

> *What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people remains banned? Only free men can negotiate. A prisoner cannot enter into contracts.*

> Nelson Mandela

A MATTER OF FACT

In 1984, British group The Special AKA released a musical tribute to Nelson Mandela called 'Free Nelson Mandela'. The song was re-recorded in 1988 with Elvis Costello on vocals to commemorate Mandela's 70th birthday, and Amy Winehouse covered it in 2008 at Mandela's 90th birthday tribute concert in Hyde Park, London. In London in 1988, 72 000 people attended a rock concert called Freedomfest – Nelson Mandela's 70th Birthday Celebration, which was televised to over 60 countries around the world.

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SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL
President Frederik Willem de Klerk (1936–)

- South African politician and President of South Africa (1989–94).
- Head of the National Party (1989–97). Vice-President (with Thabo Mbeki, 1994–97). Left parliament in 1997.
- Born into a political family in Johannesburg.
- Studied arts and law at Potchefstroom University from 1954; actively involved in student politics.
- Entered parliament in 1972, joined the Cabinet in 1978; held several ministries between 1978 and 1994.
- Negotiated Nelson Mandela's release in 1990 and worked with him in dismantling apartheid in South Africa.
- Shared Nobel Peace Prize with Nelson Mandela in 1993.

Source 11.16 Frederik Willem de Klerk was a key figure in the abolition of apartheid

11.7 Apartheid collapses

Apartheid ends and Mandela is released

On 13 December 1989, F.W. de Klerk met with Nelson Mandela in prison for three hours to discuss Mandela's release and the future of South Africa. When Parliament resumed on 2 February 1990, de Klerk stunned the world by announcing the formal end of apartheid and admitting its failure. He finished his opening address with these words:

History has placed a tremendous responsibility on the shoulders of this country's leadership, namely the responsibility of moving our country away from the current course of conflict and confrontation … The hope of millions of South Africans is fixed on us. The future of southern Africa depends on us. We dare not waver or fall.

Source 11.17 Mandela revisiting his cell on Robben Island with US President Bill Clinton

Between February and June 1990, all aspects of the bedrock legislation (1911–36) were removed. In February 1990, President de Klerk reversed the ban on the ANC, and on 11 February Nelson Mandela was released from prison, hand-in-hand with his wife Winnie, and was met by a huge crowd of supporters and international news media. He suddenly became a political figure of international importance. Mandela's fame had increased over his years in prison as he had become a symbol of the fight against apartheid in South Africa. Upon release he spoke of reconciliation and truth, asking both black and white South Africans to evaluate the wrongs of the past and how to right them in the future.

Source 11.18 President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela in 1990

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Mandela refused to condemn armed resistance, but said that reconciliation and forgiveness were the best ways forward. This caught many of his supporters off-guard, and alienated many younger Africans who only knew him by name and reputation. They had expected criticism of whites, railing against apartheid and talk of vengeance. But that was not Mandela's way.

Source 11.19 Mandela's autobiography was called *Long Walk to Freedom*. A movie was made of it in 2013.

Focus question

Look on the internet for famous speeches by Mandela; for example, try the famous quotes website which can be accessed via the link at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/?id=5885.

Mandela becomes president

The first truly democratic election in South Africa's history was held on 27 April 1994. Mandela and the ANC won the popular vote, and he became President of South Africa. F.W. de Klerk shared the vice-presidency role with Thabo Mbeki. Mandela made mistakes in the early years of his presidency, including an ineffective response to the country's HIV/AIDS epidemic, but they did not detract from the symbolic power of his presidency – a former 'terrorist', now a powerful international activist for peace, reconciliation and freedom.

Source 11.20 Mandela at his inauguration as South African President

Forgiving apartheid abuses: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up in 1994 to examine human rights violations from the era of apartheid, to prosecute those guilty of crimes and to advance the cause of reconciliation and peace between black and white South Africans. It became a powerful forum for national sorrow, understanding and forgiveness that allowed both black and white South Africa to move forward with a sense of hope and closure.

Year	Event
1966	Prime Minister Verwoerd assassinated
1968	South African Students Organization (SASO)
1972	Black People's Convention (BPC)
1973	Durban strikes
1974	SASO and BPC banned
1976	Nationwide student riots
1976	Soweto student riots (June)
1977	UN army embargo on SA
1977	Steve Biko arrested (August)
1977	Biko dead (September)
1983	United Democratic Front (UDF) formed
1984	Archbishop Tutu – Nobel Peace Prize
1985	Internal State of Emergency imposed
1985	International sanctions imposed
1986	Internal State of Emergency ended (March)
1986	Reimposed (June)
1987	ANC's London headquarters bombed
1990	de Klerk announces Mandela's release
1990	Mandela's release (February)
1991	de Klerk announces end of apartheid
1992	Referendum on reform (March)
1992	SA at Olympic Games
1992	Mandela–de Klerk Pact (September)
1993	Mandela–de Klerk joint Nobel Peace Prize
1993	New constitution approved (December)
1994	First post-apartheid election (April)
1994	Mandela elected President (May)
1995	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)
1997	Mandela leaves office (July)
1997	Thabo Mbeki takes over as president

Source 11.21 Apartheid era in South Africa, key events, 1966–97

Mandela's death, 2013

Mandela died on 5 December 2013. Three days, later a national day of prayer and reflection was held to help South Africans mourn his death. He had previously said that 'I don't think there is much history can say about me. I just want to be remembered as part of that collective.'

Supporters and admirers have written a lot about Nelson Mandela, but critics have said very little. He is remembered throughout the world as the symbol of resistance to oppression. He and de Klerk were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. He had 19 honorary degrees from universities around the world, and received 47 international awards (including the Freedom of the City of Sydney Award in 1987, while he was still imprisoned).

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Source 11.22 Statue of Nelson Mandela in Parliament Square, London

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.2: FISH BONE!

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

SYSTEM OF APARTHEID

1911 Apartheid laws began in South Africa

1912 African National Congress (ANC) formed

1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe formed

1976 Soweto Riots

1989 President de Klerk is elected

END OF APARTHEID

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 11.3: USING HISTORICAL TERMS

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words in bold.

What was Mandela's role in the struggle against apartheid?

- **apartheid**
- **African National Congress**
- **Spear of the Nation**
- **sabotage**
- **Defiance Campaign**
- **Sharpeville Massacre**

The story so far

- Apartheid was introduced to South Africa by the new President, Dr Daniel Malan, after his victory in the 1948 elections. Citizens were divided into four racial groups, with black South Africans losing the right to vote and being moved to Homelands.
- Young militant members of the African National Congress (ANC) favoured direct action against the government, and therefore began the Defiance Campaign. They also released the Freedom Charter, outlining rights that Blacks should have. Nelson Mandela was a member of this group.
- The Sharpeville Massacre erupted in 1960 over the discrimination of the government's Homelands policy.
- Mandela and other ANC leaders were arrested and convicted to life in prison from 1963.
- Steve Biko and other activists unsuccessfully continued the fight against the government. The Soweto Riots in 1976 brought the world's focus on to the repression of apartheid.
- President de Klerk negotiated the end to apartheid laws in 1990 and the release of Mandela from prison after 27 years. Mandela became the first black president of South Africa in 1994.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1   How was apartheid introduced and what were some main laws?
2   How did the African National Congress fight against apartheid in South Africa?
3   Why were the Sharpeville Massacre and Soweto Riots such significant events?
4   Why did apartheid collapse?

ANALYSE THE DOCUMENT'S VIEWS

This is an extract from Nelson Mandela's speech at his trial in 1964, explaining the ANC's decision to adopt violent strategies.

Four forms of violence are possible. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, there is terrorism and there is open revolution. We chose to adopt the first method and to exhaust it before taking any other decision.

In the light of our political background the choice was a logical one. Sabotage did not involve loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Bitterness would be kept to a minimum and, if the policy bore fruit, democratic government could become a reality …

The initial plan was based on a careful analysis of the political and economic situation of our country. We believed that South Africa depended to a large extent on foreign capital and foreign trade. We felt that planned destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications would tend to scare away capital from the country, making it more difficult for goods from industrial areas to reach the seaports on schedule, and would in the long run be a drain on the economic life of the country, thus compelling the voters of the country to reconsider their position …

This then was the plan. Umkhonto was to perform sabotage, and strict instructions were given to members right from the start, that on no account were they to injure or kill people in planning or carrying out operations.

1   List the four violent options open to the ANC.

2   According to the document, how did it justify choosing sabotage?

3   According to the document, what was *Umkhonto we Sizwe* hoping that sabotage would achieve?

4   Using your own knowledge, explain how the Sharpeville Massacre motivated the ANC to change its approach to fighting against apartheid.

5   Explain the strengths and weaknesses of Mandela's point of view.

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

Write a considered response to this statement about Nelson Mandela: *'Mandela was both a symbol of the government's policy of apartheid as well as a symbol of hope.'*

To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer.

- To begin this question, you will need to make a list of ways in which the government 'persecuted' the South African population – for example, the apartheid policies themselves. Also consider key events such as the Sharpeville Massacre, the Soweto Riots and Steve Biko's death in custody.
- Ask yourself, how did Mandela attempt to confront apartheid in South Africa? Make a list of his involvement, including the ANC, Freedom Charter, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* and Rivonia Trial.
- Brainstorm what a 'symbol' is. The words 'represents', 'demonstrates' or 'explains' are a helpful starting point. How could Mandela 'symbolise' anything?
- The crucial part is using these lists to answer the question. In what ways did Mandela symbolise government violence? And in what ways did he symbolise hope? In what ways did he not do so?

12

Civil rights campaigns in the United States

> *Human progress is neither automatic nor inevitable … Every step toward the goal of justice requires sacrifice, suffering, and struggle; the tireless exertions and passionate concern of dedicated individuals.*
>
> – MARTIN LUTHER KING, JNR

OVERVIEW

The story of the civil rights movement in the United States is the story of overturning centuries of institutionalised injustice. It is the story of courageous leaders who stood up for equality in the face of severe persecution. It is the story of ordinary people who joined together to form a powerful popular movement for change. Jim Crow laws dominated everyday life for African Americans, and were constant reminders of their inferior place in white society. However, no longer was racial segregation of transport, facilities and education acceptable. The movement climaxed in 1963 with Martin Luther King's famous 'I Have a Dream' speech during the March on Washington.

KEY ISSUES

- What were the Jim Crow laws?
- Who were the members of the Ku Klux Klan?
- How was transport desegregated?
- How was education desegregated?
- Why was 1963 such a crucial year?
- When were civil rights finally achieved?

FLOW OF CHAPTER


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│ Birmingham Riots│◄─────│  1963   │─────►│March on Washington │
└─────────────────┘      └─────────┘      └────────────────────┘
                              │
                              ▼
                        ┌─────────────────┐    ┌────────────────────────────┐
                        │ Civil Rights Act│──►│King's 'I Have a Dream' speech│
                        └─────────────────┘    └────────────────────────────┘
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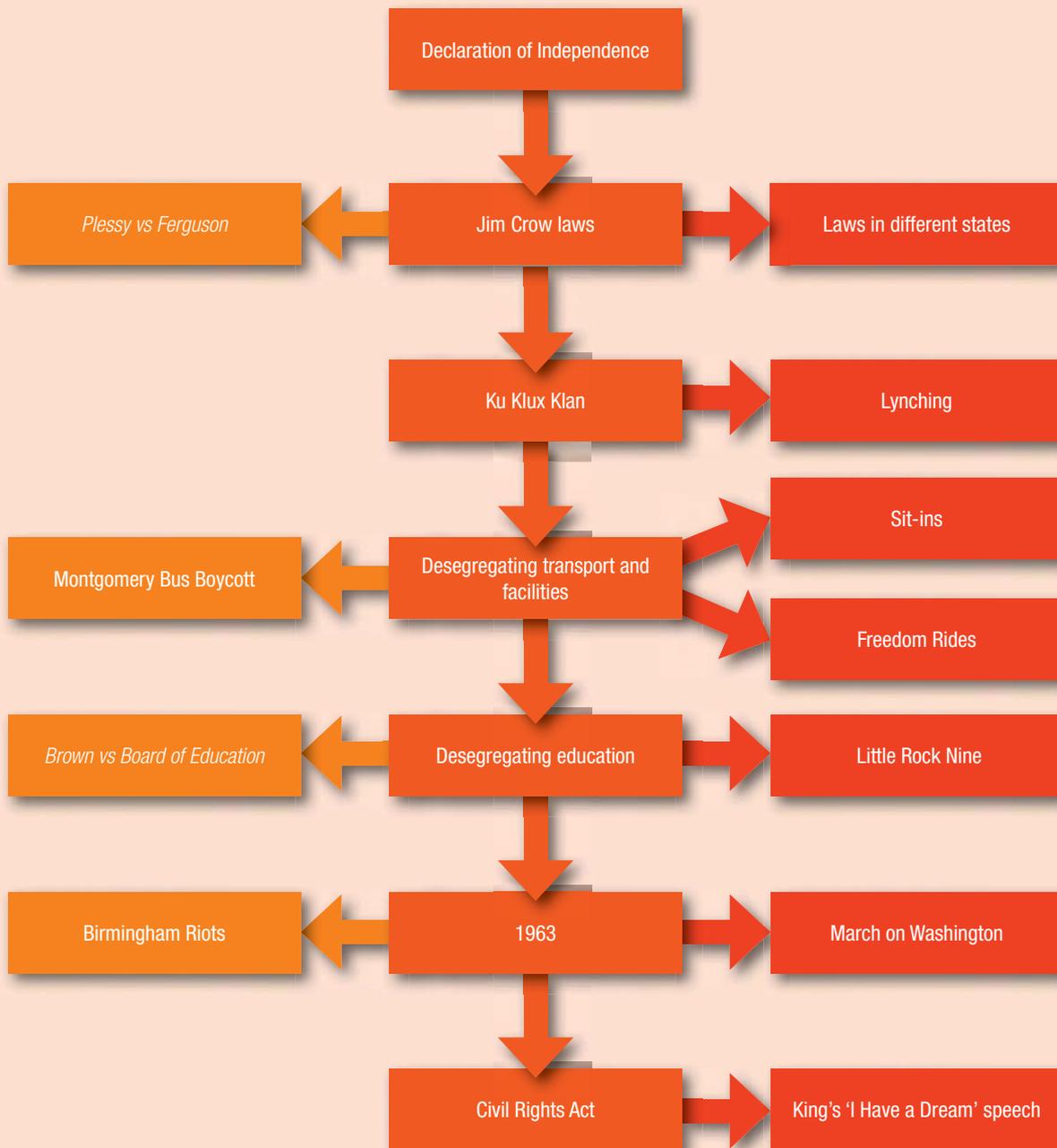
12.1 The United States Constitution and equality

Declaration of Independence, 1776

The Declaration of Independence is one of America's most famous documents and was signed on 4 July 1776 by the original 13 states. This date is still celebrated in the United States today as Independence Day. The Declaration proclaimed:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Taken on face value, this extract indicates that African slaves in the US now had rights and freedoms. Yet the Founding Fathers – George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and their allies – did not intend this at all. Instead, they intended these 'unalienable rights' and the 'pursuit of happiness' to apply only to the wealthy, male, white, land-owning, Protestant minority in the new American republic. Women, ethnic groups, Native Americans and African slaves were excluded from this grand declaration. Even so, they had created a blueprint for liberty and equality that the US struggled for 200 years to fulfil.

Source 12.1 John Trumbull's *Declaration of Independence*, painted in 1819

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.1: USING MAPS

Find a map of the United States.

Deep South refers to the states in the South that were deeply conservative about traditional society, which promoted that whites were superior

1 Mark the southern states (Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas) in one colour.
2 Mark a subset of **Deep South** states (Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana) in a different colour.
3 Using the information in this chapter and further research online, add a star to illustrate where each of the following conflicts occurred:
   • Montgomery Bus Boycott in Alabama
   • Sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina
   • Freedom Ride bus bombed in Anniston, Alabama
• King's 'I Have a Dream' speech in Washington, DC
• Birmingham Riots in Birmingham, Alabama
• Murder of civil rights workers in Mississippi
• Assassination of King in Memphis, Tennessee
• Central High School crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas
4 Copy and complete the table in Source 12.2. Calculate and write down what percentage of the total population the African-American population represented in 1950.

Source 12.2 Population statistics, 1950

State	Total population	African-American population	% of total population
Alabama	3 061 743	979 617	
Arkansas	1 909 511	426 639	
Georgia	3 444 578	1 062 762	
Louisiana	2 683 516	882 426	
Mississippi	2 176 914	986 494	
North Carolina	4 061 929	1 047 353	
South Carolina	2 117 027	882 077	
Tennessee	3 291 716	530 603	
Virginia	3 318 680	734 211	
Total of southern states	**26 065 614**	**7 472 182**	
Total of USA	**150 195 000**	**15 045 000**	

Source: Figures taken from J. Salmond and K. Newell (ed.), *The Civil Rights Movement in the American South, 1945–1968*, La Trobe University, 1992, p. 1

Focus questions

Using Source 12.2:

1 Which state had the largest population of African Americans?
2 Which state had the highest percentage of African Americans?
3 What was the total percentage of African Americans in the southern states?

12.2 Jim Crow laws

The core issue was deep-seated social discrimination in the hearts and minds of many people in the southern states. Between 1887 and 1891, laws were created in every state that divided society into 'whites' and 'coloureds'. These laws were collectively called the **Jim Crow laws**, named after a travelling white musician and actor called Thomas Dartmouth 'Daddy' Rice who created a black character called Jim Crow in 1828. His performances as Jim Crow mocked African-American habits and looks, especially through a song called 'Jump Jim Crow'. Rice's popularity indicated the depth of white prejudice in both the northern and southern states.

Jim Crow laws
discriminatory laws that divided society into 'whites' and 'blacks'

Source 12.3 Thomas Rice performing as Jim Crow

'Separate but equal': The *Plessy vs Ferguson* case

In an act of courage, an African American named Homer Plessy exposed the unfairness of the transport system in the South but lost the fight for equality. In 1892, he deliberately challenged the Jim Crow transport law by sitting in the first-class section of a train and, as he hoped, was arrested.

Plessy vs Ferguson was the first trial that challenged the legality of the Jim Crow laws. Plessy argued that the segregation of passengers on trains broke the Constitution but Judge John H. Ferguson was not convinced and found Plessy guilty. Plessy's appeal to the US Supreme Court also failed. In a landmark decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the segregation laws were not against the Constitution, and declared that it was legal to keep the races 'separate' as long as the facilities were 'equal'. Segregation was therefore strengthened.

Examples of Jim Crow laws

Alabama

- Nurses – white female nurses are not required to work in rooms in which there are Negro men.
- Buses – all passenger stations must have separate waiting rooms and separate ticket windows for the white and coloured races.
- Pool and billiard rooms – it is illegal for a Negro and white person to play together at any game of pool or billiards.

Florida

- Cohabitation – Any Negro man and white woman, or any white man and Negro woman, who sleep in the same room at night without being married, shall be put in jail for 12 months.

Georgia

- Burial – white and coloured people must be buried in separate parts of the cemetery.
- Barbers – coloured barbers are not allowed to cut the hair of white women or girls.
- Parks – it is illegal for coloured people to visit any park maintained for the use of white persons.
- Baseball – it is illegal for any white amateur baseball team to play within two blocks of a Negro playground.

Louisiana

- Circus tickets – all circuses must provide at least two ticket offices and two entrances that are more than 10 metres apart.
- The blind – there must be separate buildings on separate sites for blind persons of the white and coloured races.

Mississippi

- Promotion of equality – any person who writes or speaks in favour of social equality shall be fined or jailed for a maximum of six months.

North Carolina

- Textbooks – second-hand textbooks cannot be exchanged between races and must continue to be used by the race they were first used by.
- Teaching – any teacher who teaches both coloured and white students in the same room will be fined.
- Telephone booths – companies are required to maintain separate telephone booths for white and coloured patrons.

South Carolina

- Lunch counters – shops are not allowed to serve meals to white and coloured people in the same room, or at the same table, or at the same counter.

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Source 12.4 Segregated drinking fountains for blacks

Source 12.5 An African-American military policeman in front of the 'colored' MP entrance in Columbus, Georgia

Source 12.6 Entrance to a segregated movie theatre

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.2: IDENTIFYING THEMES IN THE JIM CROW LAWS

Copy this table into your workbook to allow enough space for examples. Using the list of Jim Crow laws above, work out common headings for those laws. Write that heading in the themes column and then provide some examples of Jim Crow laws that fall into that category. An example has been provided for you.

Source 12.7 Themes in the Jim Crow laws

Themes	Examples
Education	There were separate schools for whites and coloureds. Textbooks could only be used by one race, not shared.

Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'What's going on in these Jim Crow laws?'** (see Source 12.7). The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples.

12.3 The Ku Klux Klan

The **Ku Klux Klan (KKK)** is an intimidating **white supremacist** organisation that was founded by bored soldiers after the American Civil War ended in 1865. It was reborn in 1915 during World War I, and grew more powerful and influential (especially in southern states) after World War II. Its initial aim was to stop African Americans from voting, but the KKK soon developed into a strongly hierarchical organisation that sponsored full violence. Its actions included public humiliation, beatings, kidnappings, killing livestock, burning houses and farms, and murder.

Ku Klux Klan (KKK) a race-based group that actively fought for the supremacy of whites

white supremacist person who believes in the superiority of Caucasians over those of different racial or ethnic backgrounds

A MATTER OF FACT

'Ku Klux' came from the Greek word for 'circle'. Since circles are complete and have no start or end point; perhaps the name signalled the group's intention to create a perfect society, or to return society to where it believed it should always have been.

Source 12.8 A Ku Klux Klan rally being opposed. The signs display the KKK's endorsement of Barry Goldwater, a 1964 presidential nominee who sparked the restoration of the American Conservative political movement.

Research questions

To learn more about the power of the Ku Klux Klan in 1964 watch the award-winning movie *Mississippi Burning* (1989).

1 Describe which rights of African Americans are violated in *Mississippi Burning*.
2 Explain the difference between a murder charge and a civil rights violation charge.
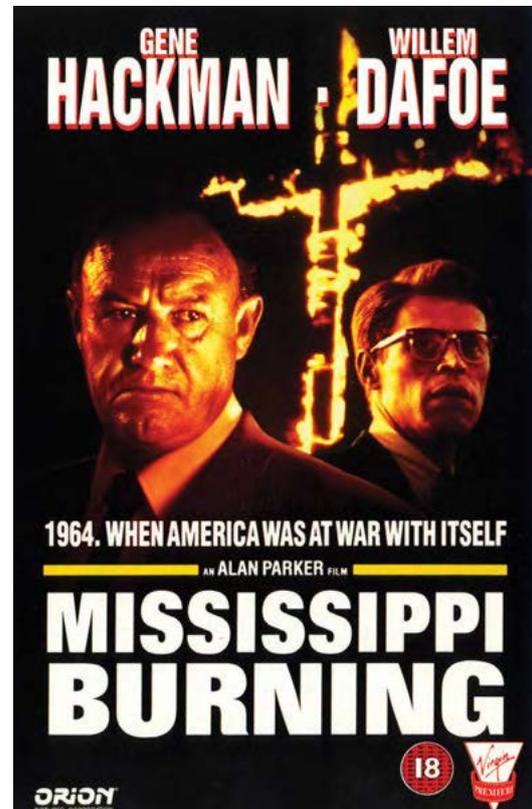
Source 12.9 Film poster for *Mississippi Burning*

Lynching

Lynching, one of the most callous actions of the Ku Klux Klan, involved kidnapping African-American men, tying a rope around their neck, and hanging them from a tree as a warning to others not to protest. Mob violence and murder were meant to punish and intimidate African Americans.

'Strange Fruit', 1939

This haunting song was written by a Jewish schoolteacher in the Bronx, Abel Meeropol, who wrote under the name of Lewis Allen. He originally wrote it as a poem, but later put music to it. The 'strange fruit' referred to in the song are the bodies of two African-American men, Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith, hanged during a lynching in 1930. The lyrics contrast the pastoral scenes of the South with the ugliness of racist violence.

Source 12.10 American Jazz singer Billie Holiday, who famously sang the controversial and haunting song 'Strange Fruit', about the lynching murder of two African-American men in 1930

The owner of Café Society, an integrated nightclub in New York, approached African-American jazz singer Billie Holiday to perform the song. She hesitantly agreed because it reminded her of her own father's death. The lyrics were so chilling that Holiday later said:

The first time I sang it, I thought it was a mistake. There wasn't even a patter of applause when I finished. Then a lone person began to clap nervously. Then suddenly everyone was clapping.

The dark imagery of 'Strange Fruit' struck a chord with listeners, and perhaps planted one of the first seeds in what became the civil rights movement 15 years later. Despite the popularity of the song, the lyrics were so controversial that all mainstream record companies refused to record it. Search online for the lyrics to 'Strange Fruit' and listen to Billie Holiday's powerful recording. Consider the use of symbolism describing the horrific event.

Focus questions

1 How does the song describe the 'strange fruit' and the trees that bear it?
2 What is the comparison that the song makes with the surrounding landscape?
3 Find a recording of the song and listen to it.

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Focus question

Talk the thought – what makes you say that?

This thinking routine helps convey that the best arguments have strong evidence to support them. Divide into pairs. The first person asks **'Would this song have been controversial?'** The second person responds. The first person then asks, 'So what do you see that makes you say that?' The second person then justifies their response using examples.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.3: VISUAL ANALYSIS

Source 12.11 An 1874 cartoon showing the Ku Klux Klan and the White League dominating African Americans
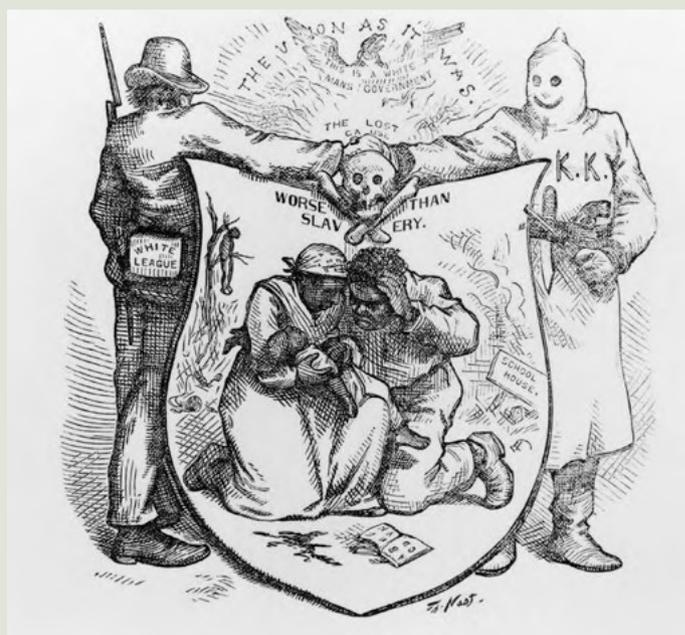
1. List two features of the image in Source 12.11 that show the strength of the Ku Klux Klan.
2. List three other features shown in this image of the poor treatment of African Americans.
3. Use your own knowledge from this chapter to explain how this system of discrimination developed.
4. Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of the image's point of view.

12.4 Desegregating transport

Event 1: Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–56

The boycott of buses in Montgomery, Alabama, sparked the civil rights movement that eventually defeated the Jim Crow laws 10 years later. The civil rights movement was a reaction to the cruelty and humiliation of the segregation laws. But the fire of protest and mass action was lit by the disobedience of Rosa Parks.

The spark: Rosa Parks sits down

Due to Jim Crow laws, Montgomery buses were divided into different sections: the first four rows for whites and the back rows for blacks. The seats in the middle of the bus could be used by blacks until those seats were needed by white passengers.

Source 12.12 Rosa Parks on a Montgomery bus

A MATTER OF FACT

Blacks had to pay the driver at the front, then leave the bus and re-enter at the back door. Bus drivers had police powers; they legally carried guns to ensure that blacks entered through the back door and sat at the back of the bus.

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Source 12.13 The booking photo of Rosa Parks when she was arrested for not giving up her seat on the bus

Rosa Parks and her husband Raymond were respected members of the African-American community and active members of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**. Shy and softly spoken, she became the 'Mother of the Civil Rights Movement' when travelling home on the bus on 1 December 1955.

She was sitting in the middle section, but as the bus was getting full, driver James Blake told four blacks to give up their seats for one white

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) activist group fighting for the equality of African Americans

passenger and stand at the back of the bus. Rosa Parks refused, as she was tired from a full day at work, and was arrested. But her small fine of $10 had massive consequences.

A MATTER OF FACT

The bus that Rosa Parks refused to move seats in is now on display in the Henry Ford Museum in Detroit.

The action: A 13-month boycott

Baptist Protestant Christian denomination popular in the United States; key beliefs include freedom of conscience, individual thought and adult baptism

News of Parks' arrest spread quickly. NAACP leaders immediately called the new minister of the Dexter Avenue **Baptist** Church, 26-year-old Martin Luther King Jr, and a meeting was held at the church that night to plan a protest.

Bus companies needed the fares from African-American passengers to stay in business. Given that African Americans made up more than 75 per cent of customers and therefore income for the bus companies, the leaders requested that no one ride on the buses for an entire day. Leaflets were printed and distributed all weekend to promote the Monday boycott. Black taxi drivers agreed to carry boycotters for the cost of a bus fare (10 cents).

Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) a pro-black organisation established during the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955

The boycott on 5 December was nearly 100 per cent effective. A massive meeting was held in King's church that night, and the **Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)** was formed; King later became its president. At the meeting, King challenged the crowds to continue the boycott, declaring:

When the history books are written in future generations the historians will say 'There lived a great people – a black people – who gave new meaning and dignity to civilization'.
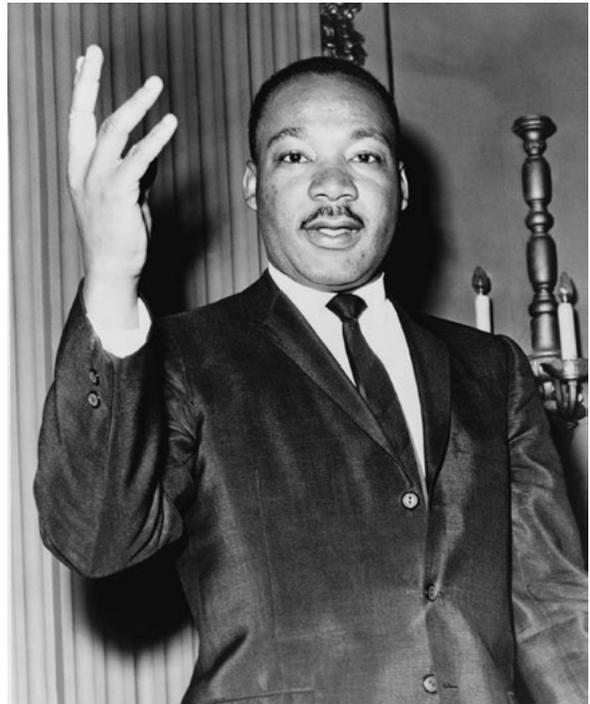
Source 12.14 Martin Luther King Jr became the most popular leader of the civil rights movement

The boycott continued. Day after day, African Americans walked to work, school and the shops. Carpool stops were set up, where people could meet to get rides to and from work. Protesters walked in rain and winter cold, sometimes walking to work before sunrise, and many were threatened with losing their jobs. The boycott became known all around the world.

I'm not walking for myself. I'm walking for my children and my grandchildren.

An older African-American woman who turned down the offer of a ride

I'm gonna walk, just as long as everybody else walks. I'm gonna walk till it's over … My feets is tired but my soul is rested.

A 72-year-old female boycotter talking to King

Source 12.15 Car pooling during the Montgomery Bus Boycott

Focus question

An excellent online resource for the boycott can be found via the link at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/?id=5886. This resource contains the front-page news articles from the *Montgomery Advertiser* and other valuable primary sources. Look it up and select a photo from the 'photo gallery'. Research the story behind this photo and present the story to your class.

Reactions to the boycott

Black determination to maintain the boycott was matched by white determination to stop it. Rosa Parks was sacked from her job within a month, and was arrested (along with King and 80 other boycotters) under the charge of 'conspiracy to conduct an illegal boycott'. Four African-American churches were bombed, as were the houses of King and Edgar Nixon, a leader of the boycott. Remarkably, standing in the burning remains of his house, King restated his belief in equality and non-violence:

We must meet hate with love. Remember, if I am stopped, this movement will not stop, because God is with the movement.

Victory

In June 1956, the boycotters went to the District Court and then successfully to the Supreme Court to argue that segregated buses were illegal. On 21 December 1956, all the leaders of the boycott rode integrated buses for the first time. After 381 days, the Montgomery Bus Boycott had ended.

Source 12.16 A scene from *The Long Walk Home*

Analysis of the Montgomery Bus Boycott

There were several outcomes of the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

1. It highlighted the success of non-violent protests.
2. African Americans realised that mass action worked. If they worked together, they were powerful.
3. King became an important leader and spokesperson in the civil rights movement.
4. Massive media coverage highlighted the issues of civil rights throughout America.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.4: MARTIN LUTHER KING SUMMARISES THE BOYCOTT

Martin Luther King effectively summarised how important the boycott was to the African-American community in a speech in 1956. He said:

> … *There comes a time when people get tired of being trampled … by … oppression. There comes a time … when people get tired of being plunged across the abyss of exploitation [and] nagging despair. The story of Montgomery is the story of fifty thousand Negroes who are willing to substitute tired feet for tired souls, and walk until the walls of injustice are crushed by the battering rams of historical necessity.*

1. In King's words, list two things that people were tired of.
2. Explain what you think King meant in your own words.
3. How did King explain the bus boycott?
4. Summarise the boycott in your own words.

Focus question

Find 'The Ballad of Momma Rosa Parks' by Nick Venet and Buddy Mize, 1963 and 'If You Miss Me at the Back of the Bus' by Carver Neblett. Read the lyrics carefully. Which song do you think is more effective?

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL
Martin Luther King's story (1929–1968)

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

His early years

The son of a Baptist minister, Martin King Jr was born in the southern state of Georgia in 1929. His mother was a schoolteacher and he had an older sister and younger brother. He was originally named Michael King but at the age of 5, his father changed both his and his son's name, to honour Martin Luther, the father of the Protestant religion, after a visit to Germany. Like his father, King Jr became a Baptist minister. He met Coretta Scott while studying to be a Baptist minister and married her in 1953. Together they had four children. By the age of 25, Martin was pastor of a church in Montgomery, Alabama, and became active in the bus boycott. Martin's prominence was thrust upon him rather than his seeking out leadership.

A MATTER OF FACT

Martin Luther King Jr skipped both Year 9 and 11 and graduated from secondary school at the age of 15.

His beliefs

Martin became passionate about civil rights while in college, and preached about the need to fight against racism and discrimination. In 1959 he travelled to India to visit the family of Mohandas Gandhi, who was a major influence on his philosophy, and the trip strengthened his commitment to Gandhi's methods of non-violent protest and civil disobedience.

A MATTER OF FACT

Martin Luther King was Time magazine's Man of the Year in 1963 and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964; he was the youngest recipient of the award until Pakistani activist for female education, Malala Yousafzai, received the award in 2014 at the age of 17.

His opponents

After the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the tone of the civil rights movement began to change, becoming more secular and confrontational. There was growing support within the movement for more militant methods of opposing white rule. Martin's message of non-violence, so successful for the previous decade, had lost popularity. When he began focusing on political issues rather than social problems, and speaking against the Vietnam War, public opinion started to turn against him, and he was often accused of being a communist. Malcolm X became the new face of the violent methods of protest.

Source 12.17 King with Malcolm X in 1964

His assassination, 4 April 1968

Martin planned marches in Memphis, Tennessee, to protest against poverty and support striking workers. He delivered a prophetic speech, his last ever, called 'I've been to the Mountaintop' where he stated that 'I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you'. The next day Martin, just 39 years old, was shot dead by a sniper's bullet while standing on a hotel balcony in Memphis. The shooter was a former prisoner called James Earl Ray, captured after a two-month man hunt; he died in prison 30 years later. At Martin's funeral, his friend Benjamin Mays delivered the eulogy.

> *Martin Luther King Jr believed in a united America. He believed that the wall of separation brought on by legal and de facto segregation and discrimination based on race and color, could be eradicated. As he said in his Washington Monument address: 'I Have a Dream'.*

Source 12.18 An FBI wanted poster for James Earl Ray

A MATTER OF FACT

US President Ronald Reagan declared in 1983 the third Monday every January, close to King's birthday on 15 January, to be a national holiday in America to commemorate King's influence.

Event 2: Student sit-ins, 1960

There are only two languages that the white politicians and the power structure understand. One is the power of the almighty dollar bill. When those cash registers are not ringing, they understand what you're talking about.

Ruby Hurley in a speech in Atlanta, 1961

The Montgomery Bus Boycott victory seemed to signal that the South was entering a new era of racial equality, yet life had not changed by the end of the 1950s. A group of four teenage friends believed in the power of non-violent direct action and decided to protest segregated lunch counters, where whites and African Americans were served from different counters in the same venue.

At 5 pm on 1 February 1960, they began their first '**sit-in**' at the whites-only counter at the big Woolworths store in the town of Greensboro, North Carolina; it was a high-profile store in a busy shopping area. The manager refused to serve them, but they stayed at the counter until the store closed. Within four days, more than 300 students had joined the protest, which attracted the attention of newspapers and television reporters. Woolworths eventually allowed African Americans to be served at any lunch counter.

sit-in peaceful student protest during the early 1960s to protest against segregation

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Source 12.19 First day of the Greensboro Woolworths sit-in

The sit-in concept caught the imagination of high school and college students. Sit-ins spread so quickly that over the next year there were 70 000 active protesters involved in 100 cities. The key feature of the sit-ins was that protesters were totally peaceful. Once they were refused service, they just sat there patiently and politely. As with many civil rights protests, though, white opponents were just the opposite. White segregationists would beat the protesters, knock them off their chairs, burn them with cigarettes, tip drinks and plates of food on their heads, and cover them with flour and eggs. Amazingly, the protesters did not fight back. But police still arrested 3600 protesting students for breaking the law, while ignoring the white attacks.

Sit-ins were so successful that similar protests were held: swim-ins at swimming pools, read-ins at libraries, watch-ins at cinemas, kneel-ins at churches and even shoe-ins at shoe-shining shops!

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.5: THE DOS AND DON'TS OF SIT-INS

Students involved in sit-ins were taught how to remain non-violent and how to protect themselves if they were attacked. Protesters were also taught from a list of dos and don'ts.

Source 12.20 Dos and don'ts of sit-ins

Dos	Don'ts
Do show yourself in a friendly way at all times.	Don't strike back or swear if attacked.
Do sit straight and always face the counter.	Don't laugh out loud.
Do refer all questions to your leader in a polite manner.	Don't hold conversations with other customers.
Do remember the teachings of Jesus Christ, Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Junior.	Don't leave your seat until your leader has given you permission.
	Don't block entrances or aisles of stores.

1 In your own words, summarise what protesters were expected to do during a sit-in.
2 In your own words, summarise what protesters were expected not to do during a sit-in.
3 Explain whether you think the ideas in this list were a good way to fight against segregation.

Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'What are the problems with this strategy of non-violence?'** A student responds. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

Research question

Watch *The Help* (2011), a movie set in the early 1960s about a combined project detailing the experiences of black maids in Jackson, Mississippi, collated by a white woman. As a class, discuss how racism ruined personal relationships and the contradictions in how the employers treat the 'Help'.
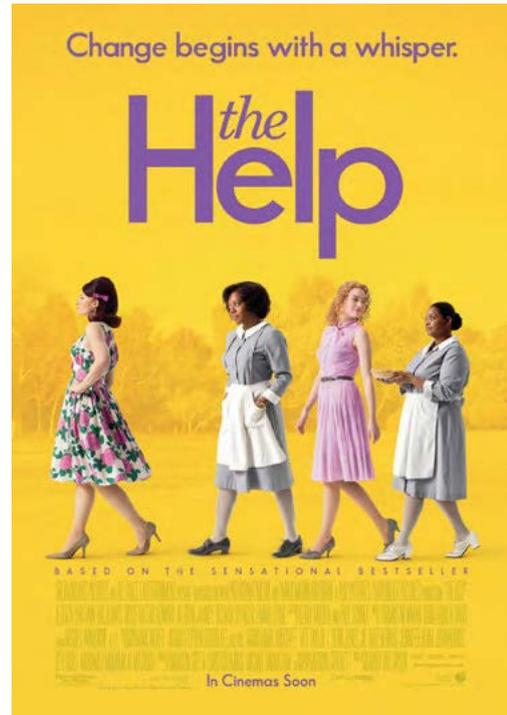
Source 12.21 Movie poster of *The Help*

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.6: TRUE OR FALSE?

Decide whether the following statements are true or false.
1 Sit-ins began because integration was not being introduced in the South.
2 The first sit-in took place on 1 February 1960 in Woolworths.
3 Within four days, over 300 people had joined in sit-ins.
4 Sit-ins were significant because they received mass media coverage.
5 Sit-in protesters were taught to fight back if attacked.
6 Sit-ins were peaceful events.
7 Sit-ins did not work because whites in the South refused to integrate.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.7: VISUAL ANALYSIS

This photo was taken during the first 1960 sit-in and was printed in newspapers all over the world.

Source 12.22 A white student pouring drinks on the heads of peaceful sit-in protesters

Event 3: Freedom Rides, 1961

Students identified another way in which they could protest about segregation. Interstate buses travelled through states with different racial laws. For example, in the North passengers could sit anywhere on a bus and use any facilities, but when the bus travelled to the South these same passengers had to use separate facilities.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) a civil rights organisation founded in 1942 that played a central part in the civil rights movement

James Farmer Jr, founder of the group **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**, led a protest to challenge these laws. The plan was for a large group of both black and white students to travel from Washington, DC in the North to New Orleans in the South in May 1961. Journalists would accompany the group to report the outcomes.
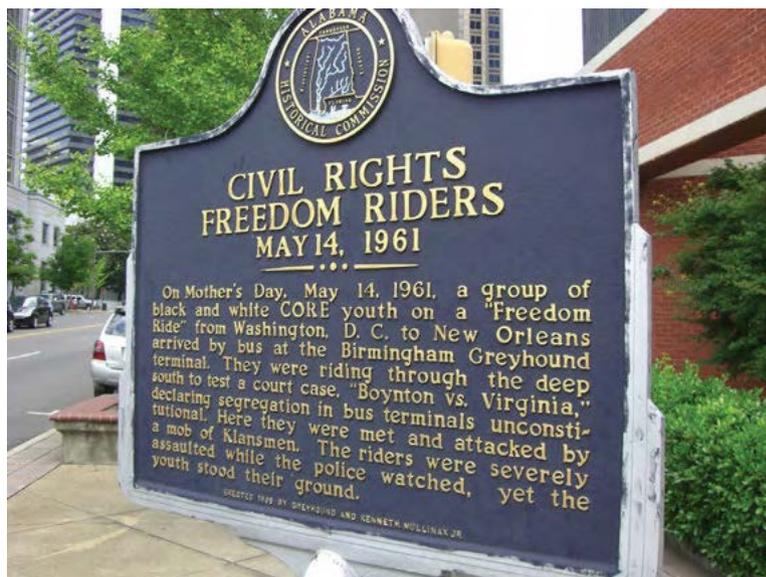
Source 12.23 The Freedom Rider plaque in Downtown, Birmingham

Reactions to the Freedom Rides

The response to the Freedom Riders was hostile – more than the protesters could have ever expected: protestors were savagely clubbed and buses attacked with rocks and firebombs, while injured protestors were refused treatment at hospitals and local police made no arrests. However, the attack in Birmingham, Alabama was the worst. Birmingham was the most segregated city in America, and was controlled by its chief of police, **Eugene 'Bull' Connor**, who had deliberately not arranged any protection for the Freedom Riders. Waiting at the first

Eugene 'Bull' Connor aggressive Chief of Police in Birmingham, Alabama

bus stop was a mob of angry whites armed with steel bars, bats and chains. Heads were cracked open and many protesters were knocked unconscious. The mob especially targeted the white students involved in the Freedom Rides; Jim Zwerg was beaten so brutally that his teeth were knocked out, his back nearly broken and his face temporarily disfigured. He later said:

We are dedicated to this. We are willing to accept beatings. We are willing to accept death. Segregation must be broken down.

White protester Jim Zwerg from his hospital bed

In contrast to this furious opposition to the Freedom Rides, times were changing in the White House. President Dwight Eisenhower had been replaced by the young liberal president John F. Kennedy, who immediately desegregated all interstate travel.

Source 12.24 One of the buses after being firebombed

The Freedom Rides influenced Australian university students Gary Williams and Charles Perkins to conduct their own Freedom Ride in February 1965. They targeted a swimming pool in the New South Wales town of Moree that would not allow Aboriginal people. After two protest visits, the pool was finally integrated.

Source 12.25 The Freedom Rides provoked incredible anger. Here is the white 'hate bus'.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.8: USING DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

Choose and complete ONE of the following options.

1   Analytical perspective

Develop an A4 page 'Fact file' explaining the following about either the Montgomery Bus Boycott, sit-ins or Freedom Rides:

- background
- actual events
- significance.

2   Creative perspective

Create your own character to write a personal perspective of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, sit-ins or Freedom Rides. Here are some suggestions of the type of character you could decide to be:

- an African-American protester in any of the events
- a white supporter of civil rights action in any of the events
- a white attacker in any of the events.

3   Leadership perspective

Write a biography of one of the leaders involved in these events. Explore their background, motivations and involvement.

- Rosa Parks, whose arrest started the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
- Edgar Nixon, leader of the NAACP and involved in the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
- Jo Ann Robinson, President of the African-American Women's Group during the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
- Ralph Abernathy, a leader of the MIA during the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
- Julian Bond, who coordinated sit-ins in Atlanta, Georgia.
- John Lewis, who coordinated sit-ins in Nashville, Tennessee.
- James Farmer, Executive Director of CORE, who organised the Freedom Rides.
- John F. Kennedy, President of the United States from 1960.

4   Alternative perspective – white supporters of the movement

Research and write a summary of the role that whites played in supporting the movement. For example:

- Virginia Durr or Juliette Morgan in the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Jim Zwerg in the Freedom Rides.

12.5 **Desegregating education**

Event 1: *Brown vs Board of Education*, 1951

The schooling system was one of the most visible areas of discrimination. Thurgood Marshall was a high-profile African-American lawyer who worked for the NAACP. He believed that an equal education system was the key to defeating segregation. His goal was to desegregate all education, from kindergartens to universities. In 1951, he got his chance.

Sick of walking six busy blocks and of not being able to enrol his eight-year-old daughter, Linda, in a local white school, Oliver Brown persuaded seven other African-American families to sue the Board of

Education in 1951 over the practice of segregated education. Instead of arguing that conditions were unequal – for example, that it was unfair to have fewer tables and chairs than white schools – Oliver Brown and Thurgood Marshall attacked the entire existence of segregated schooling. They argued that children could not get an equal education in segregated schools.

To prove their point, they called on psychologist Professor Kenneth Clark, the first African-American professor at the City College of New York. He did an experiment on the impact of segregated schooling using two dolls, one pink and the other brown, which he presented to African-American children.

Source 12.26 Thurgood Marshall

PROFESSOR CLARK: I used these methods which I told you about – the Negro and White dolls – which were identical in every respect save skin color. I presented these dolls to them and I asked them the following questions in the following order: 'Show me the doll that you like best or that you'd like to play with,' 'Show me the doll that is the "nice" doll,' 'Show me the doll that looks "bad",' and then the following questions also: 'Give me the doll that looks like a white child,' 'Give me the doll that looks like a colored child,' 'Give me the doll that looks like you.'

JUDGE: 'Like you?'

PROFESSOR CLARK: 'Like you.' I wanted to get the child's free expression of his opinions and feelings before I had him identified with one of these two dolls. I found that of the children between the ages of six and nine whom I tested, which were a total of sixteen in number, that ten of those children chose the white doll as their preference; the doll which they liked best. Ten of them also considered the white doll a 'Nice' doll. And, I think you have to keep in mind that these two dolls are absolutely identical in every respect except skin color. Eleven of these sixteen children chose the brown doll as the doll which looked 'bad.' This is consistent with previous results which we have obtained testing over three hundred children, and we interpret it to mean that the Negro child accepts as early as six, seven or eight the negative stereotypes about his own group . . . The conclusion which I was forced to reach was that these children in Clarendon County, like other human beings who are subjected to an obviously inferior status in the society in which they live, have been definitely harmed in the development of their personalities; that the signs of instability in their personalities are clear.

Source: Published in G. Beggs, 'Novel Expert Evidence In Federal Civil Rights Litigation', *The American University Law Review*, issue 45, 1995.

Focus question

1 In the extract above, what were Professor Clark's main questions?
2 What were the results?
3 What were his main conclusions?

Brown and Marshall lost the case in the Kansas District Court, but appealed the decision in the Supreme Court. On 17 May 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren read out the decision. He declared that Professor Clark's doll tests had been an important factor and that all nine judges had reached a unanimous decision that separate education systems was unequal. Segregation in education had ended! Within a year, over 500 school districts all over the United States had desegregated. But the ruling did not create peace and equality; instead, it started a war.

Event 2: Little Rock Nine, 1957

The Supreme Court ordered all schools to desegregate 'with all deliberate speed'. But many schools in the southern states, furious at the ruling, refused. White Citizens' Councils were formed to oppose integration, and the KKK became more active than ever. Nine intelligent and resilient black students – known as the Little Rock Nine – were placed in the provocative circumstance of being enrolled in the white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Action 1: Governor Faubus begins the fight

Instead of protecting the black students, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus called in the Arkansas National Guard to encircle the school and use guns and bayonets to physically stop the black students from entering. By 7.30 am on 4 September 1957, hundreds of angry white protesters had gathered outside the school.

The mob was chanting 'Niggers go home!' and 'Two, four, six, eight, we ain't gonna integrate!' The famous photo of student Elizabeth Eckford (see Source 12.27) was taken as she walked back to the bus stop after being barred from school. It was published throughout the world as a powerful image representing the whole racial problem in the United States.

Source 12.27 Elizabeth Eckford, one of the Little Rock Nine

Cambridge University Press

A MATTER OF FACT

Elizabeth Eckford suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder after the event and could not work for many years. The white girl screaming at Elizabeth was Hazel Massery. Forty years after the crisis, Hazel apologised to Elizabeth for her hate. Elizabeth graciously accepted the apology.

Action 2: President Eisenhower fights back against Governor Faubus

President Eisenhower was furious with Governor Faubus for acting against the law. Eisenhower ordered 1000 soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division to Central High, to personally escort the students to school in order to uphold the Constitution and stop mob rule.

Action 3: Bullies rule

Governor Faubus eventually backed down and allowed the black students to study at Central High School. The nine students were escorted by armed guards but were bullied terribly by white students for the whole year. They sat by themselves most lunchtimes and were constantly harassed.

Action 4: Faubus fights back – the 'lost year'

Once the 1957–58 school year ended, Governor Faubus took drastic action. Rather than integrate as ordered, he closed down all white schools in the Little Rock district. Students could not go to school. Instead, Faubus established 'private' schools which could make up their own rules, one of which was that African-American students were not welcome.

Source 12.28 The Little Rock Nine with counsellor Daisy Bates (back row, second from right)

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Source 12.29 Testimonies from the Little Rock Nine

Student	Result	Quote
Minniejean Brown	Expelled from Central High in 1958.	'If we knew what it was going to be, we would have been too scared to go.'
Elizabeth Eckford	When Faubus closed down the school, she moved to St Louis, Missouri, studied by correspondence, and went on to complete a BA in History.	'I'm the only one who says I wouldn't do it again.'
Ernest Green	The first African American ever to graduate from Central Rock High in May 1958. Barely anyone in the audience of 4500 clapped at his graduation.	'I knew that once I received that diploma, I had cracked the wall … I had accomplished what I had come there for.'
Melba Pattillo Beals	Left Central High when it closed and finished her final year in Montgomery. Wrote two books about her experiences.	'To this day, all of the Little Rock Nine have residual effects from the stress of it. But the experience is also a core of steel in my spine. It made me unafraid and unaffected by what people might call me.'
Jefferson Thomas	Graduated from Central High in 1960.	'If Little Rock taught us nothing more, it taught us that problems can make us better. Much better.'
Thelma Mothershed	Finished high school by correspondence in 1958.	'I think it helped me because I'm able to accept people for whoever they are, whatever they look like.'
Terrence Roberts	Moved to Los Angeles after only one year at Central High.	Describing the white mob: 'They ranged in age from very young to very old. Every visage was twisted, grotesque. And the words that came from their mouths were shocking. They really wanted to kill us.'
Carlotta Walls	Left Central High after one year, but returned in 1959 and graduated in 1960.	'I had to have that sheet of paper. It was an achievement. I helped change the educational system.'
Gloria Ray Karlmark	Left Central High when it was closed and, ironically, completed her education at a newly integrated school, also called Central High School, in Missouri.	'At the beginning of the day, we were nine. At the end of the day, we would check to see that we were still nine.'

Focus question

Talk the thought – the five whys

This thinking routine encourages you to explore your own ideas more deeply by providing more reasons for your ideas. In pairs, groups or as a whole class, answer the following question: **'Was the personal sacrifice for these nine students too high?'**
A student responds. The teacher or partner asks 'Why?' After each student response comes the question 'Why?' Compare the quality of the first response with the last.

Source 12.30 *Testament*, a sculpture of the Little Rock Nine in the Arkansas State Capitol grounds

A MATTER OF FACT

Images of the Little Rock Nine were placed on postage stamps in 2005, and statues of them were erected on the Arkansas State Capitol grounds (see Source 12.30). They were awarded the Congressional Gold Medal in 1999.

12.6 How did whites argue against integration?

Not all whites were violent or hated the African-American population. African Americans were taught that they were inferior; similarly, whites were taught that they were superior. These perceptions were reinforced daily for both groups. Theoretical stereotypes retain their power unless they are broken down by personal experiences. Since many whites did not have personal friendships with African Americans, there were arguments used by many white leaders that were genuinely believed by the majority of white citizens.

- *Argument 1* – There was a good working relationship between the two races that could be harmed by integration.
- *Argument 2* – 'Outside agitators' were ruining this good relationship and promoting division.
- *Argument 3* – Many people who supported integration were communists or communist sympathisers. These labels provoked many fearful reactions from American citizens, given that the civil rights movement occurred during the Cold War.
- *Argument 4* – African Americans themselves did not want integration.

12.7 The pivotal year, 1963

No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come.

Victor Hugo

The Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 had sparked something unique – a popular revolution. While there had been civil rights activism over the past century, it was after 1955 that the African-American population realised the power of collective action. The year 1963 marked the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 that ended slavery. It was a pivotal year due to major marches that were supported by a range of protesters, attracted significant media attention and cemented the reputation of Martin Luther King as the face of the civil rights leadership. The year 1963 signalled that the time for equality and integration had finally arrived in America.

Event 1: The Birmingham Riots

We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering.

Martin Luther King, 1963

Background

On 3 April 1963, King arrived in Birmingham, 'the most segregated city in America', for a series of protest marches that signalled his intention to begin a heavyweight fight with Police Chief Bull Connor, an outright enemy of civil rights. In fact, Connor warned King that 'blood would run in the streets of Birmingham' before he would agree to changing the Jim Crow laws. King preached to an Atlanta congregation that:

If we can crack Birmingham, I am convinced we can crack the south. Birmingham is a symbol of segregation for the entire south.

King's philosophy of fighting was based on Gandhi's concept of *satyagraha*, which Gandhi had used in India to achieve independence from Britain. The core elements of *satyagraha* were identifying unjust laws, breaking them to provoke a response and then accepting the consequences. When it came to Birmingham and Bull Connor, brutal and vicious consequences were inevitable. While marching was extremely dangerous, a future of segregation was even more dangerous.

A timeline of the main events is listed in Source 12.31.

Source 12.31 Main events in Birmingham, 1963

3–6 April	Sit-in demonstrators are arrested.
6–9 April	Marchers are arrested.
10 April	Connor obtains a court injunction making all street marches illegal.
12 April	King and many others are arrested by Connor for marching and thrown into jail. King is placed in solitary confinement.
20 April	King is released from jail and continues marching.

Response to the marches

The whole point of the Birmingham protests was to provoke a response, highlighting the need for equality – and Bull Connor did not disappoint. Connor ordered two brutal attacks on the marchers. First, he used high-pressure fire hoses that literally blasted the protesters along the streets and into buildings, resulting in severe grazes and injuries. Second, he ordered police dogs to attack the protesters, tearing at their arms and legs. When the protesters tried to protect themselves, they were beaten by the police. Crucially, television cameras and photographers captured these vivid images and broadcast them around the world, highlighting the horrible face of racism.

In a scene of madness, Bull Connor actually rode through the streets in an armoured tank, yelling violent and racist remarks through a megaphone.

Two days later, thousands of marchers took to the streets again, only to be confronted by waiting firemen and police dogs. This time, the protesters knelt down in front of their attackers and prayed. Connor ordered his men to attack the kneeling protesters – but they disobeyed. Instead, in an amazing act of respect, the firemen and police allowed the protesters to continue marching down the main street. Non-violence had won.

End of the crisis

By mid-May, city officials and businesses agreed to integrate Birmingham and to create more jobs for African Americans. Bull Connor stepped down from office.

Source 12.32 This photograph by Associated Press photographer Bill Hudson of a high school student being attacked by dogs was published on the front page of the *New York Times* on 4 May 1963

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Talk the thought – the five whys

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

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.9: 'LETTER FROM BIRMINGHAM JAIL'

While King was in jail from 12 April, a letter in a local newspaper, written by eight white ministers from Alabama, criticised King as an outsider and condemned his protests in Birmingham for 'spreading hatred between the races'. King's lawyers smuggled a pen into the jail, and King wrote a long reply on toilet paper and in the margins of newspapers. His response to these white church leaders was also published, and became one of the most famous documents in the history of the civil rights movement. Here is a short extract.

King's attitude to non-violence protests

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham … Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States …

We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and the national community … We began a series of workshops on nonviolence, and we repeatedly asked ourselves: 'Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?' 'Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?' We decided to schedule our direct action program for the Easter season, realizing that except for Christmas, this is the main shopping period of the year …

You may well ask: 'Why direct action? Why sit ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?' You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored …

The purpose of our direct action program is to create a situation so crisis packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. I therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

Focus question

Talk the thought – the four Cs

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

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

Event 2: Martin Luther King's 'I Have a Dream' speech

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

Given the media exposure of the Birmingham campaign, activist A. Philip Randolph advocated a massive march to put pressure on politicians to pass the Civil Rights Bill. The march was organised for Washington, DC, where the United States Congress met. President Kennedy was initially against the march, telling the organisers that:

> *Some of these people are looking for an excuse to be against us. I don't want to give any of them a chance to say, 'Yes I'm for the Bill, but I'm damned if I will vote for it at the point of a gun.'*

The planning for the march went ahead anyway and received Kennedy's reluctant support. The organisers expected 100 000 protesters, but were amazed when 250 000 black and white Americans turned out to show their support.

The heart of the American Negro was revealed today. This was an unforgettable demonstration. It was dignified, extraordinarily disciplined and intensely patriotic.

Senator Jacob Javits

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Source 12.33 The march in front of the Washington Monument

The march was a tremendous success because the stereotype that African Americans were illiterate and violent was shattered due to the intelligent, organised and patriotic flavour of the day's events.

Great speeches

Ideas only matter because human beings have them. Great speeches need both strong content and engaging delivery to win over an audience. Source 12.34 lists some characteristics of a strong speaker.

Source 12.34 Characteristics of a strong speaker

Style	Content
• Charisma – must have the power to inspire and attract others • Passion – must use strong emotion and totally believe in their topic • Sincerity – must be honest and genuine • Language – must have a confident vocabulary • Voice – raising and lowering the voice, increasing and decreasing speed and even pauses are powerful	• Authoritative – must have a convincing knowledge of their topic • Relevance – the topic must link the life experiences of the audience • Stories – connect the audience with the meaning of the message • Solutions – must provide answers to problems in order to create hope • Symbols – imagery is more memorable than analysis • Inclusive – words like 'we', 'you' and 'us' make everyone feel involved

Focus question

Research some other famous speeches. Which of these elements did they contain?

It was King's 'I Have a Dream' speech that was the most memorable event of the march. This speech was delivered on the steps at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC on 28 August 1963. Martin Luther King's 'I Have a Dream' speech included many of the elements described in Source 12.34 and was voted the most inspiring speech of the twentieth century. When King had nearly finished his prepared speech, a fellow activist called out from the crowd: 'Tell us your dream, Martin. Tell us your dream.' King looked up and began an impromptu speech, sharing with the crowd his dream for a more equal American society. It was full of powerful imagery and repetition to help convince people of the need for integration.

Focus question

Write and present to the class your own speech about an issue that is very important to you. Use the tips listed in Source 12.34 for presenting a great speech.

A MATTER OF FACT

Less than a month after King's dream of peace and unity, four young girls were killed in a bomb attack on a Birmingham church.

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.10: KING'S 'I HAVE A DREAM' SPEECH

Locate Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech online and complete these tasks after you have finished reading the famous speech.

1 Identify examples of metaphor by highlighting or underlining them in red.
2 Identify examples of repetition by highlighting or underlining them in blue.
3 Create a timeline outlining the events that led to this famous speech.
4 Describe the events that followed this speech. Was King's dream realised?
5 Explain the effect of the unscripted sections of the speech.
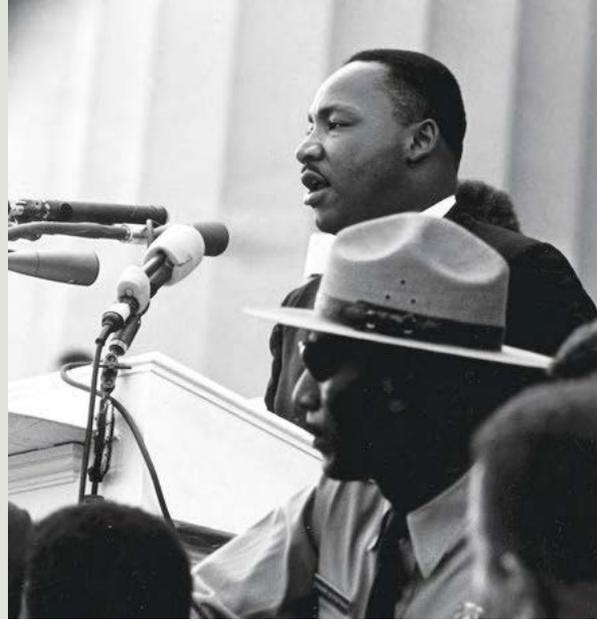
Source 12.35 Martin Luther King delivering his famous speech

APPARTS model for primary source analysis

This is a helpful model to analyse primary sources. The heading is really suitable, because analysis is pulling apart a document or image, to look at the separate parts of a source, so that we understand it better. Remember the APPARTS model as a way to analyse, or pull apart, a document or image.

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

Source: 'Improving student comprehension: primary sources', *The AP Vertical Teams Guide for Social Studies.* The College Board (2001): 15–17

Focus question

Answer each of the questions in the APPARTS model in reference to King's 'I Have a Dream' speech'.

12.8 Civil Rights Act passed, 1964

The crowning act of the civil rights movement was the passing of the Civil Rights Bill in 1964. One year later, in what is considered to be one of his best speeches, President Lyndon Johnson introduced the idea of a Voting Rights Act to Congress:

Rarely are we met with a challenge … to the values and the purposes and the meaning of our beloved Nation. The issue of equal rights for American Negroes is such as an issue … the command of the Constitution is plain. It is wrong – deadly wrong – to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country.

The Act came into effect in 1965. The impact of this Act was dramatic. In the longer term, far more African Americans were elected into public office, and in 2008 the first African-American President, Barack Obama, was elected. As Martin Luther King had correctly argued, demonstrations served a good purpose, but real change would only come through the power of the government.

Source 12.37 President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act in the White House. Martin Luther King is in the audience just behind Johnson.

A MATTER OF FACT

President Barack Obama gave a speech on 18 January 2010 to a small group of African–American seniors and their grandchildren about the impact and legacy of the civil rights movement. Listen to the speech via the online link at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/?id=5887.

Source 12.38
President Johnson after signing the Voting Rights Act in 1965 with Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.11: FISH BONE!

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

ANALYSIS ACTIVITY 12.12: USING HISTORICAL TERMS

Good history writing is succinct, using specific terminology and examples. Write a paragraph response to the following question and include all the words in bold.

Using information from the start of the chapter, what is the system of discrimination that developed in the United States?

- **constitution**
- **Jim Crow laws**
- **Plessy**
- **segregation**
- **Ku Klux Klan**
- **lynching**
- **'Strange Fruit'**

The story so far

- *Jim Crow laws:* A series of laws that divided and discriminated against African Americans, from where people could sit on a bus to who they could love.
- *Desegregating transport:* The Montgomery Bus Boycott sparked the civil rights movement from 1955 and was followed by the non-violent protests of the sit-ins and Freedom Rides.
- *Desegregating education:* Oliver Brown successfully sued the Board of Education and then nine brave students faced mob violence in Little Rock in a successful attempt to integrate education in practice.
- *1963:* This was a critical breakthrough year due to Bull O'Connor's ugly violence in Birmingham and the subsequent March on Washington, including Martin Luther King's brilliant impromptu speech. Both hastened the acceptance of desegregation.
- *The Civil Rights Bill* was passed in 1964.

CHAPTER REVIEW

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1 What were the Jim Crow laws?
2 Who were the members of the Ku Klux Klan?
3 How was transport desegregated?
4 How was education desegregated?

5 Why was 1963 such a crucial year?

6 When and how were civil rights finally achieved?

ANALYSE THE DOCUMENT'S VIEWS

American politician, Senator Wayne Morse, gave a speech in the Senate after the March on Washington, on 29 August 1963.

> *There is much at stake in this historic battle. Time is wasting. We do not have much time. Speaker after speaker this afternoon did not hesitate to use the ugly word and say that a revolution is on in America – a peaceful revolution. But we never know the ultimate course of revolutions, if people who are revolting believe their rights are constantly faced with one setback after another. I shall continue to pray that this revolution may be resolved quickly, to remove the danger of any threat to the Republic, and that it may be done within our constitutional process of government by law. But that is up to us, the politicians. We shall have much to answer for if we start to water down, to duck and hedge, weave and equivocate, in respect to the rightful demands of the colored people of America.*

1 List two phrases Morse uses to describe the civil rights movement.

2 List two actions Morse warns the Senators not to do when debating the Civil Rights Bill.

3 Is Morse for or against the Civil Rights Bill? How do you know that from his speech?

4 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the aim, content and impact of the March on Washington.

5 Using your knowledge from this chapter, explain the strengths and weaknesses of Senator Morse's point of view.

EXTENDED-RESPONSE QUESTION

Write a considered response to this statement: *'Changing laws is difficult. Changing hearts and minds is impossible.'*
To what extent do you agree or disagree? Provide detailed examples to support your answer.

- Starting thinking – is it difficult to change laws? Is this because it requires ideas to be voted in by politicians in order to become a new law? Think about how long it took to vote in new civil rights laws and voting laws for African Americans.
- Think about how difficult it is to change people's hearts and minds. This is hard because our ideas are formed through our parents, social/economic/religious backgrounds, life experiences and environment. We all do the best we know how to. So to change these deep feelings and thinking means changing our whole understanding of life.
- After considering these two issues, to what *extent* do you agree with the topic? Maybe it is easy to change laws once the difficulty of changing hearts is achieved. Maybe it is never possible to change everybody, but changing enough people, and people who matter, is enough.
- Use examples to support your ideas. Jim Crow laws, KKK, lynching and *Plessy vs Ferguson* are all examples of attitudes against integration. The bus boycott, Little Rock Nine, sit-ins, Freedom Rides and Birmingham Riots are all examples of attempts to change the hearts and minds of the white population in the United States. The March on Washington in 1963, with 250 000 in attendance, shows that many whites had changed their attitudes by this stage. Only then were the 1964 and 1965 laws changed by President Johnson.

Glossary

African National Congress (ANC) formed in 1912 and still in existence today as a major political party in South Africa

Afrikaans Dutch-derived language brought to Africa by white settlers

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

ANC Women's League formed in 1943 to facilitate the involvement of black women in the work of the ANC

ANC Youth League formed in 1944 by Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo as a response to the conservative approach of the leaders of the ANC itself

Anschluss the name given to Germany's overtaking of Austria in 1938

apartheid a system that discriminates on the basis of race and separates races from one another

appeasement the failed policy of negotiation adopted by France and Britain to try to avoid full-scale war

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

Aryan in Nazi ideology a Caucasian not of Jewish descent

Bantustan homeland; under apartheid law in South Africa people were relegated to separate homelands

Baptist Protestant Christian denomination popular in the United States; key beliefs include freedom of conscience, individual thought and adult baptism

baroque a style of European architecture, music and art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries characterised by its free style and use of classical sculpture

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) an anti-apartheid activist group formed in the mid-1960s after the crackdown on earlier black political movements in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre

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

blockade barriers stopping movement of people or goods for political reasons

bootlegging the illegal production and sale of liquor

capitalism a political and economic system in which production and distribution are privately owned or operated for profit

casualty a person killed or wounded in war

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) the spy agency from the United States during the Cold War

civil unrest disruptions to social order, typically caused by protest and political and social problems

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

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

conformity compliant behaviour, often motivated by fear of rejection or the social consequences that might arise from non-compliance

Congress Alliance a group that combined several groups that opposed the South African government, including the ANC

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) a civil rights organisation founded in 1942 that played a central part in the civil rights movement

conjunction two (or more) events occurring at the same point in time

coup d'état overthrow of a government by forces within that government, such as the military

Cuban Missile Crisis a 13-day standoff between the Soviet Union and United States in October 1962 over the Soviet Union providing missiles to Cuba

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

Deep South refers to the states in the South that were deeply conservative about traditional society, which promoted that whites were superior

détente the label given to the 'thawing out period' of the geo-political tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States

Domino Theory United States' belief that if South Vietnam fell to communism, then all other surrounding countries would also fall to communism, like a row of dominoes

Draft Resistance Movement formed in the 1960s to protest against the conscription 'draft'

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

Eugene 'Bull' Connor aggressive Chief of Police in Birmingham, Alabama

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

fictitious capital a concept used by Karl Marx to describe value, in the form of credit, shares, debt, speculation and various forms of paper money

flappers women who wore the new fashions of the 1920s such as short dresses and bobbed hair

Freedom Charter idealistic list of rights drawn up by the Congress Alliance in 1955

Gestapo Secret State Police whose main role was to enforce obedience to the government through arrests and imprisonment

glasnost a Soviet policy initiated by Gorbachev that attempted to make the government more open and encouraged constructive dialogue with Soviet citizens

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

guerrilla unconventional warfare or tactics, where individuals or small groups use raids, ambushes and stealth to attack and destabilise larger and more powerful forces

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

indoctrination the instruction or training of someone to believe and support a particular set of ideas or philosophies, often through highly emotive or persuasive means

isolationism a national policy where a nation stays out of the disputes and affairs of other nations

Jim Crow Laws discriminatory laws that divided society into 'whites' and 'blacks'

Khmer Rouge a murderous group that controlled Cambodia from 1975–78

Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (KGB) the spy agency from the Soviet Union during the Cold War. It translates as Committee for State Security.

Ku Klux Klan (KKK) a race-based group that actively fought for the supremacy of whites

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

Lebensraum German word meaning 'living space'

Marshall Plan US strategy to make capitalism attractive by rebuilding Western Europe after World War II

militant person or group prepared to engage in aggressive or physical conflict for a cause

Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) a pro-black organisation established during the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955

monumental of great importance, significance, extent or size

moonshine illegally made and distributed distilled spirits such as whisky

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) activist group fighting for the equality of African Americans

National Socialism (Nationalism) and collective responsibility to work together to return the nation to its former glory (socialism)

New Deal a series of projects and programs introduced by President Roosevelt from 1933 to stabilise the economy after the Great Depression

normalcy the state of being normal, standard or typical

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) an alliance formed in 1949 between the United States and various European states for the purpose of collective defence against common enemies

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

patriotism deep love of one's country

perestroika a Russian term literally meaning 'restructuring', *perestroika* was one of Gorbachev's major reform policies from the late 1980s, designed to reform the Soviet Union's struggling communist economy by introducing capitalistic practices borrowed from the West

persecution any form of undeserved punishment

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Prohibition period from 1920–33 when alcohol was banned by the US government

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

psychology the mental state or attitude of a person or group

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

rearmament the production of more weapons and military equipment to regain military strength

reforms changes or developments to a previous way of doing things

Reichsmusikkammer the Reich Music Chamber, an institution created to promote 'good German music' and suppress 'degenerate' music

Reichstag German name for the parliament with democratically elected members

resistance movement individuals and groups who unite in the common cause of opposing a specific government

revolution an uprising that overthrows the political authority of the day

Rivonia Trial the collection of Treason Trials of 1963–64 in Rivonia where the leaders of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, Mandela among them, were tried and sentenced to life imprisonment

Romanov family dynasty that ruled Russia from 1613 to 1917

self-determination the right of a country to determine its own social, economic and political agendas

sit-in peaceful student protest during the early 1960s to protest against segregation

solitary confinement imprisonment without contact with other prisoners

South African Students Organization (SASO) an organisation made up of students who resisted apartheid through political means; formed in 1968

speakeasies illegal but popular clubs that served alcohol

SS or *Schutzstaffel*, or security squadron – a feared elite personal guard to Hitler

state of emergency a situation in which the government suspends normal procedures due to danger or disaster

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

Sudetenland the German-speaking area of Czechoslovakia

talkies the term used for the first films with audible dialogue

Third Reich the label given by the Nazis to their government

totalitarian referring to a government that has absolute authority over the public and private lives of its people

Treason Trials a government response to the Freedom Charter of 1955 where ANC leaders were tried between 1956 and 1961 under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, which outlawed the South African Communist Party (SACP)

Tsar Russian name for King. The Tsar was the ruler of Russia.

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

Umkhonto we Sizwe formed in 1961 as a response to the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960; a military wing of the ANC, led by Nelson Mandela

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

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

uprising an act of resistance or rebellion

Vietcong Vietnamese soldiers who fought for the communist North Vietnam

Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) a group of Vietnam Veterans giving a voice to disabled and crippled soldiers and working towards exposing the truth about the US in South-East Asia

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

War Crimes Tribunal an independent body set up to investigate and prosecute perpetrators of atrocities during wartime

white supremacist person who believes in the superiority of Caucasians over those of different racial or ethnic backgrounds

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

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